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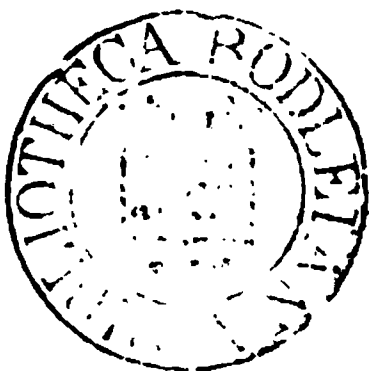


Per. 3977 c. $\frac{198}{73}$

THE BRITISH
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY AND APRIL,
1881.

VOL. LXXIII.



LONDON:
HODDER AND STOUGHTON,
27, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCLXXXI.

UNWIN BROTHERS, THE GRESEAM PRESS, CHILWORTH AND LONDON.

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THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY 1, 1881.

ART. I.—*Congregationalism.*

THE Congregational Union of England and Wales held its first annual meeting in Reading in the year 1831. Regarded at its formation with deep and reasonable distrust by many sagacious and zealous Congregationalists, and visited more than once within the last thirty years by storms which threatened its destruction, it has gradually secured the confidence of the large majority of the Congregational Churches of the country; and its spring and autumn meetings of this year, which are to be held in London and Manchester, are anticipated with keen and general interest.

Several schemes have been projected for celebrating the close of the first half-century of its history. If I venture to propose another, it is with no strong hope of obtaining any considerable measure of public support. And yet my proposal lies within such moderate limits, and could be carried out at so moderate a cost, that if I were a more sanguine man I should be very confident of securing its adoption. It appears to be a natural extension of arrangements which have been already announced by the Committee of the Union. Lectures illustrating the history of English Congregationalism from its rise three hundred years ago to our own times are to be delivered in London and, I believe, in some provincial towns. The Committee would complete their work if they were to publish, under competent editorship, the books and pamphlets in which the early Congregationalists explained and vindicated their principles.

Twenty or thirty years ago the works of John Robinson, the pastor of the Church at Leyden, from which a hundred

men and women were sent out in the *Mayflower* to found the colony of New Plymouth, were edited by the late Rev. Robert Ashton.* But even before their republication Robinson's writings were more accessible than those of Robert Browne, Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, Francis Johnson, and Henry Jacob. Some of these are in Dr. Williams's library, whose trustees show the most admirable courtesy to students; but for others it is necessary to go to the British Museum, to the Bodleian, and to Lambeth. The library at the Memorial Hall, to which it is natural for Congregationalists to turn for literature illustrative of their own history, is singularly deficient in Elizabethan writers.† It is very natural that the books should be rare. If printed in this country, they had to be printed at a secret press. If printed abroad, they had to be brought over to England concealed in bales of merchandise. Men were hanged for writing them; men were hanged for distributing them; when the books themselves came into the hands of the officers of the bishops they were destroyed.‡ To prevent the irreparable loss which would be occasioned by the accidental destruction of any of the remaining copies, it seems to me that the Congregational Union would do well to republish them in connection with the Jubilee celebration. The monuments of our fathers have been long in ruins. It would be an act of filial reverence to rebuild them.

To give an account of this forgotten literature is no part of my present purpose. Those who are curious in such matters may find a great deal of interesting information in Mr. Hanbury's 'Memorials of the Independents,' and especially in the great work recently published by Dr. Dexter—'The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years as seen in

* One of Robinson's controversial works was omitted. A year or two ago I found in a volume of old pamphlets 'A Manumission from a Manuduction,' a tract of twenty-four quarto pages, published by John Robinson in 1615. Mr. Ashton refers to this tract in his preface, but is under a mistake about its contents. I wrote to Dr. Dexter, of Boston, to tell him of my 'find.' He replied that I was fortunate, but not so fortunate as I supposed I had been. Another copy of the original exists in a private library in New England, and the tract had been republished by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

† What became of the library of Benjamin Hanbury, who appears to have had in his possession some of the rarest and most interesting books of the early Congregationalists?

‡ I have the impression that copies of some of the early 'Brownist' books might be found in the episcopal libraries and among the records of some of the eastern dioceses. The books had to be examined by the legal advisers of the bishops in order to prepare the case against the Brownist prisoners. If this note happens to meet the eye of gentlemen who have access to these possible sources of information, and who know that they contain literature of this sort, I may, perhaps, venture to ask that they would be good enough to communicate with me.

its Literature.' To students of Congregational history the results of Dr. Dexter's researches will have the very deepest interest, and the value of his Appendix, to which he has given the modest title, 'Collections towards a Bibliography of Congregationalism,' cannot be measured.

Whatever may be the good or evil fortune of the proposal with which I have introduced this paper, the Jubilee of the Congregational Union affords a natural occasion for reviewing our ecclesiastical position. Churches as well as individual Christians should have their times of self-examination—times when they should measure their actual work against their responsibilities, and should test their practice by their principles—times when they should reconsider, in the increasing light which comes to devout men in every generation, the traditions and institutions which they have received from their ecclesiastical ancestors. . We should not shrink from revising the fundamental principles of our polity.

In this serious and anxious inquiry it will be of advantage to recall the spirit, the convictions, and the aims of the Elizabethan Congregationalists. Whatever anticipations of our ecclesiastical theories may be found in writers of an earlier date, it is to them that we owe the practical recovery and revival of the principles which, according to a long line of Congregational apologists, governed the organization of apostolic Churches, and should continue to govern the organization of the Churches of our own times.

In Elizabeth's reign, and especially during the first thirty years of her reign, English Protestantism was exposed to great perils. Why was it that the founders of English Congregationalism separated themselves from men who were as loyal to Protestantism as themselves? Why did they create divisions which increased the troubles of the Queen's government at a time when Spain and the Pope were threatening the Protestant Queen from abroad and when recusants were plotting against her throne and her life at home? Why was it that, for the sake of an ecclesiastical theory, they thought it worth while to incur the fierce hostility of the crown, the resentment of statesmen, popular hatred, and the distrust and animosity of men who shared not only their hatred to Rome but their faith in the theology of Calvin? What was there in their conception of the Congregational polity which made them willing to endure fine, imprisonment, exile, and death itself as the penalty of their defence of Congregational principles and of their endeavours to organize Congregational Churches?

There seems to me to be only one reply to these questions. To them the New Testament contained a revelation of infinite glory and of infinite terror. Its menaces were as real as its promises. They had a deep and intense conviction—the depth and intensity of it we can hardly imagine in these days,—that Christ came to seek and to save the lost; and that those whom He has not found are lost still. They took the words as they stand, and took them quite seriously — ‘He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.’ The vast and awful contrast between the final destiny of those who dwell for ever in the light of God and those who are condemned to darkness and eternal death, was to them the revelation of God’s present judgment on the difference between those who listen to the voice of Christ and those who refuse to listen to it. Faith in Christ was not only the condition of the pardon of sin, it was the condition of regeneration in which men receive the power and the blessedness of the new life; it was the condition of that union with Christ which is the source and strength of all righteousness; apart from faith in Christ men were not in the highest sense the sons of God; and apart from faith in Christ they could not receive the permanent illumination of the Spirit of God.

To them the mere acceptance of a Christian creed and mere attendance at Christian worship were matters of absolutely no moral or spiritual value. They lived in the region of realities, and were impatient, fiercely impatient, of whatever obscured the truth of things. They thought that nothing deserved to be called faith in Christ that did not root a man’s life in Christ’s life and secure Christ’s authority over conduct. And apart from faith in Christ they believed that no man had a right to be in the Church of Christ. Their conceptions of Church polity were determined by their doctrinal and religious faith.

The constitution of the Anglican Church declined to recognize the awful contrast between those who are loyal to Christ and those who are in revolt against Him. The English nation constituted the English Church. This was the theory of Whitgift, as it was afterwards the theory of Hooker. It was the theory which governed the ecclesiastical policy of the Queen. Under the Act of Uniformity, and the Acts enforcing attendance at the Queen’s churches, the whole nation was forced into one fold. With what vehemence the early Independents denounced this policy may be seen from the following

passage extracted from Henry Barrowe's 'Brief Discoverie of the False Church,' printed in 1590. After a long description of the kind of persons who alone should be built into the temple of God—a description drawn from the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and from the Song of Solomon, as well as from the four gospels and the epistles of the New Testament—he goes on to say—

Thus we see what kind of stones, what manner of people, the Lord will have built and received into His Church. Now it remaineth that we by these rules examine the stones and people of the Church of England; whether they be such chosen, precious stones as we see here described, as the high-priest carried in his embroidered breast-plate; whether they be such a chosen, redeemed, faithful, free, holy people as are called unto and walk in the faith of Christ Jesus; or they be rather of the refuse, common pebble chalk-stones, which cannot be used to any sound and sure building, even *all the profane and wicked of the land—atheists, papists, anabaptists, and heretics of all sorts, gluttons, rioters, blasphemers, perjurers, covetous, extortioners, thieves, whores, witches, conjurers, &c., and who not, that dwelleth within this island, or is within the queen's dominion.*

All, without exception or respect of person, are received into and nourished in the bosom of this Church, with the Word and sacraments. None are here refused, none kept out. This Church (as the prophet saith) openeth her knees to every passenger, furnisheth a table to the multitude, and drink offerings to the numbers; she keepeth open house to all comers—bread and wine and welcome.* Neither is she more dainty of her stolen waters than of her hid bread, of her adulterate baptism, than of her Sheshak supper, not denying baptism to the seed even of whores and witches; † she receiveth them all into her covenant (which is not with God, but with death and hell), giving them her peace, selling them her wares, &c. This is their communion of saints, their holy fellowship: thus are they bound and enchained together in open sacrilege, idolatry, impiety, even all estates, prince, priests, and people, and (as the prophet saith) even wreathed together as in a strong cable of iniquity, and folded one within another as thorns in a hedge, or rather, wrapped and plighted together as thorns to the fire of God's wrathful judgments (p. 9).

In a later paragraph he describes—and other testimony lends too strong a support to the description—'the general excess, pride, superfluity, covetousness rapine, cruelty, deceit, malice, debate, inordinate affections, unbridled lusts, dissoluteness, disobedience, &c., which are found most rife, even in all estates and degrees among them.' 'Neither,' he adds, in his passionate way, 'hath all kinds of sin and wickedness

* Barrowe's scriptural quotations are of course from translations in use before the appearance of our present Authorized Version.

† It was the theory of the early Independents that only the children of Christian parents should receive baptism. We have learnt a larger truth, and believe that all who are born into the world for which Christ died are Christ's subjects. If they afterwards revolt against Him they are 'rebels' against their true king, not merely 'aliens' from the Divine commonwealth.

more universally reigned in any nation at any time than here at this present in this land, where all are received into the Church, all made members of Christ.' But

All these sins, and many more abominations (which a Christian heart abhorreth but to think or speak of), are amongst them winked at, tolerated, excused, covered and cured with the gospel preached and their holy sacraments. *All this people, with all these manners, were in one day, with the blast of Queen Elizabeth's trumpet, of ignorant papists and gross idolaters, made faithful Christians and true professors* (p. 10).

This was where the English Congregationalists began. A scheme of polity closely corresponding in its essential principles to Congregationalism had been drawn up by Lambert in the early days of the Reformation. It was in harmony with very much that Luther had taught, but was put aside because the great Reformer did not think that a sufficient number of devout men were to be found in the parishes of the Protestant States of Germany to work it. The same objection might have been offered to the scheme of Robert Browne and Henry Barrowe. But they were prepared to meet it. To them a 'false Church' was worse than no Church at all. They believed that there was infinite peril to the spiritual life of men in suppressing the awful difference between those who have received the life of God and those who have not. In the organization of the Church they thought that it was Christ's intention to gather into societies those who were on His side in His tragic and glorious struggle with human sin. To receive men into the Church, whether they were on Christ's side or not, was to destroy the very idea of the Church, and to thwart the purposes for which the Church was founded. The Christian Church, by its very existence—so they believed—is a perpetual testimony to the immense difference between the present position in relation to God of those who have submitted to Christ's authority and of those who are resisting it, and a perpetual warning to mankind that, apart from penitence and faith, they cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. This testimony and this warning are suppressed when men of all kinds are freely received into Church communion. There were other reasons, derived from the functions which in the judgment of the early Congregationalists, the Church has to discharge, that rendered it necessary that those who are received into the Christian Church should be Christians; but what moved them to the profoundest and most intense indignation was the manner in which the promiscuous communion of the English Church concealed the difference between the

lost and the saved. With the permission of the Editor of this *Review*, I may attempt to illustrate the other parts of their theory in a future article ; but at present I wish to detain attention on their fundamental principle.

The members of a Christian Church should be Christians : this, I say, was the *fons et origo* of the whole Congregational movement. Beginning with this principle, Robert Browne and his successors formed 'gathered churches.' The English nation was not, in their judgment, a Church ; for a man was not a Christian merely because he was born within the four seas and under the sovereignty of Queen Elizabeth. The population of an English diocese was not a Church ; for a man was not a Christian merely because he happened to be born in the counties placed under the ecclesiastical supervision of the Bishop of London or the Bishop of Norwich. The population of an English parish was not a Church ; for a man was not a Christian merely because he happened to be born within the boundaries of a district placed in charge of a parish priest. To baptize the people of a parish did not make them Christians ; to preach to them did not make them Christians ; to give them access to the Lord's Supper did not make them Christians. And therefore—as against some of the Presbyterian Puritans—they contended that a parish was not made a Church by the presence of a zealous 'preaching minister,' who taught the people pure doctrine, exhorted them to righteousness, and administered the sacraments in a form according to Christ's will. The only course for those who wished to be loyal to Christ, was to bring together, here and there, those men and women who had resolved, as God should help them, to do His will, and who were relying on Christ for eternal redemption. These small and obscure groups met at night in private houses, or early in the morning in the open fields ; they crept, one by one, down to the water-side, and found their way into ships lying in the river ; when they were imprisoned, they organized a Church within the prison walls, for the 'separate system' had not yet been introduced into our methods of criminal punishment, and in Bridewell and the Clink, the martyrs of Congregationalism could often hold their Church meetings and celebrate their worship with less fear of interruption than anywhere else in the kingdom.

'The members of a Christian Church should be Christians.' It does not follow that any particular method should be adopted for testing their Christianity. I suppose that on the day of Pentecost, and for many years later, every man that offered himself for baptism and declared his faith in Christ

was baptized, and became at once a member of the Christian Church. No 'test' was imposed by the Church on its members, except the requirement that the applicant for baptism and Church membership, after listening to Christian preaching, should declare himself a believer in Jesus of Nazareth. The 'test' came from another quarter. In Jerusalem, the reality and vigour of the faith of a Jew were sufficiently shown by his readiness to acknowledge as the national Messiah the Teacher whose blood had been clamoured for by the mob, who had been condemned as a blasphemer by the Sanhedrim, and who, in mockery of the ancient Jewish hope, had been crucified by Pilate as the 'King of the Jews.' In the great cities of the pagan world, the reality and vigour of a heathen man's faith were shown by his willingness to break with the social traditions and customs and with the religion of his race, in order to become an adherent of a sect which had sprung up among an obscure people, whose national independence had been crushed, and who were regarded with general suspicion and hatred.

Even with these 'tests' the Church was not kept pure. Some men who had no real faith were swept into the Church on the tide of strong popular excitement. Some men came into it with the hope of making money by using the generosity of the new sect for their own personal advantage. Some seem to have come into it at the impulse of mere curiosity to learn what the movement meant—what were its esoteric doctrines and practices; and what were the spells by which the wonderful works of its leaders were wrought. And some who found life cold, cheerless, and desolate were attracted by the warmth and gladness of the Christian brotherhood; they came into the Church to find a home.

But while all the most powerful forces of society were hostile to the new faith, the Church had a right to assume that every man who professed to believe in Christ was loyal to Christ at heart, and was resolved to keep His commandments. If, in any case, flagrant inconsistencies demonstrated that the assumption was unfounded, it became the duty of the Church to exercise discipline, and to separate itself from the man whose conduct proved that the will of Christ was not the law of his life.

By what methods any Christian Church should endeavour, in our own times, to assert the principle that the members of a Christian Church should be Christians, is a question which may be answered variously in various parts of the country, and by Churches surrounded by varying social conditions. It

is not of the substance of Congregationalism that any particular set of rules should regulate the admission of members. If any Church is convinced that, without further inquiry, it can accept with unreserved confidence the expression of a desire for membership as a proof of living faith in Christ, that Church has a perfect right to receive all comers. If to another Church experience has made it certain that something more than this is necessary to prevent many persons from entering the Church, who have neither an intellectual nor a moral apprehension of what is meant by loyalty to Christ, some regulations become necessary to avert the peril. The principle is clear. Particular rules are not of the substance of the Congregational polity. Rules must change with changing circumstances. But the *idea* is constant. Where it is forgotten or suppressed, Congregationalism is lost. A Christian Church should consist of Christians. Whatever really commands the confidence of generous and trustful men in a man's Christian integrity is a sufficient reason for admitting him to membership. What is not sufficient to command this confidence is not a sufficient reason for admitting him to membership.

Firm fidelity to this principle is indispensable to the fulfilment of the impulse which created the Church. That it was the intention of Christ that those who received Him should be organized into societies is apparent; but the actual formation of the Pentecostal Church seems to have been the free result of the native instincts of the Christian heart. The new life which was in men drew them together. They worshipped together, they met day after day for their common meals, they lived in each other's company, because they could not help it. And wherever the new life sprang up it urgently sought communion with those who shared it. Long after the fervours of the day of Pentecost had cooled, converts from heathenism; who needed apostolic teaching on some very rudimentary questions of morals, were 'taught of God to love one another.' That those who are in the Church are brothers and sisters in Christ is as necessary an element of the idea of the Church as that they are all, in the high Christian sense, the children of God. If the idea of brotherhood is to be fulfilled, there must be a cordial conviction in those who are in the Church already that those who join them have received the remission of sins, and are regenerate of the Holy Ghost. 'We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren;'—this mutual affection is the joy and strength of a Christian Church. But unless there is a serious and reason-

able assurance that those in the Church are really 'brethren,' the very inspiration of the affection which gives to the fellowship of the Church its deep and perfect happiness is lost. If the doors are kept wide open for every one to enter that pleases, there are many cases in which the Church would cease to be a *home* and become an *hotel*.

In asking from those who wish to enter a Church some assurance that they are the friends and servants of Christ there is nothing that can be reasonably described as priestly assumption. Where the Church is small and the population few the whole Church will know whether the applicant is the kind of man they can recognize as their brother in Christ. Where the population is large the testimony of any wise and earnest member of the Church to whom the applicant is known will be sufficient to secure confidence in the stranger. Parents may speak for their children; friends for their friends. It is contrary to Congregational tradition that the words of the minister alone should introduce the new member to fellowship. If there is priestly assumption, it is the assumption of the priesthood which belongs to the commonality of the Church.

If it is urged in reply that neither the minister nor the private members of a Church can search the hearts of men and be sure that they have discovered the signs of a divine life; and that a divine life may be present where no human penetration can recognize it; the reply, as the assertion of an abstract principle, must of course be admitted. But the apostles clearly believed that practically we may know whether other men are our brothers in Christ or not. We may make mistakes. We may give our confidence where it is not deserved, we may withhold it where it ought to be given; but if we are to love men better because they love Christ, it must be possible to know—not infallibly, but sufficiently for practical purposes—whether or not they love Him. The impeachment of our right to form any judgment on the Christian character of other men dissolves the obligation of every precept which requires us to love men because they are Christians.

In some congregations it has ceased to be customary to keep what is called a 'Church roll.' A 'Church roll' is not of the essence of Congregationalism. I doubt whether the names of the members of the Church at Jerusalem, or at Corinth, were entered in a book. But it was perfectly well known who were in the Church. The 'widows' among the Hellenists and the widows among the Hebrew Christians at

Jerusalem were punctually cared for after the appointment of the 'seven,' though in all probability no Church secretary had their names on a list of members. Outsiders were not the charge of the charity of the Church; but those who were within had claims which the Church was zealous to satisfy. At Corinth the man who had committed shameful immorality was known to be a member of the Christian community, whether a 'roll' was kept or not; and he was removed by the act of the Church, although there may have been no need to insert the resolution in any Church minutes. Church 'rolls,' Church 'minutes,' and all such things are merely convenient arrangements suggested by our modern habits of life; their value, their necessity, is to be determined by the question whether they assist us in fulfilling the idea of the Church, whether in some cases they are practically necessary in order that the idea of the Church may be fulfilled. If no Church 'roll' is kept because it is not certain whether any particular person is in the Church or outside, and if the 'roll' is dispensed with because no one wishes to determine whether any person is in the Church or outside, then, as it seems to me, the idea of the Church is imperilled, if it is not already lost. When a man is in the Church I take it for granted that he is my ally in the great endeavour to get the will of God done on earth as it is in heaven; I regard him with confidence and brotherly affection. But if Church membership is intentionally left vague and indefinite, so that I never know whether a man is in the Church or not, I am thrown back on my personal knowledge of individual men; and the large, free, and cordial sense of comradeship which ought to unite all who are in the same Church is paralysed, and their mutual affection is checked and cooled.

The Congregational polity has its roots in a very definite religious faith. It cannot be justified where that faith is surrendered. To perpetuate the polity when the faith is lost is an impossible task. The infinite significance of conversion, of faith in Christ, of the remission of sins, of regeneration, is the real foundation on which Congregationalism is built. It is true that in the writings of the early defenders of Congregational principles there is very much of mere ecclesiastical antiquarianism. They appealed to apostolic practice as though this could decide the controversy between themselves and Presbyterianism, between themselves and Anglican Episcopacy. Many of the scriptural arguments by which they defended their position were as untenable as many of the scriptural arguments by which their position was assailed. But the real struggle was

not about the meaning and force of texts, or about the authority of precedents. The fervour, the tenacity, the endurance of the men who first founded Congregational Churches in England came from their conviction that the controversy involved great spiritual issues. It was for the immense and immeasurable difference between those who are on Christ's side and those who are not that they were contending. It was the august dignity of those whose life is supernatural and divine that kindled their imagination and gave them heroic endurance. They were asserting the infinite reality of the Christian redemption, the blessedness and glory which are the inheritance of those who submit to the authority of Christ and trust in His love, the guilt, the spiritual incapacity, and the menacing future of those who reject Him. It was these great issues which made them believe that for the sake of Congregationalism it was worth while not only to submit to the severest personal losses, to spend year after year in unwholesome prisons, and to die as traitors to the Queen, but also to risk the division of the national unity and the diminution of the national strength at a time of great national peril. Apart from the supreme spiritual ends for which they laboured and suffered, Congregationalism is hardly worth perpetuating.

R. W. DALE.

ART. II.—*Ugo Bassi.*

THE Roman Question, as it used to be called in the days when it was the thorn of Italy and the vexation of Europe, was a question in politics, and not in religion. The power exercised by the Roman pontiff in the Italian peninsula was of a kind direct, explicit, and practically independent of spiritual pretensions. It was simply the power of a temporal prince, insignificant had he stood alone, but formidable because two great military nations believed themselves to be concerned in his maintenance. That France entered upon the policy of Roman intervention solely on behalf of what were conceived to be French interests is established beyond doubt or dispute. That Austria supported the temporal papacy on grounds essentially political is proved by the fact that so soon as she ceased to be an Italian power, every vestige of her interest in the fate of the Pope-king disappeared. And if the foreign assistance given to the Pope as prince had but slight con-

nection with religious sentiment, the national opposition he encountered in the same character was as far as possible disassociated from religious antipathy. The Italian movement again and again assumed the form of an attack on the temporal power, but neither in Rome nor out of it was it directed against the principles of religion. Thus, if it was not in the nature of things that the Italian priesthood should be a patriotic body, it was quite within the limits of probability that an Italian priest should be a good patriot. It would indeed be a stupendous fact for the future historian to record, could it be said with truth that the whole mass of Italians enrolled under the flag of religion had to be counted as an inimical force in the struggle by which Italy was erected into a nation. Happily this is not the case. Nothing is more certain than that during the entire course of recent Italian vicissitudes a considerable and not undistinguished minority both of the higher and the lower clergy gave their best prayers to the side of their common country. Some did better, giving not only their prayers but their lives. Francesco Conforti, the eminent *savant*, and his fellow-priest, Marcello Scotti, were executed for patriotism by sentence of Ferdinand and Caroline of Naples in 1800. In 1822 the ecclesiastics Ingrassi, Calabrò, and La Villa perished on the gallows at Palermo as *carbonari*. In the same year Don Giuseppe Andreoli was decapitated at Modena. When told that he alone out of the many imprisoned with him was to undergo the extreme penalty, this good man clapped his hands and rendered thanks to God. In 1828 Canon Antonio de Luca, aged eighty years, and the monk Carlo da Celle, were put to death after the rising at Cilentò for having dared assert that freedom was more in harmony with the spirit of the gospel than oppression. The men just mentioned were among the pioneers of Italian liberty. Later, in the dire anti-climax of defeated hopes which followed the great effort for the attainment of emancipation in 1848, 49, there were not a few ecclesiastics who may be ranked with the most faithful of those who refused to despair. The Mantuans, Tazzoli, Grioli, and Grazioli, and the Brescians, Borfava and Palusella, paid the cost of their fidelity with their blood. It was a saying of the first of these, Don Enrico Tazzoli, that the multitude of victims had not lessened the courage of the survivors in the past, nor would it do so in the future, even until victory was achieved, inasmuch as the cause of the people was like the cause of religion—it triumphed by virtue of its martyrs. The names here set down in what has no pretence to a full

list would suffice to show that Italy is spared the humiliation of the thought that one class of her sons was ranged without exception against her in her hour of need. But they are names which have failed to take hold of the mind of the nation at large. A single striking and pathetic personality has passed into the legend of free Italy as representing all the elements of patriotism existing within the pale of the Catholic priesthood and religious orders. Others are forgotten, Ugo Bassi is not; and the Italian people have added a saintly nimbus to his crown of martyrdom. The life-story of this man, however briefly or imperfectly sketched, can hardly be devoid of interest.

He was the son of a Bolognese father and a mother of Greek extraction. At the time of his birth, the first year of this century, his parents were living at Cento, but soon after they moved to Bologna, with a view to giving him as good an education as their modest circumstances would allow. In his early boyhood Bassi showed all the evidences of that precocity—not so much in the faculty of acquirement as in the faculty of emotion—which has often to be observed in the history of creative genius. It is not indeed any sure proof or promise of great things to come, for emotional intensity is only the steam-power by whose aid the man of genius threshes out his intellectual corn. What it does promise is that the child or youth will have through life the dangerous gift of a highly-wrought nervous organization. From a psychological standpoint Bassi's boyhood bears a singular resemblance to the youth of an English man of letters whose life and correspondence were placed a few years ago in the hands of the public. We put on one side an unsuccessful attempt to enlist at fourteen under Murat's banner—a boyish escapade into which perhaps entered some fore-spark of the burning patriotism that was later to master all his being. It might have been happier for him had he seen a little of active campaigning in the opening stage of his career. Further down the century there was more than one fourteen-year-old boy fighting in Garibaldi's ranks. Thrown back on himself, and on the teaching of his spiritual director, his precocious development carried him where it carried (with results far less melancholy) Sydney Dobell—that is, to early love and religious excitation.

The story of his love is as sad a little romance as any poet or novelist 'with the gift of tears' ever wove into fiction. He had a school-fellow named Bentivoglio, and the school-fellow had a sister, a delicate young girl, who inspired Bassi with

an affection which, childish though it was, yet possessed all the magical enchantment of first love. It was plain to other eyes that Anna Bentivoglio was one foredoomed to early death, but Bassi did not realize the fact—the young are rarely persuaded of the fatality of an illness that does not kill at once. It is more than likely that the strange spirituality which sometimes pervades the half-child, half-woman, who glides imperceptibly out of a world unknown to her, was the very charm that attracted him. He was permitted to sit by Anna's couch and read to her. One day, feeling no doubt too ill to listen, she asked him abruptly to leave off, giving no reason for the request. In a fit of foolish irritation Bassi went silently away and left the house unvisited for several days. Then came to him like a thunder-clap the news that the girl was dead. He begged his mother to take him to see Anna as she lay dressed and crowned like a bride, and, kneeling down beside her, he remained in fixed contemplation. His mother let him be; only after a long hour did she say gently that they must go. To her surprise he got up calmly and followed her. In that hour he had made the resolution of entering a cloister.

It is improbable that Bassi would have taken this resolve with the seriousness of one who cannot be turned from his purpose had not his mind been prepared for the reception of the idea of what is termed in Catholic phraseology, a religious life. It is the system of Catholic education to stimulate the child's sense of moral responsibility to the utmost, and to convince him of the evilness of things human. If he be by nature excitable and easily impressed, the result is not difficult to foresee. The little child, instead of looking out into the beautiful world with hope and joy, shrinks from it as from a sink of corruption. And when he has reached this point, when feeling himself weak, and imagining his soul not as the temple of the spirit of God, but as the lurking-place of Satan, he looks around for some harbour of refuge, he has not far to seek. Without presupposing the smallest effort to drive him in the direction of a monastic life, he must have heard it praised as a life of safety and peace—the more excellent life, which alone can satisfy the soul's aspirations, which is of itself so admirable that after embracing it little remains to be done to become a saint. To the monastic life, then, the boy or girl of Catholic training and sensitive temperament turns with the white-heat enthusiasm of youth—its thirst for the accomplishment of some great act; its craving after the ideal, the unfamiliar, the out-of-the-common; its impatience

of the realities of every day. When the subject is first broached, the aspirant will scarcely meet with much encouragement; but the arguments urged against the step he desires to take are of a kind that inclines him the more to it. Is he worthy? Has he constancy, sanctity, humility? Young people are ashamed of changing their minds even in small matters, and they have a holy horror of confessing to a mistake in the valuation of their physical or moral powers. Thus in a majority of cases the youth returns after the prescribed term of probation more resolute than before. Neither he nor the directors of his conscience can further doubt the reality of his vocation, of his call from God to the assumption of the monastic habit. Amidst a shower of pious congratulations, the neophyte is received. This imaginary history was very much that of Bassi. On October 24, 1818, he began his novitiate in the Order of S. Barnabas, taking the name of Ugo in place of his baptismal name Giovanni. Immediately after, he left Bologna for Rome, where his seclusion was varied by visits to the pilgrim spots—the Coliseum, the Catacombs, S. Peter's—and where his favourite studies were the Bible and the 'Divina Commedia.' Such a life, such studies might have inflamed the dullest imagination. Bassi tried to give poetic expression to his Roman day-dreams in a poem called 'The Cross Victorious.' The argument was a story of triumphant weakness, and of new life upspringing from the blood that watered the arena. Two stanzas may be quoted as showing how, in Bassi's mind, the thought of the past was wedded to the thought of the future—

So shalt thou wage with tyrants ceaseless war,
 Our fount of pride and hope, O Rome divine!
 In ages still to follow stronger far,
 Thou with thy Capitolian fame shalt shine.
 Virtue restored again be popular,
 Again thy sons in freedom's arts combine;
 Thy reign shall be the buckler of the weak,
 Austere to greatness, kindly to the meek.

I see thy pure and venerated brow
 Steeped in the splendour of a light unborn;
 Albeit from what source I know not now
 Shall rise thy destined sun, thy glorious morn;
 I see on ocean's breast thy swift-winged prow,
 That shall the confines of Alcides scorn;
 I see to-morrow's world, regenerate,
 Receiving from thy hands the book of fate.

In 1833 Bassi entered upon his public ministry. He had acquired a knowledge of both the classical languages, and he also wrote fluently in French and English. A Shakespeare

and a Byron were his inseparable companions. He sang well, and played the violin and other instruments. He painted pictures of saints, and a solemn mass composed by him was performed with success at Naples. Yet for all his graceful talents and his quickness of apprehension, Bassi never attained intellectual maturity. If he was not a child, he was a man of an age when the world was less old. It is this that lends interest to his appearance amongst men striving to actuate some of the latest hopes of mankind. There was something in him of Francesco d'Assisi and something of Savonarola. Under the right conditions he would probably have been as ready as either to believe that he saw visions and heard divine voices. It may be doubted if his sermons contained much originality of treatment or finish of style, but their effect was immense. People threw down their garments for him to walk over. He went to Sicily, where he was enthusiastically welcomed. Just after he had left the island the cholera broke out at Palermo, and, in the absence of all sanitary safeguards, the city was plunged in frantic panic. Bassi determined to go back without a moment's delay. He was no fatalist, nor does he seem to have had the presentiment of safety in danger which some men have. He knew the likelihood of his falling a victim to the disease; but he knew it to glory in it. It was to him a foretaste of *lo dolce assenzio de' martiri*—the sweet wormwood of the martyrs. It is told regarding his return to Sicily that the Palermitans, moved by such fantastic hopes as are bred in times of public agony, had gone down to the shore imagining that succour of some sort would come from across the sea. As the ship bearing the monk steered into the harbour mouth, his dark form was recognized leaning against the side of the deck. A cry went up, 'It is Father Ugo Bassi!' When the boat by which he disembarked touched the land, he said, 'My beloved people, God, who lately sent me amongst you to announce His word, permits that I should come to you now to pray with you, to suffer with you, to die with you.' The crowd pressed about him eager to kiss his hand or even the hem of his habit. He walked straight to the cholera hospital, where he remained while the scourge lasted. Even the doctors were amazed by his untiring devotion. Once, when the hospital was so crowded that there was not so much as a mattress to be given to a fresh sufferer, Bassi took the man in his arms and made him a pillow of his breast.

When the cholera ceased, Bassi crossed over to Italy and resumed his ordinary life of preaching and struggling; for

struggling formed a great part of his life. 'Do you always preach like that?' asked the cardinal legate of Bologna after one of his sermons. 'You seem to me an apostle of revolution!' There was a time when Bassi thought of publishing the text of his discourses as the best proof of the soundness of their contents. But he resisted the temptation to lay his case before a wider and perhaps a juster tribunal. 'I feel,' he wrote, 'that to do God's pleasure and to pray for the good of our enemies is as sweet even as triumph. Any way, the Lord has not said vainly, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." This divine word, that made so many martyrs to the Gospel, will it not make others in the future to the cause of truth?' Again he wrote to a friend who was exerting himself on his behalf: 'We will bear the cross not to-day only, but to-morrow, and every day even until death, as He bore it. And whenever that happens which you desire, we will not rejoice in the humiliation of those who will us ill, but we will thank the Lord in that He has changed this cross into another that may be easier to bear.' On the death of an ecclesiastic who had always befriended him, Cardinal Caracciolo, archbishop of Naples, he went a third time to Sicily. When he was a boy he had given the answer, 'I do not wish to beg,' to some one who asked why he joined the order of S. Barnabas in preference to that of S. Francis. But to this extremity he was now reduced. Going up to a lady who was making costly purchases, he said calmly and simply, 'Signora, I am poor Father Bassi, just arrived at Palermo, and, as you see, lacking everything. In Christ's name I ask of you alms.' The Palermitans recollected Bassi, and his prayer was generously responded to. He wished his benefactress to take back a portion of her gift; the half would have covered his immediate wants. 'Do not make me blush more deeply,' she said, reverently kissing his hand. From all classes in Sicily he met with the accustomed welcome. A small salary defrayed his travelling expenses and enabled him to dress decently, so that he could write cheerfully to his mother: 'I am no longer obliged to walk on my heels with my toes out of my shoes.' He begged her in the same letter to pray fervently that he might be suffered to go his way in peace, 'preaching the Holy Gospel and praising the Infinite Goodness.' On the proclamation of the amnesty at the accession of Pius IX. he returned to the mainland, and in the summer of 1847 he sought an audience at the Vatican. 'What a good heart Father Bassi has!' exclaimed Pio Nono at the end of the interview.

A year had passed since what the diplomatic language of the day called the 'melancholy régime' of Gregory XVI. was exchanged for the rule of the Pope Liberator. An unmodified prolongation of Gregory's system would have been not far from a sheer impossibility. A trustworthy person writing during the Conclave stated that the government could not stand one day were it not for the Swiss troops and the protection of Austria. The party in favour of the old method of governing, if strong enough to impede its alteration, were unequal to the task of maintaining it intact. Something had to be done, and something Pius IX. did. He was like a child who gives a starving family a box of sweetmeats, and is surprised at their asking for more solid food. His great fault lay in the fact of his letting all Europe believe that the solid food would follow the sweetmeats, and that soon. Thus he became deeply responsible at once for the action which brought the Italian movement to a crisis, and for the reaction by which it was crushed.

In July, 1849, Metternich observed that in Rome the revolution was complete, and the observation was sufficiently correct in the sense in which he meant it. The late tyranny had been replaced by a government so ill-defined and complicated as to be perfectly unintelligible. Our agent, Mr. Petre, was constantly expressing his expectation that public tranquillity would not be preserved. That the forecast was not verified, and why it was not, may be gathered from a sentence in one of his subsequent reports: 'The influence of one individual of the lower class, Angelo Brunetti, hardly known but by his nickname Ciceruacchio, has for the last month kept the peace of the city more than any power possessed by the authorities, from the command which he exerts over the populace.'

It will not be amiss if, before we go back to Bâssi, we give some slight account of this Angelo Brunetti, with whom one day his fate was to be strangely linked. And first as to the nickname. Ciceruacchio means in the tongue of the Roman people, 'He who flourishes.' Brunetti's mother called him so when a child because he was strong and ruddy; when he grew up the designation still fitted him so well that it stuck to him. He was a wine-carrier by trade, as his father had been. The wine-carriers of Rome form a class apart, and the purest Roman blood is that which flows in their veins. Nor are they unworthy of their lineage, for their probity and self-respect are proverbial. By middle age Angelo Brunetti had earned enough to buy a hostelry near the Porta del Popolo, where he sold wine and let out horses. He made a good deal of money,

but so lavishly did he give it away that his wife often looked anxiously at her little sons and wondered if they would not be left penniless one day. How by degrees, and without consciously seeking it, he won the entire confidence of the great mass of his fellow Romans cannot well be traced step by step. Questioned on the subject in after years, the people could only speak of a strong arm always ready to strike a blow in defence of the weak, and a powerful voice which seemed to give utterance to their own best thoughts. There is not a more mystical personage in the legend of Free Italy than Ciceruacchio. Some of the tales of his marvellous feats of strength are probably fables; but it seems well established that in times of the Tiber floods, when no one else would brave the furious rush of waters, he went in a boat to rescue such as were in danger, and to take provisions, furnished at his own cost, to others who were cut off from outer communication. To foreigners who had not forgotten all they learnt at school of the 'grandeur that was Rome,' there was a curious fascination in the discovery of a Roman tribune midway in the 19th century. Few persons have lived long on the banks of the Tiber without being struck by the indefinable continuity of Roman life. This is apparent for the most part in little things, as by the scattered growth of certain kinds of grain we may guess that a field was once planted over therewith. But in Ciceruacchio it was made plain to all who ran. Hence every one wished to see him, even more, so it was laughingly said, than to see the Pope. Lord Minto made his acquaintance in the course of that tour which, in the belief of English Tories and their continental friends, was the sole, undivided cause of the Italian revolution of 1848. On taking his departure for Naples, the British diplomatist gave Lorenzo Brunetti, eldest son of the leader, a copy of Macaulay's 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' with these lines written on a fly-sheet—

These be but tales of the olden day,
 The patriot bard shall now his lay
 Of charming freedom pour:
 And Rome's fair annals bid the fame
 Of Ciceruacchio's humble name
 In deathless honour soar.

The Pope himself showed his esteem for Ciceruacchio. Not many men would have stayed unspoiled in the midst of praise and flattery, that were the more dangerous because coming from those who had education and high birth to one who had neither. Angelo Brunetti was saved from conceit by a Roman

sort of pride. He was too proud to shrink from working with his hands as he had worked when a boy; he was too proud to put by his coarse blouse for a black coat, or to try and talk any more polite speech than the rolling Roman *patois* his mother had taught him. It was perhaps the same pride that made him so careless of the common means for winning power and popularity. While he still hoped in the Pope, he gave away money and succour out of his own resources, pretending that it was the gift of 'er Papa; and when the Republic was proclaimed, instead of seeking a post under government, or even a deputy's seat, he was content to carry wine to the thirsty soldiers and to find workmen for the fortifications. And he would take no pay for his services or his provisions.

We have seen how in 1847 Ciceruacchio kept the peace of Rome. It was a fixed idea of his that the retrograde party tried to foment disturbances in order to throw discredit upon liberal principles; thus he thought he saw their hand in a threatened outbreak of the Roman *residuum* on the occasion of Pius' best measure: the freeing of the Jews. By strenuous exertions Ciceruacchio turned the riot that had been feared into a fraternization between the two races. Rough in words, he was honourably moderate in act. More than one priest owed his life to him, and to him it was largely due that the ignorant masses did no mischief to the works of art and public monuments of Rome. When, during his exile, Garibaldi wrote a few lines of tribute to the character of the Roman *popolano*, he could think of no more salient trait to record of him than 'his charity for the powerful: one of the rarest virtues of the weak when they are called upon to take the place of the strong.'

On New Year's Day, 1848, the Pope fell back fainting in his carriage, perplexed and alarmed by the crowd that closed round him. 'Courage, holy father! You have the people with you!' cried Ciceruacchio. The people still looked on Pius as ranged on their side, and only prevented from satisfying their desires by his enemies and theirs. The main objects at which they aimed were three in number: the secularization of government, the dismissal of the Swiss troops, and co-operation in the coming patriotic war. The most urgent demands were for increased efficiency of the army. Ciceruacchio, in conjunction with the Duke of Lanti and the Prince of Teano, presented a petition to the Consultà di Stato, in which stress was laid on the necessity of military reforms. The Consultà proposed various measures, but it

was rumoured that the ministers refused to carry them out. A tumultuous crowd assembled in the Piazza del Popolo to await the Pope's decision; if it were unfavourable, Ciceruacchio said 'that they must take affairs into their own hands.' At length Prince Corsini brought the announcement that the Pope was about to call to Rome an Italian officer of rank to assist in reorganizing the army, and that further, he intended to secularize most of the ministerial offices, and to negotiate treaties of defence with other Italian states. A band of citizens, wearing the papal colours and the Italian tricolor, halted under the balcony of the Quirinal to give thanks for these concessions. There was a revived public trust in the Pope. An occasional protest against the doings of the advanced party seemed counterbalanced by oracular remarks that were interpreted to mean sympathy with their views. What other sense was likely to be attached to such words as the following, sprinkled as they were with benedictions on the peoples of Italy?—

The events which these two months have seen succeeding and pressing on each other with so rapid change are not the work of man. Woe unto him who in the wind which agitates, shakes, and shatters to pieces cedars and oaks, hears not the voice of the Lord!

Towards the end of March 17,000 pontifical troops were sent to the frontier, under the command of General Durando. A great meeting in the Coliseum celebrated their departure, and Father Gavazzi, likening himself to Peter the Hermit, invited all who went to swear, 'on this soil sanctified by the blood of saints and martyrs,' that they would return no more till the country was free. Our agent reported that 'nearly the whole population' was fairly convinced that war had been declared, and that the government was to assist in driving the Austrians out of Italy. On the 5th of April Durando addressed his troops at Bologna. He ordered that each soldier should wear a cross on his breast. 'Pius IX.,' he said, 'has blessed your swords, united with the sword of Charles Albert. . . . With the cross and by it we shall conquer; and "God wills it" shall be your battle-cry.' Not much heed was paid to the statement of the Roman official journal, that when the Pope wished to express his sentiments he invariably spoke by his own mouth. The war of Italian independence was proclaimed a holy war by friends and foes. Count Ficquelmont, the Austrian minister, said angrily, 'C'est de Rome qu'a été arboré le signe d'une croisade; le clergé c'est mis partout à la tête de l'insurrection.'

It happened that Bassi was appointed this year to preach

the Lent course at Ancona. The series of sermons was not concluded when Gavazzi passed through the town accompanied by a party of *crociati*, as the volunteers were called. Bassi went to him and asked if he might share his work, and the offer being gladly accepted, the two Barnabites pursued their way to Bologna. The day after their arrival was Easter Sunday. A vast crowd filled the piazza; town's folk and national guards, beggars in rags, shepherds in goatskins, all come together to hear the preaching of the new crusade. Bassi spoke to the multitude from the great stair of S. Petronio. According to the '*Gazzetta Ufficiale*,' issued next morning, the effect produced by his words was 'beyond all possibility of believing!' The reporter continued, 'He who was not touched yesterday can have no heart in his breast.' Bassi called upon the people to give their lives, their money, their worldly goods. The scene that followed was the first of many similar scenes. From the richest to the poorest there was hardly a man or woman who did not press forward to make some offering to the country. Up to a late hour at night the committee formed to take charge of the patriotic contributions were engaged in receiving all sorts of objects: clothes, linen, watches, jewels, and the small trinkets which in Italian poor families are cherished as heirlooms, not to be parted with even under severe stress of personal want. For the day the Bolognese presented the spectacle of an united people. Unhappily there lay behind an evil inheritance of class hatreds and social mistrust. Bassi preached civil peace as earnestly as he preached war with the stranger. Religion and freedom, he said, should go hand in hand; harmony should reign between the clergy and laity, and fellow feeling between the rich and poor. He dwelt on the good uses which wealth could be put to, and on the disinterestedness and public spirit that were to be found in high places. He even persuaded his hearers to cry *Evviva* where they had cried *Morte*.

Durando crossed the Po; 'against orders,' explained the Cardinal Secretary of State, 'but,' he added, 'orders are not now obeyed.' In the belief of the outside world, if Durando acted against the Pope's orders, he acted in compliance with his wishes. The more initiated thought that whether with or without pontifical approval, the die was irrevocably cast. 'It would be worse than useless,' wrote Mr. Petre, 'it would be imprudent on the part of the government, to disown these acts.' But they were all in error. On April 29th the Pope published his famous declaration that it was a calumny to

suppose him guilty of Italian patriotism. To us, who know the Pius of later days, the Jeremiah not of the downfall but of the resurrection of his country, it is a lesser surprise to read in the text of the allocution that war with Austria was 'abhorrent from his counsels' than to find him asking whether the German Catholics can blame him because he has not been able to repress the ardour of those of his subjects who have applauded the events that have taken place in North Italy, and who, inflamed by an equal love for their nationality, have gone to defend *a cause common to all Italian peoples*. If we would understand the torrent of indignation which the allocution called forth, we must remember that something else had been hoped of Pio Nono than that he would stand aloof washing his hands while Italians were fighting out the battle of their national existence. For a year and more he had been honoured and loved as the saviour of Italy, and what fell to him now was the natural antithesis of that love and honour. Fifty thousand people walked through the streets of Rome almost speechless under the first blow of the news. A priest, mingling with the crowd, broke the silence by exclaiming, 'He has deceived us!' Ciceruacchio then said, with tears in his eyes, 'He has betrayed us.'

The effect of the allocution on the Bolognese was not to make them dumb; they cried aloud for vengeance. All the day Bassi had been out in the country districts, seeking after recruits and money; he had scarcely come back, worn out with fatigue, when he received a message from the Cardinal Legate (Amat) imploring him to exert himself to calm the people. He went, therefore, to the cathedral, and a large number of citizens quickly assembled in the dimly lighted aisles to hear what he would say. He exhorted them to abstain from excesses and to be patient. He could speak the more convincingly because his own individual faith in the Pope was nearly as strong as ever; it was faith of a kind that is slow to yield even to the best of evidence. About this time the heads of the Barnabite order obtained from Rome a decree of secularization affecting both Bassi and Gavazzi; but Cardinal Oppizzoni, to whom it was entrusted for delivery, returned it to those who sent it with the remark that he judged its publication 'inopportune.' Hence the religious status of the two monks remained unchanged.

We see Bassi next at Treviso, on the 12th of May, when General Guidotti led the small garrison in a desperate sortie outside the gate of S. Tommaso. Bassi showed the same fearlessness under fire that characterized him in all danger.

He was hit in three places, but he refused to have his wounds dressed till he had given the last consolations of the Church to General Guidotti, who was carried dying out of the action. He was as joyful at having shed his blood in the Italian ranks as a schoolboy who wins his first prize. The chief wound was caused by a bullet which was only extracted a month later, after Bassi had been transported to Venice, where Daniel Manin welcomed him to his home and treated him with the greatest kindness. As soon as a tedious convalescence would let him, he went among the soldiers at Chioggia and Fort Malghera, encouraging the well and tending and comforting the sick and wounded, whether friends or enemies. His influence with the soldiers was great, nor was it less with the Venetian people, who flocked to hear his addresses in the Piazza S. Marco, and responded as cheerfully as the Bolognese had done to his call for aid to the army and the state. By the end of October his recovery was complete. In the memorable sortie of Mestre he marched at the head of the Roman legion; and when a house full of Austrians was taken by assault he was the first to enter it—jumping in through a window and waving an improvised flag to his companions. On the recall of the Roman troops (as forming part of Charles Albert's forces) after the defeat of Custozza, he left Venice for Ravenna, where his spirit was refreshed by memories of that greatest of Italian poets whom he had passionately venerated from his youth up. In the city where Dante died he stayed some days before returning to Bologna.

An Austrian bombardment in August and a reign of anarchy in September were among the miseries that had befallen the Bolognese since Bassi bade them good-bye. Of the first, General Welden said that it was the result of a mistake and quite unintentional; which was small comfort to the bombarded population. As to the second, it was to be accounted for by the incapacity of the administration, and the lack of moral cohesion in the people. Miscreants of every class and condition profited by the prevailing absence of respect for constituted authority. 'The arbitrary acts of the last Pope and the weakness of this have rendered the government of Rome odious to the Bolognese,' wrote Sir G. Hamilton, our minister at Florence; 'they would gladly embrace any government that would free them from it.' This was a truer view than that adopted by the papal administrators, who represented Bologna as beyond all human power of governance. In the month of December the city was stated to be 'tranquil under the rule of the clubs'—political societies

which for better or worse caught the reins of public control that had so signally escaped the grasp of the legate and his officials. Bassi became member of one of the clubs, and his constant appeals to concord and patriotism bore good fruits.

At Rome the final crisis had come. It was precipitated by a crime that did as much harm to the Italian cause as it was possible for any one act to do. On November 15th Count Rossi was murdered. From the first Rossi had been doomed to failure, and, apart from moral considerations, it was profoundly to be regretted that his tragic end gave his failure in some sort the appearance of an accident. In a certain sense he was the Emile Ollivier of the temporal popedom. Once a revolutionist and an exile, he had acquired so great a distaste for revolutions that he refused to 'recognize' the French republic after the fall of Louis Philippe. Still he did not cease to consider himself a liberal; and even his death hardly silenced the attacks made upon him by the Ultramontane party. He was by nature reserved, courageous, and full of a fatal contempt for all who disagreed with him. The chaos that he found in every department when in September, 1848, Pius IX. made him his minister, was repugnant to him as a man no less than as a politician. For the Pope's person he had a touching regard; and having brought his mind to think that the papal cause was the cause of God, he endeavoured to give it an air of respectability in the eyes of the world. But, as has been said, he was doomed to failure.

Unconvicted deeds of violence were then so common in Rome that the theory of private revenge would have been probably accepted as accounting for Rossi's assassination, had not one or two hundred men belonging to the dregs of the people paraded the streets with cries of savage exultation over the minister's death. When the distinguished publicist, Farini, left the house where he had gone to take a last look at the lifeless body of his friend, he was received with insults that might mean menaces. Presently, in the Campo di Fiore, he met Ciceruacchio, who said to him, sadly, 'Those are infamies that I should like to wash out with my blood, such shame and grief do they cause me. As for you, sir, fear nothing. Will you have one of us to escort you? We are honest *popolani*, and we would all rather die than that a hair of your head should be hurt.' A large crowd assembled before the Quirinal on November 16th to demand the proclamation of Italian nationality, the convocation of a Constituent, and the execution of measures furthering the war of independence. While a parley was going on, several of the civic

guards in the crowd fired their muskets. These shots seem to have been intended for the Swiss, who by some accounts had fired once or twice out of the palace windows, and with whom the people were violently incensed. Be that as it may, a prelate, Monsignor Palma, who was standing in one of the rooms of the Quirinal, was mortally wounded. No threats or offensive cries were raised against the Pope. Pius, however, lost all nerve. He spent a few days in acknowledging, dis-acknowledging, and re-acknowledging a new ministry, and then fled, under the protection of the Countess Von Spaur, wife of the Bavarian plenipotentiary.

'Dove è andato il Papa?' asked Bassi, his long cherished faith broken at last; 'Where is the Pope gone?' The Pope had craved the hospitality of a prince characterized by Cardinal Antonelli as 'eminently Catholic,' to wit, Ferdinand of Naples, once again indisputably King of the Two Sicilies, thanks to the vigour of his troops, who burnt thirty cripples in one church, shot and outraged women and children in a second, killed a priest before the altar of a third, and in a fourth dashed the consecrated Elements to the ground.* It was to this effect that Bassi answered his own question at the People's Club in Bologna on New Year's Eve.

For some three months after the Pope's flight Rome remained under the authority of a phantom ministry which, though disowned by him, yet nominally acted in his name. On February 9, 1849, the Constituent Assembly proclaimed a republic, only eleven members out of the hundred and forty-four present voting against it. Bassi hastened to Rome, from whence in the beginning of March he started for Rieti, where Garibaldi was stationed. Shortly after reaching the latter place he wrote to his mother: 'The dear reception I have received from the hero, Garibaldi, I cannot describe, or rather, I could not have wished it better.' All the legion loved him and rejoiced in his presence. Writing a month later from Anagni he said of the chief: 'This is the hero my soul has ever sought for. Hardly had we met when our kindred spirits (if it be lawful for me to liken myself to such an Italian?) understood and loved one another. Kindnesses and courtesies each day he showers upon me in equal measure.' He preached before the legion, sometimes in church, sometimes in the open, always to the great gladness of all. Once, in the neighbourhood of Subiaco, a halt was made by a spot where a torrent washed down the sides of a precipice. From this Bassi drew his images, carrying his

* *Vide English Blue Books.*

hearers away with him. Another day, when he had preached in the piazza at Anagini, the officers and people bore him in triumph on their shoulders. All the while he was still wearing the habit of a Barnabite monk, though it exposed him to some inconvenience in places where he was not known. It was inevitable that at that period the priestly robe in its every variation should be viewed as the uniform of the non-combatant enemy who called in Frenchmen, Austrians, and Spaniards to fight Italians. Those who have seen how small is in Italy at the best of times the respect inspired by that robe, even where belief is firmest in the sacredness of the priest's office, may well wonder that the irritation then dominant did not lead to more than the few recorded cases of deplorable but isolated crime. Bassi never thought of changing his manner of dress. To Garibaldi, on the contrary, it appeared that his power for good would be increased by his relinquishing the monastic garb. How he brought about this end without wounding Bassi's susceptibilities can be told in the latter's enthusiastic words—

Garibaldi, who holds me dearer than those who love me best could have dared hope (he says that I am sent to him by God to be a link of love between the soldiers and the people), Garibaldi, I say, suggested that I should be dressed like the staff officers in the red uniform, with some distinguishing sign to show that I am chaplain; for instance, the silver chain with the cross suspended to it, which is usually worn beneath the religious habit. Thus I should the better command the affectionate hearing of the men should occasion arise for me to correct them, or remind them of their duty—for they hold the black gown in aversion. I answered that I would willingly fulfil this or any other of his desires, his wishes being to me as much law and necessity as if they came from God and the country. Well, at the time of my sermon in the piazza, he sent to the house where I lodge a uniform of his own which he had twice worn; handsome and most precious. So next day I went forth dressed in Garibaldi's uniform! He wears no badge of generalship, such as gold lace, slashings, and other mockeries, but dresses like the rest of the officers, content with being Garibaldi; not that he says this or hints it, for his modesty is as great as his glory. We have been making real military marches over hill and dale and rugged steep for nearly two hundred miles. We have often slept under the sky, or out in the rain. About Italy I will not speak; shame makes me silent. Italy is here in our camp—Italy is Garibaldi and his followers.

The last sentence reads almost as a prophecy. This man, who had then his European career unmade before him, was for the space of twenty years to have waiting his bidding an army ready for victory, or defeat, or death; blindly loyal without hope of reward, uncomplainingly obedient without fear of punishment; an army which existed just by reason of the

one fact that its chief had the 'genius to be loved.' And if Garibaldi and his followers were not 'Italy'—if there were other minds than his and other swords than theirs which no less earned a title to the everlasting gratitude of the Italian people, still the further we move from the transactions of those twenty years, the more difficult does it become to see how, but for him and for them, Italy could have been raised from the company of nations that are dead.

The government of the French republic decided that the Roman republic must not be let to live. The Roman Assembly commented on the decision by a decree that 'force should be repelled by force.' Frenchmen were astonished at so much temerity, and yet more astonished were they when the world knew that on April 30th Oudinot had been routed by Garibaldi. The French made one prisoner—Bassi, who was seated with a dying man's head in his lap, during a momentary advance of the enemy, and who let himself be taken rather than quit his charge. Till then he had been seen everywhere—on horseback at first, and on foot after his horse was shot under him. The little horse, called by its rider, 'Ferina,' fell into a kneeling posture; Bassi quietly dismounted, and in distress at the loss of his favourite, he cut off a piece of its mane to preserve as a keepsake, bullets meanwhile whistling round him. When surrounded by the French, he surrendered only on receiving the officer's word that his wounded comrade would be attended to. The French soldiers recognized him as having ridden at the head of the victorious Romans, and treated him rudely; General Oudinot was himself more courteous, and next day he was sent into Rome bearing a letter to the government. He had promised to bring the answer back, which he did the same evening, having walked a good fifteen miles. The answer was a refusal to negotiate on the basis of the invader's entering the city 'as friends;' but the French admired Bassi's good faith in bringing it, and entertained him hospitably. Half the night he sat up talking to his hosts of his country, and in the morning he returned to Rome. 'Here I am, safe and sound,' he wrote, after narrating the adventure to his mother; 'Garibaldi has given me a horse ten times handsomer than my poor "Ferina." Now we are to the front, and we live like real soldiers. I am well. Adieu!'

Through the whole siege Bassi devoted all his energies to his cause. 'For our wounded,' writes Garibaldi, 'Ugo Bassi, young, handsome, and eloquent, was really the angel of death. He possessed at once the simplicity of a child, the faith

of a martyr, the knowledge of a scholar, and the calm courage of a hero.' It is remarkable that all who saw him at this time were struck by his look of youth, though he had passed the midway of life. A word may be said here of his personal appearance. Bassi had brown hair which fell in waves on his shoulders; his eyes were clear and calm, but capable of lighting up with extreme animation; his mouth most often wore a smile; his skin was fair and his figure well made and graceful. He rode exceptionally well, and perhaps to afford him an innocent gratification, Garibaldi gave his head chaplain the most fiery and spirited horses. When he rode in the midst of the battle, often dragging a wounded man into the saddle, and galloping with him out of fire, his hair flowing to the winds, the crucifix lying on his breast, never hit though in the hottest of the fight, he appeared to the soldiers as one more than mortal. Had the Roman republic conferred Victoria crosses, he would assuredly have been the first recipient. In default of such, a scudo was presented to whoever buried a shell that fell without bursting, and Bassi having performed the act, received the coin, of which he kept one bajocco (1d.) The circumstance was put on record under the great seal of the republic.

Bassi always went unarmed, but he acted on several occasions as orderly officer. Garibaldi remembers him saying, 'in his natural, ingenuous manner, and with a voice like an angel's, "I have one favour to ask of you; send me on the most dangerous errand."' He often told others how glad he should be 'to die for Garibaldi.' And the General said in his turn, 'That man saddens me; one can see that he is bent on getting killed.' As day by day he beheld the finest soldiers of the republic shot down, his heart, sensitive as a girl's, almost gave way for grief, though his habitual coolness never forsook him in the face of the enemy. After the engagement of June 30th, when Dr. Bertani stood in the sacristy of S. Maria della Scala before the bodies of the Lombard lion, Manara, and Garibaldi's faithful negro, he heard sobs intervening between the reverberations of the French shells; looking round, he saw that it was Bassi, weeping bitterly. Manara's body was taken to the church of S. Lorenzo; all his legion were there, even the wounded from the hospitals. Bassi delivered the funeral discourse.

This was the 2nd of July. The French flag hung on the castle of Sant' Angelo. Mindful of the trust they held in the stones of Rome, threatened and injured already by French bombardment, the Roman Assembly decreed the cessation of

a hopeless defence. The capitulation was signed, and on the 3rd the French were to make their entry. Garibaldi called his men together in the Place of the Vatican, and gave all who would have it, not the command, but the permission to follow him. They would have no pay, no rest, no rations: only bread and water when by chance they could find any. They might stay where they were if they did not like the terms. Four thousand foot and nine hundred horse elected to go. Ciceruacchio came forward with his sons; neither he nor they would wait to witness the fall of Rome. He knew the country round, and he offered his services as guide. So the devoted band left the city by the Via Tiburtina.

For a month Garibaldi eluded three armies — French, Austrian, and Neapolitan. When he had to give up his first plan of renewing the struggle in Tuscany, he made his way towards the republic of San Marino. The troops were engaged in some skirmishes in the vicinity of Arezzo, and in one of them Lorenzo Brunetti lost his life. Bassi had joined the retreating army at Tivoli; sorrow and exhaustion forced him to lag behind on the march, but he contrived each time to catch up the van. Arrived at the border of the little rock of freedom, Garibaldi was entreated by the Captain-Regent Belroppi to avoid exposing San Marino to the revenge of the Austrians. The petition was sent through Bassi. The General went to reply to it in person. He came, he said, as a refugee, and his men were prepared to lay down their arms. The position thus stated, the San Marinese authorities welcomed their illustrious though unbidden guest, in which welcome they showed a real magnanimity, if it be considered that the state was about to be hemmed round by an Austrian force largely outnumbering the population. During the night of July 31st Garibaldi and most of his officers escaped to the sea shore, to the unbounded chagrin of General Gorgowsky, who had made sure of their capture. Of the remaining Garibaldians a part dispersed in the mountains and the rest were taken prisoners.

Garibaldi hoped to place his sword at the disposal of the Venetian republic, which was still holding out. Thirteen fishing-smacks were on the shore at Cesenatico; in these he embarked with his officers. The chief called Bassi into the boat that carried himself, Anita, Ciceruacchio, and Luigi Brunetti. At starting the day was cloudless and the wind favourable to the little fleet, but as evening approached a gale from the north set in, making progress difficult. When Venice was sighted, several Austrian cruisers gave chase.

The goal might still have been reached had Garibaldi's orders been obeyed, but the fishermen lost their heads and made for the open sea. Sooner or later most of the boats were caught; four, including that which carried Garibaldi, ran ashore, driven before the wind, between the Punta della Maestra and the beginning of the pine forest of Ravenna. The Garibaldians landed, shook hands in silence, and separated.

Ciceruacchio and his son went into the great pine wood. They were never seen again by any of the companions with whom they parted on the beach. The fate which befel them was long a mystery. The Roman people would not believe their tribune dead; they were confident that he would come back to them. During the Crimean war there was a report that Ciceruacchio had been seen dealing out wine to the Sardinian soldiers. Only after the liberation of Venetia did evidence come to light which seemed to show conclusively that the father and the son, a boy of thirteen, with six other Garibaldians, one of whom was a Genoese priest, were shot without trial by order of an Austrian lieutenant named Rokavina, at Cà-Tiepoli, near Rovigo. The persons who gave this testimony pointed to the spot where the victims had been buried.

Garibaldi took a different road. He was supporting his dying wife, and had not even a drop of fresh water to quench her thirst. Bassi walked by his side, when of a sudden a thought struck him: 'I have red trousers,' he said (he had borrowed them from a soldier, his own being worn out), 'perhaps I shall compromise you; I will go and see if I can change them.' He went, and Garibaldi, crushed down as he was beneath the burden of misfortune, saw him go with indifference.

Close to the lagunes of Comacchio, Signor Bonnet, a proprietor friendly to the Garibaldians, had estates. Thither Bassi turned his steps, in company with Count Livraghi, a wounded officer, whom he had met after he had left Garibaldi. On the 4th of August they entered a hostelry near the town and asked where they could find Signor Bonnet. The people answered that he was gone on a few hours' journey. Two young countrymen said that the neighbourhood was swarming with Austrians and papal carabineers. They had a boat ready and they proposed to row the fugitives over the lagune to a place of greater safety. There comes a time in the chase when the hunted animal can do no more, not even for life's sake. Bassi told the youths to be without fear; his companion was weary and he likewise; for the present they

would lie down to sleep. He spoke so calmly that the countrymen thought they must have overrated the danger. While Bassi and Livraghi slept, a papal carabineer came to the hostelry, and hearing that there were two strangers, he had them roused, and took them before the governor of Comacchio. He had a notion that one might be Garibaldi. Bassi said, when questioned by the governor, 'I am guilty of no crime save that of being an Italian, as you are yourself. I have risked my life for Italy, and your duty is to do good to those who have suffered for her.' The governor would have been glad to let the prisoners go, but he dared not. He sent them therefore to an officer commanding the Croats, who sent them to an inn, the *Locanda della Luna*. They undressed and went to sleep again. Towards noon Signor Bonnet returned to Comacchio, and on learning what had happened, he hurried to the *Locanda della Luna* with the resolution to save the two Garibaldians at all costs. Five minutes earlier he might have succeeded; as things were, he was followed almost at once by twelve Croats in the leading of the carabineer who made the first arrest. Bassi and Livraghi were driven off to prison with bayonets pointed at their breasts.

The Austrians alleged afterwards that the prisoners were taken with arms in their hands. It is said that one of their officials admitted that the charge was fabricated, because without it Bassi, at least, could not have been shot. As a matter of fact, Livraghi had lost his arms, and Bassi never carried any. 'The only arms he possessed,' says Signor Bonnet, 'consisted in his breviary and a leather case containing the last cantos of his sacred poem, *'La Croce Vincitrice.'*

Bassi was in the prison of Comacchio for two days. He drew on the wall a picture of Christ on the cross, writing underneath: 'Ugo Bassi here suffered something, glad in spirit through the knowledge that he was innocent. Livraghi, a captain of Garibaldi, was present and shared in everything.'

On the third day the prisoners were chained and conveyed to Bologna in a cart under a guard of soldiers. There is a tradition that Garibaldi saw them passing through the *Pineta*. Along the way Bassi had to bear the scoffs and jeers of many—even of priests. Thus did the chances of fate lead him to die in the city he had ever looked upon as his beloved home: '*la mia cara patria,*' he was wont to call it, singling it out as in a more special and personal sense the land of his fathers. He was taken to Austrian head-quarters, where his sister obtained the grace of a short interview with him. He told her not to grieve, for that his earthly mission was at an

end. His aged mother, Felicita Bassi, was kept in merciful ignorance of her son's peril and of the closing scene. She lived yet a few months believing him to be in an Austrian fortress and hoping for his release.

Count Livraghi was a Lombard and had once served in the Austrian army. This was more than enough for the framers of the indictment. But against Bassi there was no case. Only the promptings of blind hate urged the Austrians to make him the scapegoat for all the damage that had been done them by Italian priests from the Pope Liberator downwards. Pius IX. was much affected when he heard of the monk's death, and he had good reason to be so.

The thing can hardly be called a judicial murder: there was so little that was judicial about it. Bassi was briefly examined by an auditor; then the sentence was drawn up. Still General Gorgowsky thought that as a priest was concerned it were as well to have his act approved by priests. Hence arose the most shocking incident of all. Twelve priests were fetched to countersign the death-warrant of their brother in Christ. Nine of these priests were Italians, and they signed. Three were Hungarians, military chaplains in the Austrian army. These three refused to take upon them the shedding of innocent blood.

On August the 8th the condemned men were led outside the gate of Sant' Isaia to a place where it was customary at that time to put criminals to death. Bassi tried to calm the indignation of his fellow-sufferer. Whatever words he was heard to speak were of peace and forgiveness. The grief and doubt and heart-sickness of defeat had passed him by, leaving the assurance by which he had been sustained through life, that, after all, 'God had promised to save Italy.' His own need was rest, and he was soon to have it. There was a great concourse of people and soldiers. By midday the place of execution was reached, and the firing party took up its position; but the young officer who was told off to give the word of command was too deeply moved to utter it. Another officer took his post. Bassi lifted his eyes in prayer towards the Monte della Guardia, where there is a sanctuary venerated by devout Catholics. Then he said, 'I am ready;' and in a moment he fell dead.

He was buried a few paces from where he fell. During the night unknown hands strewed the ground with flowers. Every night the same thing happened till the papal commissary had the body secretly dug up and laid in the cemetery of the Certosa, to which he could prevent access. He could not

prevent the feeling of horror evoked by the death of this patriot priest. Few executions have made an equal impression. People whispered strange stories. Some one said that when walking after dark he had seen the monk robed in white with a shining light about his head. The fantasies of southern imaginations wound round the facts of a simple and heroic life.

On the plain skirting the pine woods of Ravenna, where the last defenders of Rome wandered to death or exile, stands the vast church of S. Apollinaris in Classe. It is the only stone erect of what was once a populous city. The marsh water stagnates on a floor trodden by no congregation; but the church stands firm, bearing aloft in the wilderness the legend it has borne these thirteen centuries—*Sanguis martyris semen fidei*. The hunted Italians might have read a message of comfort in that inscription. Italy had been well sown; the fulness of time would bring the harvest.

In just ten years Garibaldi visited Ugo Bassi's grave—a grave honoured and cared for by a free people.

Angelo Brunetti had to wait a little longer for the freedom of his birth-land, but now he too lies amongst his liberated fellow-citizens. The writer can speak as an eye-witness of the home-taking of Ciceruacchio's dust. At Rovigo, October 10, 1879, an urn holding what was left of the Roman *popolano*, his son, and his companions, was placed in the train running from Venice to Rome. Soon after Rovigo the line leaves Venetia and cuts through an angle of the Romagna before entering Tuscany. At each town, once bound to Rome, people were gathered to wish God-speed to the convoy. There might have been 4000 men inside the station at Bologna; young men mostly, of the artizan class. It was noteworthy to see the forbearing gentleness of this crowd in the midst of its excitement—a woman could pass to and fro through the thick of it without having anything to fear. The flags and garlands were draped in crape, and as silence is the privilege of the dead, all was quiet except for the strains of a funeral march. Yet when the train moved off, the pent-up enthusiasm would break forth, and cheer after cheer followed us till we were out of hearing. We were in Rome early next morning. Under the charge of Menotti Garibaldi the urn was taken to a *chappelle ardente*, where also were deposited chests containing the remains of more than three hundred of those who at different dates had died for Rome. On the 12th six funeral cars left the Piazza dei Termini for the Janiculum. A long procession went before and after them—workmen's and ma-

sonic societies, ministers to the Crown, troops of the regular army, Garibaldian veterans, and a company of the orphan children of Italian soldiers. The latter wore their fathers' decorations; one young boy with the face of a child Raffaele, had his breast hidden by medals and crosses. Next to the biers walked two fair-haired little girls, and two women ill able to conceal their emotion; they were the surviving kindred of Angelo Brunetti. His name, or the name rather that had been given him, was the only one heard that day. Ciceruacchio had come back, and who should say that he was entirely dead? This was the thought uppermost in the minds of all.

The masses in the streets and public places defied counting, and everywhere the conduct of the people was 'dignified and imposing:' words which described it in 'The Times' telegram, but which from their aptness will bear repeating. After many hours of a slow, triumphal progress the procession wound up the Janiculan Hill to the terrace opposite S. Pietro in Montorio. Below the terrace lies every foot of the city; beyond the city, the campagna; beyond the campagna, the mountains. Here the dead were committed to the earth while the living multitude stood round in the freedom and sunshine of Rome.

EVELYN CARRINGTON.

ART. III.—*The Lord's Supper Historically Considered.*

- (1) *A Christian Peace-offering, being an Endeavour to abate the Asperities of the Controversy between the Roman and English Catholic Churches.* By the Hon. ARTHUR PHILIP PERCEVAL. London, 1829.
- (2) *Tracts for the Times.* By Members of the University of Oxford 1833–1837. Especially Tract 81, or *Catena Patrum*, No. IV. (Testimony of Writers of the Later English Church to the Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, with an Historical Account of the Changes made in the Liturgy as to the Expression of that Doctrine).
- (3) *The Eucharist, its History, Doctrine, and Practice, &c.* By W. J. E. BENNETT. London. First Edition, 1837. Second Edition, 1846.
- (4) *Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude.* Four Vols. London, 1838, 1839.
- (5) *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE. London, 1853.
- (6) *The Real Presence.* By GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON. London. First Edition, 1853. Third Edition, 1855.

- (7) *The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Doctrine of the English Church, with a Vindication of the Reception by the Wicked, and of the Adoration of our Lord Jesus Christ, truly Present.* By EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY. Oxford, 1857.
- (8) *The Doctrine of the Priesthood.* London, 1857. *The One Offering.* (Several Editions.) And, *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, Drawn from Scripture and the Records of the Church. A Letter to his Parishioners.* London, 1867. All by THOMAS THELUSSON CARTER.
- (9) *History of My Religious Opinions.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN. London, 1870.
- (10) *Notes of My Life.* By GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON. London. First and Second Editions, 1878.

IN an article in the last number of this Review the question was started as to the purport of the Lord's Supper, and it was proposed to apply the *criteria* of history to facilitate the inquiry whether the great Christian feast was a sacrifice, a communion, or a memorial. The course pursued was as follows. Having premised some important general principles suggested by historical research, and of peculiar utility in a dispassionate and hopeful investigation into the great sacramentarian controversies, the attempt was made to photograph the several phases of the long and vehement struggle to give intellectual expression to the doctrine of the Holy Communion. Nor did rapidity of survey preclude some degree of accuracy. The intense realism of the Apostolic Fathers was sketched, the primitive doctrinal contributions of the leading Fathers of the second century were outlined, the growth of the Tridentine dogma was traced from the early aberrations of Cyprian and his successors on to the deplorable tractate of Radbert, to the warm controversialists of the ninth and tenth centuries, and to the appalling decree of the Fourth Lateran Council; and, finally, the eager and embittered antagonisms of the Reformation were described, which gave birth in due time to the theoretical statements of that master in experience and culture, in Scripture and its harmonious presentments—John Calvin. With Calvin, as we said, the creative stage in the apprehension of the doctrine of the Supper came to an end, and the assimilative stage commenced. The publication of the '*Institutio Christiana*' gave the final lead to the formulation of the doctrine with which we are concerned. All that was thenceforth left to subsequent thinkers for many generations was, to use the phraseology of Leibnitz, to present with more *distinctness* what Calvin had *clearly* seized;

unless, indeed, they repeated or modified some previous phase of the doctrinal development.

It is now proposed to continue the examination, and, after comparing the doctrine of Calvin with the other formulas extant, and tracing its history in the several Protestant Churches, to throw the light thus gained upon the raging Anglican dispute. So unusual a mode of illumination may well bring out into sharp relief a few obscure or overlooked features of the controversy. From the days, then, of the Reformers the doctrine of the Supper existed in four definitely contrasted forms, commonly known by the names of the Tridentine, the Reformed, the Lutheran, and the Zwinglian. These diverse solutions may be conveniently characterized by bearing in mind the three fundamental questions originated by the scriptural narratives of institution; firstly, as to the nature of the rite; secondly, as to the nature of the benefit received; thirdly, as to the manner in which the rite produces the benefit. According to the Tridentine view, the rite consists in an actual transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the benefit received is a mystical but actual participation in the body and blood of Christ thus transformed (or in the whole Christ, as it is otherwise expressed, thus made present), whereas the rite produces the benefit in a purely mechanical manner so to speak, since to partake of the bread and wine is to partake of Christ, quite irrespective of mental state. For all practical purposes the Lutheran doctrine is similar, the rite being a mysterious unification or association of the elements and the Lord Jesus, the benefit received being a participation in the combination of substance thus resulting; the rite, therefore, producing the benefit in a perfectly natural manner, again quite irrespective of the spiritual state, as many Lutherans openly avow, although a few hesitate to carry their opinions to their logical conclusions. In these two forms of the doctrine, let it be noted, the theological problem at issue is really solved when the nature of the rite is solved. The Zwinglian doctrine strays by a parallel restriction of view to but one aspect of the complex problem. According to the view of Zwingli, the nature of the rite is a purely symbolic representation, namely, a representation of the body and blood of Jesus under the figures of bread and wine, whence the two further consequences immediately follow that, on the one hand, the nature of the benefit received is whatever spiritual results follow a quickening of memory concerning the atoning death of Christ, and, on the other hand, the rite produces the

benefit in a manner perfectly simple and intelligible, the act of reminiscence naturally producing the benefits accruing from reminiscence. All the three views stated err by limitation of vision. The Romanist solves all the difficulties inherent in our Lord's words of institution by taking one fatal gulp of credulity, and by the supposition of an initial transubstantiation insures, he thinks, the one fact for which he feels himself bound to contend—the real presence of Christ in the sacred ceremony. The Lutheran likewise, with a keen sense for the same great fact, posits a stupendous alliance of the substance of the risen Christ with the substance of the bread and wine, and rests content. Yet, again, the Zwinglian, with an insurmountable objection to so immense a leap of credulity, and with a strong feeling for the symbolism of Scripture, assumes nothing but the symbolic nature of the sacramental elements, and thus puts his intellect to repose. The Reformed doctrine is the true *via media*. It retains all the elements of truth which these several views contain, and at the same time neither places so insuperable a stumbling-block in the way as a theory of mysterious transmutation or mysterious association, nor levels the rough places of the doctrine by a theory of simple symbolism. Calvin formulated a doctrine of the real presence of Christ in His own memorial feast without asserting any transmutation of elements or addition thereto, and he formulated a doctrine of symbolism without denying an extra-symbolic significance. To Calvin—to repeat the result of our previous analysis—the nature of the rite was a symbolic representation of the body and blood of Christ under the figure of bread and wine, there being nothing in the bread and wine but bread and wine—the nature of the benefit received was a communion with the risen Redeemer Himself, the elements employed being the means of bringing the real presence into the souls of men, and the benefit being more than a mere recalling to mind of ideas of Christ and His work formerly conceived—whilst the rite wrought the benefit by the agency of the spiritual presence of the glorified Saviour in the hearts of His believing children; an agency, indeed, scarcely to be better described than by the much misused phrase of 'the real presence of Christ,' a phrase which it is high time to employ, as we have already done several times, in the Evangelical interest. Heresy has as little right to the best phrases as the devil to the best tunes.

A very little thought must render manifest the tremendous superiority of this conception of Calvin's to any of its predecessors. For example, it does not ignore any of the conditions of

the problem presented by the scriptural narratives. This can scarcely be alleged concerning any other form of the doctrine extant. Rome denies *in toto* the symbolism Zwingli sees in the service, and thus denies *in toto* that figurative reference which all the laws of language hint at, and which the whole connection with the Jewish Passover and the Mosaic ritual substantiates. For sheer consistency, indeed, Romish theologians are compelled to deny the symbolic reference of the sacrifices of the Old Covenant and merely find therein types of the Mass, as may be seen exemplified in Thalhofer's essay upon the Bloodless Sacrifices of Mosaism. Even the Lutheran view, with its tendency to inconsistent compromise, seems logically to give rise to the same negation of symbolism. Conversely, Zwingli errs by minimizing the amazing significance of those parts of the gospel narratives, and especially of the Pauline narrative, which manifestly imply a real presence of some kind of the risen Saviour. Again, Calvin's theory not only contains the whole truth of the scriptural narratives, but nothing but that truth. There are no extraneous additions. The theory is a congruous and rational summary of what the New Testament states, and of nothing but what the New Testament states, thus answering most accurately to the conditions of a true theory. It puts into consistent and orderly language the data provided by Scripture. It elucidates by exclusion, it co-ordinates by analysis, it explains by expression, it filiates by arrangement. Further, the doctrine of Calvin does not violate, as do the two metabolic views, the well-known and the commonly acknowledged canon as to the multiplication of miracles. It shows that all the necessities of the case can be fully met without any such staggering demand upon faith as is made both by the Romanist and the Lutheran. Yet again, as has been previously said, Calvin's formula preserves all those good points which endow the alternative doctrines with vitality, for to it the elements are bread and wine, and nothing but bread and wine, and to it the benefits are due to Christ, and to none but Christ. Lastly, so completely does the Calvinist statement answer all the conditions of the investigation, that no sooner is this reply apprehended than it seems to be nothing new. It apparently repeats in slightly different language what all the ages have been struggling to express; and not only does Calvin appear to give adequate expression and intellectual form to the unvoiced reflections of the illiterate but pious, and the unreasoning but saintly, but he seems to be repeating, in the language of his time, what thinkers like Irenæus and Ter-

tullian, Origen and Basil, Athanasius and Augustine, Chrysostom and Bede, Berengar and Ratramnus, Wiclif and Huss, have been ever saying before him, and to be putting the finishing touches of lucidity to everything worthy that has emanated from the great men of the past, who were at once profound and good, acute and single-minded, many-sided and spiritual. To be brief, the doctrine first clearly stated by Calvin is at once scriptural, consistent, reasonable, and complete.

Nevertheless, there is one standing argument against the adequacy of Calvin's doctrine of the Supper—it has not been universally received. Nor shall the force of this objection be in any degree depreciated. Rather would we augment its force by all the emphasis we can command. It is beyond a question that Calvin's view has not met with a universal reception. But the reasons are not far to seek. History affords a very clear reply why this interpretation of the scriptural narratives has not become paramount, and truths of greater value can scarcely be found than are connected with the history of the fact why a doctrine so reasonable has not become everywhere victorious. Survivals in doctrine as well as in physical organization are eminently enlightening.

Let the exact point, to which attention is now directed, be restated. The point is this. Side by side with Calvin's view of the Supper, every form of the doctrine extant in his days still exists. The question, therefore, is, whether this non-recognition is due to the doctrine itself and the form of its presentation, or whether a satisfactory explanation of this non-success is afforded by the history of the last three centuries. The question is one of considerable interest. It opens up the whole history of the sacramental doctrine in the Protestant Churches, and in fact presents that history abridged.

That the Tridentine dogma survives all the determined and well-accounted assaults made thereon goes without saying. Transubstantiation stands or falls with the Church of Rome. Of this the canons appended to the decree made at the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent, denouncing anathema upon any who disbelieve the minutest peculiarities of the Papist doctrine, are sufficient evidence. Rome does not acknowledge the distinctions between revelation and theology, faith and doctrine, to which allusion has been previously made, as the express declarations of historical research. Just as the self-styled Catholic Church, without whose borders there is no salvation, abjures the possibility of error in the

conciliar formulation of doctrine, so Rome abjures the possibility of progress in the intellectual apprehension of doctrine when once formulated. In a doctrine once formulated there is no room for aught but faith. Rome distinctly founds her demand to be believed not upon the scripturalness or the rationality of her creed, but upon its ecclesiastical authority. When Rome asserts, belief is imperative. Hermes, it is true, a Romish theologian, based the credibility of papal theology upon a form of rational proof, but with this result—Hermesianism was banned by the Pope. The fundamental dogma of Rome is that whatever she teaches must be true, whether or not it be cognizable as true. Rome, then, being infallible in doctrine because she says she is, there is no opportunity left for further adjustment, proof, or persuasion when once a doctrine has been declared *ex cathedrâ*. However unscriptural, however repugnant to sanctified thought or practice, the doctrine, be it that of transubstantiation, must remain as long as Rome remains.

But however explicable the persistence of the Tridentine doctrine, it is at first sight somewhat perplexing, it must be confessed, that some tolerable unanimity has not been arrived at amongst the great Protestant Churches. All these Churches professedly base their doctrine of the Supper upon the Scriptures and the Scriptures only; all these Churches declare their theologies to be nothing but the consistent expression in the terms of the intellect of what the Gospels and the Epistles present in the terms of narrative and exhortation; and yet there certainly exists a lamentable diversity of opinion. If Calvin's view is not merely a consistent and reasonable, but the only consistent and reasonable translation of Scripture, how is it that it has not become the ruling teaching? There is a catholic doctrine of the Trinity, how is it that there is not a catholic doctrine of the much simpler matter of the Supper? The history of the Churches which sprang from the Reformation affords a precise reply.

Thus history definitely declares that there has always been a tendency towards Calvin's view when the currents of religious life have been full and deep. As surely as history shows that the Protestant Churches have always been agreed in their steadfast and unwavering opposition to the Romish dogma, it also shows to demonstration that an increase of Christian vitality has always been accompanied by an approximation to Calvin's interpretation of the Supper. Days of more open vision have been days of the preponderant adherence to the more spiritual estimate of the great Chris-

tian feast. So true, for example, were the religious instincts of the Reformers themselves, that not only was there a time when both Luther and Zwingli harmonized in doctrine, but, at the hour when their strife raged most fiercely, it is difficult to repress a suspicion that the passionate quarrel was mere logomachy and misunderstanding. Indeed, to judge from the casual and least controversial statements of these two giants in combat, it might not be unintelligibly and too recklessly asserted that Luther was no Lutheran, nor was Zwingli a Zwinglian. To the last Luther shrank from the logical consequences of his own views, and forbade the ritual of the adoration of the elements, which was but the immediate consequence of his idea of the Saviour's presence. So, too, it is needless to do more than mention, in this connection, how the Churches of Scotland, Geneva, and the Netherlands—the warmth of their sentiments rendering their spiritual apprehension vivid—accepted Calvin's estimate of the Supper, formulating it in their confessions, and advocating it in their catechisms. It is true that neither Knox, nor Cranmer, nor Guido de Brès, nor the Westminster divines, nor the Hungarian reformers, as may be said without detriment to their other exceptional endowments, had either the lucidity or the system of the calmer intellect of Calvin, and that therefore both confessions and catechisms fall short of the precision of the 'Institutes;' notwithstanding, in all kinds of difficulty, the 'Institutes' remained the great well of that theology which had its source in the Scriptures, and tendencies to contamination were speedily neutralized by recurrence to that source. Moreover, is not the Book of Common Prayer a witness in point? Was not the compromise which tolerated its numerous contradictions the result of the half-heartedness and indifferent fervour of the English Reformation? And a similar testimony is borne by the later history of Protestantism. In the great scholastic age of the Lutheran Church, before the spell of rationalism had woven itself around the earnestness and conviction of the German nation, and when the teaching of its mighty founder was revivifying the popular life, filling the lands with schools, forming the strongest possible basis for religious life and hope, and giving to a large band of theologians that regenerative experience which it was their task to translate into logical form and carry to ultimate conclusions—in those palmiest days of the orthodox schools of Wittenberg, Tübingen, Strasburg, Greifswald, Dantzic, Lubeck, and Hamburg, and of the orthodox teaching of a Gerhard, a Hunn, a Calov, a Quenstedt, a Gerlach, a Reuchlin, a

Mosheim, and the two Osianders—instances many might be adduced, from exact professorial prælections, as well as from rhetorical pulpit address, of this predisposition towards the Calvinist conception. Certainly, when Hollatius was accused of Calvinizing the 'Formula of Concord' by his notion of the *Unio Sacramentalis*, his one defence was the common acceptance and inculcation of the Reformed tenet. Even Quenstedt himself is less Lutheran than Genevan as regards the Eucharist. In the intervals of the doctrinal decomposition of the eighteenth century, again, men like Spener and Zinzendorf afforded additional though solitary examples of the point we are illustrating. Besides, was it not abundantly evident in the great English revival of the last century, how Whitefield and Wesley, and their followers by their means, took new delight in the Lord's Supper, laying great store by the fact of the Saviour's presence in the heart of the believing communicants? But we pause, although instances might be almost indefinitely augmented from the more remote fields of historical inquiry. Is it wonderful that he who consciously communes with Christ in the noisy ways of common life should also consciously commune with Him in the placid hour of the remembrance of His great sacrifice?

But the history of the Protestant Churches also makes it indubitable that, even when the tides of spiritual feeling have been flowing, the several distinctive confessions, at once monuments to be revered and standards to be obeyed, have been the great, the irremovable hindrance to the coalescence of Churches and the approximation of doctrine. Would that Melancthon and Calvin could but have forecast the lamentable influence of the creeds they made authoritative as well as formulated! The early articles of Protestantism have checked inquiry and prevented union. A little illustration of the latter point, capable though it is of endless enlargement, must suffice. Very brief was the duration of the fraternity between the two great divisions of Protestantism which was typified when at Marburg Luther gave the right hand of fellowship to Zwingli, in 1529. Yet so pleasant was the remembrance of that short-lived catholicity, that attempts have been made again and again in later times to restore the early union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, as at the conferences held at Leipzig, Thorn, and Cassel. In every case the confessions of faith have proved themselves too rigid to be amended and too venerable to be contemned. Even the sceptical eighteenth century, with its desire to regard all creeds as antiquated, had not temerity enough to

demolish these boundaries of the past, and, notwithstanding that conference after conference was held to endeavour to unite the two Evangelical Churches of the land, not Ursinus nor Winkler, Jablonski nor Leibnitz, Lutken nor Turretin, was man enough to 'pull down the crows' nests,' to use Knox's phrase. So persistent a man as Frederick the Great confessed his inability, strong as was his desire, to remove these verbal barriers. Nor have the several attempts of the nineteenth century met with a better fate. The confessions have been the missiles before which such ardent workers for union as Sach and Schleiermacher have first grown weary and then withdrawn from the siege. How easy it would be to draw parallel examples from our own lands we do not delay to show, resting satisfied with the conclusive evidence afforded by continental efforts at union in belief or in practice, removed as they are from party feeling and sectarian jealousies. The fact is that, while no one has so acute a sense of the utility of creeds as the historical inquirer, no one has so inalienable a conviction of their danger. Useful as landmarks, they are seen to be deceitful as refuges: They are the medals of thought, but they must not be its moulds. When placed to regulate the flow of the stream of sanctified intellect, there is a momentous peril lest they act as dams. It is not the conflicts of opposing schools, themselves aids to advance, which the student of history learns to dread, but it is that abrogation of conflict, which is equivalent to the formulation of an authoritative confession. Even when the creed is true to its minutest detail, it is seen to be perilous to make it universally binding, for language changes and souls expand, and so magnificent a testimony to orthodoxy as the Athanasian defence of the Trinity, the admiration of the theologian and the guide of the novice, becomes in the lapse of time perplexing, if not ridiculous, to the majority, a stumbling-block and not a stepping-stone even to the literate and reverential, only to be understood after a laborious reconstruction in the light of the age of its composition. If science has made her magnificent conquests during the last fifty years, it has not been because its votaries have successively declared their results to be final, and to be believed under tremendous penalties, but by the gradual evolution of truth from the unfettered researches of the advocates of opposing theories. Had Hutton endowed a college upon the express condition that it should teach in perpetuity no geological doctrine but that associated with his name, he would have doomed all his beneficiaries to childish ignorance and

obsolete error—to say nothing of endangering morality by unreal subscription—and would have irretrievably arrested the progress of the science he loved so well. Has the influence upon theological science of the several distinctive confessions and articles been any less disastrous? At any rate, in the matter of the Lord's Supper, history gives sufficient countenance to the assertion that, were the bondage of standards removed, there would be practical unanimity on the basis of Calvin's doctrine, when the current of spiritual life ran deeply.

If, these hampering restrictions removed, the unanimity was not complete, it would arise from a third fact accentuated by the history of the Church. History also teaches that, as the tides of holy feeling have ebbed, there has always been a gravitation to a less spiritual view and a recurrence to the Zwinglian conception, or even to the Socinian, which is less spiritual still, the Supper being simply 'a club supper,' as the author of 'Ecce Homo' puts it, a breaking and eating of bread in company, with silent remembrance of the Founder of the feast. That perception of the presence of the risen Lord, that 'discerning of the Lord's body,' so hallowing, so reassuring, so stimulating to the believer, can only be attained at a certain altitude of spiritual life. Lower levels are much more easy and frequent. Hence the gravitation to the Zwinglian view, which makes no further demand upon the spirit than the recognition of the emblematical nature of the bread and wine. Nor must we forget the force of recoil from views like the Romanist and Lutheran. From sheer repugnance to the idea of any change in the elements many have swung to the opposite error, and have by preference come to regard the Lord's Supper as a simple act of memorial, which brings Christ to our minds precisely as a portrait may recall the dead. Rather than believe that their omnipotent Lord comes and goes at the words of a priest, they believe that He neither comes nor goes. Add to these two reasons the prevalence of teaching which has failed to indicate, because it has failed to perceive, the blessed fact of a communion with the present Master of the feast, more real because more comprehended than in the hour of its first institution, and the frequent recurrence and the widespread acceptance of the Zwinglian type of doctrines becomes explicable. Those who cannot see the Lord with the spirit can intellectually remember Him. It is such considerations—the force of recoil, inadequate teaching, the lack of deep religiousness, the absence of desire for close fellowship with Christ—which clear up the frequent

inculcation during the history of the Protestant Church of so eviscerated a doctrine as the Zwinglian. Instances in proof we have no space to quote, but refer to Dr. Hebert's work, which is rather weak, however, in the Protestant ages, and to the works of Kahnis and Luthardt already quoted, which might be so largely supplemented from English writers; for it was certainly the Zwinglian doctrine which was the preponderant one amongst us in the last and in the early decades of this century. The *seculum rationalisticum* was scarcely a time for the raising of the ancient watchword, 'The Ubiquity of Christ, the Ubiquity of Christ.'

Such, then, was the history of the doctrine of the Supper—a history first of formulation and then of assimilation—until the rise of the Tractarian movement, which, amongst other results, originated as bitter a sacramentarian controversy as the past had witnessed. Nor was this controversy confined to the study, the college, or the clique. From the mode adopted for its initiation it has penetrated the press, the pulpit, and the popular assembly. Newman had the conviction, he tells us, that 'living movements do not come of committees, nor are great ideas worked out through the post, even though it had been the penny post.' With the aim, therefore, as another of its leaders has expressed it, of 'attracting the attention of the well-educated, without affecting the dryness or the depth of theological learning,' the Oxford movement was started by the publication of a series of twopenny tracts, and it has been maintained by a wholesale resort to printed sermons, letters in newspapers, and brief pamphlets. Thus it happens that, although few treatises of first-rate importance have emanated from this Anglican school, page after page in the British Museum catalogue has to be devoted to the fleeting productions associated with the names of Mr. Bennett, Archdeacon Denison, Canon Carter, Professor Pusey, and Bishop Wilberforce. By such means England has been stirred to its core by a conflict as severe as disruptive.

The day has gone by for speaking in the language of 'The Edinburgh Review' of the 'Oxford malignants,' and the 'Oxford conspirators.' Now that the first angry passions have subsided, it is possible to estimate with some justice the claims of the Tractarian party to respect. Assuredly, the ecclesiastical movement associated with such men as John Keble, John Henry Newman, Richard Hurrell Froude, Arthur Philip Perceval, and Hugh Rose, was no unmixed evil. 'Flagrant evils,' one of them has said, 'cure themselves by being flagrant.' At least the movement had the merit of a

lofty aim and a devoted purpose. At least it must be cordially recognized that Newman and his friends at Oriel were actuated by a magnanimous, if a misdirected, desire for the good of the Church to which they belonged. So far also as the movement was a recoil from the icy deadness or the boneless sentimentality bequeathed by the previous century, it was of some advantage to religion. Alas! Keble had only too much reason to lament 'the Socinian leaven;' Froude to bewail 'the current Rationalism;' and Newman to decry 'what we used to call Erastianism.' Hence the soul of good in things evil which has proved so awakening to the English Establishment, so evocative of some of the least natural graces, so productive of spiritual energy. In the third decade of this century the Establishment had become eminently one-sided; even the God-sent Methodist revival, which had kindled a new life in the several Nonconformist bodies, had become distorted into a most astonishing compound of largeness in word and limitation in heart. 'There was need of a second Reformation,' as Newman expressed it; it was high time that some revulsion should take place, be it even a reinstatement of a little truth and much error. In certain neglected phrases of the English formularies a hopeful germ was seen as of some depurative Eucalyptus.

Taking their stand, for example, upon certain phrases in the Communion Service and the Catechism, the Tractarians promulgated a very different doctrine of the Lord's Supper to that Zwinglian doctrine which was uppermost in their day. Of course, the Book of Common Prayer, born as it was in compromise, lent itself to their purpose. "Two can play at that," was often in my mouth,' Newman confesses, 'when men of Protestant sentiments appealed to the Articles, Homilies, or Reformers; in the sense that, if they had a right to speak loud, I had the liberty to speak as well as they, and had the means by the same or parallel appeals to give them tit for tat.' Well may the royal declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, state that his Majesty of England took comfort, because 'men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of England to be for them.' It was no difficult task, therefore, that the Tractarian party set itself when it determined to formulate, on the basis of the Book of Common Prayer, a new doctrine of the Lord's Supper, or, rather, as they fondly imagined, to resuscitate the ancient doctrine of the Bible, the Fathers, and the great Anglican divines.

What, then, is the eucharistic doctrine of the Tractarians? Is it 'one and indivisible,' to adopt the phrase of one of the

school? Can we truly speak of a single Tractarian doctrine of the Lord's Supper? A minute examination of their assertions makes a considerable unanimity of teaching manifest. They all advocate the real presence of Christ in the Supper. They all declare that presence to be in the bread and wine. They all attribute that presence in the elements to the act of consecration; as the words of the famous Protest of 1856 has it: 'Christ is present after consecration and before communicating.' They all assert the validity of consecration to depend upon the apostolical succession. It is their common opinion that participation is the great means of being justified. They are agreed in maintaining what Archdeacon Denison has called 'the great test of the right understanding of the Real Presence,' viz., that 'the wicked do in the sacrament not only take, but eat and drink unworthily to their own condemnation, the body and blood of Christ, which they do not discern.' They are also agreed in maintaining that Christ being present in the consecrated elements, there should be an adoration of them, or of the Christ in them, to take such forms as the seclusion of the chancel, the decoration of the altar, the elevation of the elements, the adornment and the attitudinization of the officiating priests, the eastward position. Upon the question as to the exact nature of what is technically called the *unio sacramentalis*, they widely differ, although most are content to speak of a mysterious union of Christ with the elements not to be further defined. Extracts innumerable might be cited in proof of this unanimity and difference. Let one collateral testimony suffice. In the famous Ditcher case, when the Archbishop of Canterbury decided against the Archdeacon of Taunton, a letter of protest was immediately published, containing, amongst other signatures, those of Bennett of Frome, Carter of Clewer, John Keble, and Edward Bouverie Pusey, expressly declaring their agreement—and their belief of the agreement of the English Articles, Liturgy, and great divines—with the several points mentioned above. This protest, which we should like to quote as a whole, has been snatched from the oblivion of the newspaper, and reprinted in Denison's 'Notes of my Life.'

It is manifest, therefore, that the Tractarian doctrine is not the Tridentine, but the Lutheran, carried, however, to logical conclusions, such as adoration, from which Luther and Melancthon shrank, and with additions, such as sacramental justification and priestly consecration, which Luther, true in instinct if false in logic, could never bring himself to make.

The Tractarians, too, are unanimous in denying that they teach the Romish doctrine, and justly so, seeing that they unanimously deny, what no adherent to the Articles could believe, the dogma of transubstantiation. They would sympathize with the sentiments, if not with the language, of Froude when he designates Roman Catholics 'wretched Tridentines,' and speaks of Trent as 'the atrocious council.' To classify the Tractarian doctrine exactly: it holds the Lutheran view of the association of Christ with the bread and wine, and the Tridentine view of the priest who effects the association. And here a lucid series of contrasts from a German writer may be translated and inserted, who says—

As the Evangelical Churches lay down two main principles, justification by faith alone, and the sole authority of Holy Writ, so there are two leading principles in Tractarianism, *justification by the sacraments alone, and the sole authority of the Church.* In the Evangelical Churches the supreme importance is attached to the subjective grasp of the objective salvation by means of faith; in Tractarianism, the supreme importance is attached to the objective communication of salvation by means of the sacraments. In the former case, the assurance of salvation rests upon the inward testimony of the Spirit; in the latter upon the external witness of the Church as to the due administration of the sacraments. There, the seal is the Holy Ghost, here, the apostolical succession.

By way of criticism of this new theory—for it is new whatever its advocates may say, and as a whole finds no parallel, to say nothing of support, in the numerous extracts from Anglican divines given in Tract LXXXI.—our purpose will be served by stating a few corollaries upon the line of inquiry we have been pursuing.

In the first place, the Tractarian theory embodies features which are non-scriptural. As compared with the New Testament it errs in a double respect. The theory contains what is not in the Scriptures, and the Scriptures contain what is not in the theory. On the one hand, that is to say, the doctrinal generalization presented is not, nor does it profess to be, a generalization from none but scriptural data. The Scripture narratives afford no countenance whatever to the prominence accorded to consecration, to the priestly assumptions made, to the tenet of justification by communicating. For the arrogant assumption of a priestly caste—the lineal descendants of the Apostles, endowed with the stupendous ability to compel the presence of an absent Redeemer—where is there a single vestige of authority in the New Testament? The Apostles claimed no such pre-eminent position. According to the New Testament, bold entrance into the Holiest is

the prerogative of the whole brotherhood in Christ, and Peter does not hesitate to call the converted Jews of the dispersion 'a holy priesthood.' As for the tenet of sacramental justification, it belies the entire current of the Gospels and Epistles. In this connection, it is noteworthy that two of the leading exponents of the Tractarian view, Mr. Bennett and Mr. Carter, both profess to give, in a reasoned exposition, scriptural grounds for the doctrine they avow. But what are these Scripture grounds? Mr. Bennett, be it noted, rests content with giving a harmony of the relative narratives of the Gospels, and of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and says not one word by way of showing how these narratives involve the Tractarian theory. As for Mr. Carter, who, in his letter to his parishioners, pretends to give the scriptural authorities for the faith that is in him, he uses words which any Calvinist might employ. We quote the *ipsissima verba* of the summary he gives of his conclusions from Scripture. 'Looking, then,' he says, 'at what we can gather out of the Scriptures, it appears that the Holy Eucharist is not a mere remembrance of One who once died for us, not a mere sign of One absent from us; but that the outward and visible signs veil the very presence of the Lord—that we are to contemplate in the sacrament not merely the visible creatures of bread and wine, but a presence of Christ brought near to us, most profoundly invisible and inconceivable, most ineffably heavenly and spiritual, but yet a presence of our Lord in His very body and His very blood, alive and life-giving, divinely real, divinely saving to all those who are duly prepared to receive Him.' But what has all this to do with the presence of Christ in and with the elements, with the adoration of the elements, with the potent priestly consecration, with justification by participating? With the exception of a single phrase, the same language might be employed by any adherent to Calvin's view; and as for that phrase, 'the outward and visible signs veil the presence of the Lord,' it has been slipped in without calling previous attention to any scriptural authority for it. Besides, the theory omits one great scriptural feature of the Supper, its connection with the Jewish ritual: any doctrine of consubstantiation ignores the entire teaching of Scripture as to how rites become spiritually useful, the entire teaching as to how, to use the technical terms, symbols become sacraments. Until Tractarians themselves advance more reliable and cogent scriptural authority for their doctrine, it is not irrational to assert their inability so to do.

Secondly, the Tractarian theory has no support in the early Christian centuries. Anglicans of all schools are ever appealing to what they call the *catholic* doctrine of the Eucharist. There is no catholic doctrine. There is no doctrine which fulfils the requirements of the oft-quoted canon of Vincentius of Lerins, 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.' And this doctrine is very far removed from being catholic. There is no single writer in the first four centuries concerning whom it may be asserted with truth that the Tractarian theory summarizes and does nothing but summarize the direct and indirect testimony he bears to this sacred ordinance. It is not said that individual points of the Anglican doctrine do not find some recognition in that primitive age, and that there are not some phrases to be found which argue a real presence of Christ of some kind, and which favour some species of metabolism; but it is distinctly alleged that neither the peculiar features of the view in question, nor any sentiments which imply that view, are to be discovered from Polycarp to Augustine. Not all the excerpts of Dr. Pusey and his numerous followers in the same field, who have ransacked the early Fathers with eyes for one class of facts, it must be confessed, and no eyes for facts of an opposite class, have succeeded in demonstrating the existence of the characteristics of the view they maintain, which briefly stated are (1) a presence of Christ in the elements; (2) of a saving nature; (3) effected by a priesthood lineally descended by episcopal ordination from the Apostles. After the analysis of the historical course of the doctrine previously sketched, it is needless to reiterate the results there stated. Let one test be applied. Let any reader compare a ritualistic celebration of the Eucharist with Justin Martyr's description of the early ceremonial employed, and some slight sense will be acquired of the immeasurable distance which separates Oxford from Flavia Neapolis. 'Whose are the Fathers?' many have asked, and will ask again, with varying and partial replies, until the patristic records are approached in the true spirit of historical research.

And this brings us, in the third place, to the objection that this Anglican theory ignores the instructive testimony of history. And it does so in two ways: it refuses to see the practical effects of the priestly assumptions it fosters, and it fails to observe the historical course of theological development. Theories may be not unfairly judged by their practical effects; and thus regarded, the priestly view has not been for the general advance of a manly and strong piety. It is not, of

course, meant that here and there conspicuous instances have not appeared of unaffected godliness, eminent charity, and saintly devotion; indeed, the very trampling upon reason which the initial difficulty of exclusive priestly power demands, the childlike submissiveness to authority, the patient crucifixion of the intellect as well as the flesh, are as calculated to produce in exalted minds a profound humility as to produce a thoughtless superstition in weaker natures; nevertheless, broadly regarded, the predominance of an exceptionally revered ecclesiastical order has not approved itself advantageous either to political liberty or spiritual advance. It was in the days before the separation into such religious classes that the zeal, the learning, and the faith of the Church burnt brightest; it was of those days only that the words of Newman express sober and welcome truth when he speaks of 'the self-conquest of her ascetics, the patience of her martyrs, the irresistible determination of her bishops, the joyous swing of her advance.' It was in the centuries when the see of Rome was steadily carving its way to the supreme power, by diplomacy, by set purpose, by admirable discipline, and by the potent weapon of excommunication, that the moral baseness of the fifteenth century was bred in its midst. It was incipient rebellion against this tyranny of ecclesiastics in school and church, in home and state, which fanned the embers of Greek lore into the Renaissance; and if Britain and America are the homes of liberty, prosperity, commerce, and research, as no Roman Catholic country can pretend to be in any similar sense, how large a measure of these privileges has been due to the popular disbelief in the exceptional power arrogated in the consecration of the eucharistic elements, the corollary of which is the exceptional position of the priest? On the one hand, then, history has its definite testimony to bear to the expansion of body, soul, and spirit, as the Tridentine dogma of priesthood becomes incredible. And, on the other hand, this Anglican theory fails to learn from the long and troubled course of theological development. History declares that just as Paschasius improved upon the principles of Cyril, and Lanfranc upon those of Paschasius, so Calvin improved upon Luther and Zwingli. The principles of Cyril must ultimately, consistently, lead to the teaching of Lanfranc; and the principles of Luther must inevitably conduct to the doctrine of Calvin. Tractarians too largely ignore the declarations of historical fact as to the ultimate consequences of their principles. Notwithstanding, the great question must be faced, and they must ask, what is the great authority in

doctrine? What is the criterion of truth in doctrine? Is it Scripture or councils? It cannot be both, for they do not agree. It may help their decision, if it be steadily borne in mind that history presents them with these issues—if they believe in councils as the supreme authority in religion, they must come to believe in transubstantiation, whereas if they regard Scripture as the one *fons et judex*, they must ultimately, as they progress towards thoroughness, accept Calvin's doctrine of the Supper.

Lastly, the one element of truth which has given life and force to the Tractarian doctrine is better expressed in Calvin's formula than in any other. The one watchword of the Tractarians has been the Real Presence of Christ. It is upon this theme their appeals have been eloquent and their insistence continuous. Zwinglianism has been the great object of attack. Indeed, in the whole range of Tractarian writings very little is said either by way of argument or authorization upon the distinctive position claimed for the episcopally ordained priest, very little is said upon the real presence in the bread and wine, very little is said upon the potency of consecration; the whole immense armoury of ready and skilled weapons has been almost entirely directed against those who deny the real presence of Christ in the Supper, without defining that presence in any way. All the distinctive doctrines of the school are assumed to be proved when this one point is proved. Now the contention of the present writer is that the grand and consoling fact of the real presence is more consistently declared in Calvin's doctrine than in the Tractarian; more consistently, that is, with the teaching of the Old Testament as well as the New, with the common sentiment of the Church in all ages as it may be gathered from the extant records, with the expressed opinions of the more spiritually minded Fathers and Church teachers, with chastened Christian consciousness, and with sanctified Christian reason. These several varieties of evidence, too, seem to the present writer to contradict such logical consequences of the Tractarian doctrine as these: the exceptional position of the priestly ministrant, the adoration of the elements, the exceptional sanctity of the altar, the definition of saving faith as the believing reception of the Christ in the sacrament, the assertion that even the wicked partake of the body and blood of Christ.

In conclusion, the great Oxford movement of 1833 has called attention to three prominent doctrines only too apt to be overlooked—the doctrine of the Church, of the Christian Priesthood, and of the Lord's Supper. In each case, however,

the advocacy falls under the ban of narrowness. In each case the form of the doctrine promulgated is narrower than the New Testament. There is a momentous truth respecting the Church which should not be allowed to fall into disregard, so inspiring is it and so blessed, and every Nonconformist, however separatist be his peculiar views, confesses with a whole and a glad heart his belief in the Catholic Church, the apple of the Father's eye, the bride of Christ, the offspring of the Holy Ghost; but that Church—the Catholic Church—in whose practical unanimity of belief he rejoices, and whose accumulated labours of thought and zeal he inherits, is to him, as it was to the Apostles, the innumerable company of believers of all ages 'who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.' It does not exclusively consist, in his esteem, as it does with the Tractarian, of those who have been admitted into fellowship with a visible Church by sacraments correctly administered, correctness lying in the seal of apostolic succession. Again, every Nonconformist believes in the refreshing doctrine of the Christian priesthood; but that priesthood is not an exclusive class of the Christian community, admitted to their exalted functions by the agency of episcopal ordination, it is the priesthood of the New Testament, wide as the Church and free as the gospel. Similarly there is a narrowness in the Tractarian view of the Lord's Supper. It rightly advocates the real presence of Christ at the feast; it narrowly interprets that presence to be confined to the consecrated bread and wine. The New Testament doctrine is that, as in the first institution Christ himself was present, and distributed bread and wine to His disciples to their good, so in every subsequent celebration the present Saviour distributes the simple elements to his believing people who are remembering His death, and makes His body their bread, and His blood their wine. In short, to repeat our previous words, the New Testament teaches, in our belief, first, the symbolic nature of the bread and wine, which represents by emblems the body and blood of Christ—a comprehensive term for the life given by the Saviour for sinful man; secondly, the spiritual nature of the benefit received, namely, a participation in the blessings conferred by the atoning Saviour; and thirdly, the production by the rite of the benefit by means of the actual presence of the risen Christ in the midst of, or, things being where they act, in the hearts of His expectant disciples.

ALFRED CAVE.

ART. IV.—*The Constitutional Monarchy in Belgium.*

- (1) *Leopold I. et Leopold II., Rois des Belges : leur Vie et leur Règne.* Par THÉODORE JUSTE. Brussels, 1879.
- (2) *Essai Historique et Critique sur la Revolution Belge.* Par le BARON NOTHOMB. Quatrième Edition. Brussels, 1876.
- (3) *Des Intérêts Catholiques au XIX^{me} Siècle.* Par le Comte de MONTALEMBERT. Paris, 1852.
- (4) *Loi du 1^{er} Juillet, 1879, sur l'Instruction Primaire, comparée à la Loi de 1842.* Par VICTOR LUERQUIN, Attaché au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Ghent, 1879.
- (5) *Diplomatic Correspondence relating to the Cessation of Official Relations between the Belgian Government and the Holy See.*

THE biographer of Lord Palmerston relates how, amongst the souvenirs which the aged statesman recalled on the evening before his death, none seemed more vivid than those which clustered around the Conference of London, and the efforts of that assembly to promote the consolidation of the kingdom of Belgium. In a semi-delirious interval he was heard to whisper: 'The treaty with Belgium! Yes; read the sixth clause over again.' And then, when the request had been complied with, the dying man, still living in a past to whose records he might well recur with satisfaction, began to expound the policy embodied in the text. But he did not proceed far with his exposition. 'France acknowledges——' he murmured; and after that his words became unintelligible. The incident is singularly pathetic, but it is also singularly instructive, and the recollection of it is appropriate to this particular time. Palmerston's interest in Belgium was the interest of a conscientious godfather in a child, for the conduct of whose early life he had assumed a responsibility. But how little have Englishmen in general been disposed to acknowledge their share in the sponsorship of which he was so conscious! The events of 1870 did, indeed, remind us that there are grave reasons of expediency as well as of public right for preserving intact the state which had been founded forty years before. The small states of Europe, we are being told now and again, are doomed to final extinction, and there is a fate marked out for Belgium on the one side, and for Holland on the other, which it would be folly to resist. Is it because we are disposed thus to meet destiny half-way? or is it because of our insular indifference that, except on rare occasions during the last half-century, the English public

have been as little troubled about the affairs of a kingdom in whose establishment Palmerston, Melbourne, and Grey participated, as about the affairs of a Central Asian khanate or of a Central American republic? Whatever the cause may be, the fact is conspicuous enough. Belgium, nevertheless, has lately asserted in a very pronounced way her claim to the attention of people who read the newspapers. Her statesmen and politicians think it rather hard that because she has passed through half a century without a revolution, without a change of dynasty, and without a war either amongst her own people or with her neighbours, her name should be so seldom heard in the highways of Europe. The national festivities which were lately held in celebration of the jubilee of Belgian independence have re-awakened in the minds of Englishmen an interest in a country which is something more than one of the picture galleries, as we hope it has ceased to be the 'cockpit,' of Europe.

The history of the kingdom dates farther back than Leopold's accession in 1831, farther back even than the three fighting days of September, 1830. We cannot well appreciate the work of those who founded it unless we take into account the nature of the political system which it superseded. For that system, with all its grievances and inconveniences, the Belgians had to thank the Congress of Vienna. The Congress, we know, aimed at thoroughness in its work, and to each of the states whose future it marked out with an assurance that destiny itself could not surpass it gave the injunction to rest and be thankful. The best of all possible worlds had been put in the best of all possible order for them, and contentment was thenceforth to be the first duty of nations. An apologist for the Congress declared, nearly thirty years ago, that—

Never did political arrangements, made under circumstances at all similar, betray less of selfish and narrow views. The plans of consolidation which it attempted were conceived with a view to connect sympathizing and kindred races, and to advance material prosperity. Stability was preferred to aggrandizement.

How little stability the arrangement of 1815 contained within it they may know now who did not know it while Austria still held Lombardy and Venetia, and Italy remained the mere geographical expression that Cavour said it was. The events of 1830 severely tested it, and, so far as its provisions for the Low Countries were concerned, it proved altogether too weak to pass through the ordeal. It was a strange

consolidation this, which placed a population of four millions under the rule of a neighbour prince, himself lord over barely half as many subjects. The greater was added to the lesser by way of *accroissement de territoire*, as the Treaty of Paris of 1814 had phrased it; and herein, of course, was the initial error, the influence of which was destined to grow stronger year by year. An excuse for the arrangement may be found in certain traditions of a pedantic diplomacy, but nowhere else. The Congress sought to revive the old barrier system, which had been consecrated by at least three treaties in the eighteenth century, and the fundamental principle of which was that the southern provinces of the Low Countries should serve for what the treaty of the Grand Alliance of 1701 terms a '*digue, rempart, et barrière*' against France. It is, perhaps, not astonishing that diplomatists who had in their recent recollection the enterprises of republic and empire in that part of Europe should have laid down defences similar to those which had been planned there nearly a century before. Napoleon's proceedings in the Low Countries made the same kind of impression upon his contemporaries that Louis XIV.'s campaigns in that region had made upon the minds of seventeenth century statesmen. They were persuaded that a new barrier must be set up against France, and, *pace* the 'Quarterly Reviewer' of 1851, it cannot be said that they were scrupulous in their choice of the material out of which they made it.

There was little care for national sympathy or kinship in the consignment of four million Belgians to the rule of a Dutch king, and to the supremacy of a Dutch population scarcely half as numerous. The consequences of this unnatural arrangement were soon apparent. The inhabitants of the provinces which King William had received 'in augmentation of territory' were day by day reminded that the kingdom of the Netherlands was nothing but an enlarged kingdom of Holland. The minority from the first endeavoured in every way to dominate over the majority. The administrative, political, and judicial centre of the kingdom was placed in Holland. Dutch was made the official language. The Dutch system of jurisprudence superseded the code to which the Belgians had been accustomed since 1804. In the distribution of honours and emoluments the Dutch were always first thought of. Of fifteen ministers and secretaries of state who were in office in 1829, only three were Belgians; the rest were Dutch. A similar inequality was found in the lower grades of the public service. In several ministries there were only two or three Belgian employés; in the Ministry of

Justice there was one ; in the Ministry of Marine there was not one. More remarkable still was the supremacy which the Dutch claimed for themselves in the army. Of 2,377 officers of all grades who were on the list in 1829, only 417 were Belgians.

Nations, however, are not less ardent in their attachment to ideas than they are in their concern for material interests. It was hard that the Belgians should find the public services thus barred against them ; but vexations of this sort were but the symptoms of a greater, because sentimental grievance. The hardest thing of all was not that official careers were closed against them in order that they might be reserved for Dutchmen ; that was an inconvenience only incidental to the political situation in which they were placed by the Treaty of Vienna. The prime grievance which held all the others within its gloomy folds was this : that a race inferior in numbers, and not superior in capacity and intelligence, was seeking to obliterate the marks of Belgian nationality. Spaniards, Austrians, and French had in turn held possession of these southern provinces of the Low Countries, so that the rule of the foreigner was not a new experience to the men who for fifteen years chafed under the not more onerous discipline of Dutch supremacy. Under the older dominions the Belgians were conscious of a certain dignity which arose out of the association. Under the Treaty of Vienna they were called upon to concur in an arrangement which, as they imagined, conferred all the dignity upon other people, and at their expense. The Dutch certainly got at least their share of advantage and prestige out of the bargain. It was something to convert their stadtholder into a king, and William the First was not slow to let the world know that he took a large estimate of the dignity that had accrued to him and his house through the cheap generosity which the Powers had displayed towards him at Vienna. It was something more to decree that not only should he have a crown of his own, but that his territory should be doubled, and the number of his subjects trebled. The bargain was not only onesided, but it was upon the wrong side that the favours of the Congress fell. The injustice, as it happened, was done to a people who were strong enough quickly to escape from it. In this respect the lot of the Belgians has been singular. It is not often that the aggrieved party, in a transaction of this kind, has, at starting, the right of the stronger on his side.

It has become the wiser fashion, in the years that have passed since the Congress of Vienna, to take some account of

populations as well as of territories whenever the Great Powers have had to agree to some new distribution of political forces upon the continent of Europe. The world, we have lately been told, is governed by sovereigns and statesmen, but it is well understood by this time that when the sovereigns and statesmen of Europe make arrangements in which popular sentiment and interests are made subservient to diplomatic and strategic necessities, so-called, their schemes are likely to undergo a rough revision at no distant time. The kingdom of the Netherlands was rent asunder fifteen years after its creation because this truth was forgotten. The transactions at Paris and Vienna were almost entirely territorial. There was a cynical indifference to the four million people who inhabited the provinces which the Congress handed over to the newly made King of the Netherlands. It never occurred to Metternich and his associates that they were proposing a union of incompatible elements, and that a divorce must come in time. Yet if we speak of divorce, it must be with strong misgivings as to whether a union between Holland and Belgium was ever accomplished in any other than a formal sense. The Powers, it is true, had directed that there should be 'an intimate and complete fusion' between the two countries, an instruction which was as easy to give as the Sultan's occasional instruction to his ministers to 'restore the financial equilibrium,' and as impossible to have carried out. The fusion was never effected, partly because of inherent antagonisms in the nature of the two races, and partly because of the high and heavy hand with which the Dutch endeavoured to bring it about. It was not a happy impulse which led them, at starting, to force upon the kingdom a fundamental law which a large majority of the Belgians had rejected; still less of wisdom was there in that strange manipulation of votes by which the king's ministers endeavoured to prove that the majority was really in favour of the project. The incident contained within itself the promise of that searching after supremacy by the northern half of the kingdom over the southern which was the guiding and, as it proved, fatal principle of King William's policy. The promise was repeated in the provision which was made for the parliamentary representation of the two peoples. Unequal populations were provided with equal representation in the Chambers. The same, it is true, may be said of certain electoral systems which it is thought bad manners to speak of as other than perfect, but there was nevertheless an anomaly in the arrangement which was quite singular.

There were fifty-five Dutchmen and fifty-five Belgians in the Lower Chamber, and the two nations were sometimes found voting *en masse* one against the other. More frequently two or three Belgian deputies would cross over to the Dutch side, as, for instance, when a general system of taxation for the new kingdom was voted by a majority made up of all the Dutch representatives and two Belgians, against a minority comprising the remaining fifty-three deputies from the southern province. The parliamentary records of the new kingdom bear on every page very convincing testimony to the incompatibility that there was between the temper of the two nations. There were few party struggles in the ordinary sense of the term. The struggles were rather between nations than between parties—between Dutch and Belgian rather than between conservative and liberal.

King William, indeed, had to contend against forces which were at once conservative and liberal. It was not merely with a people whom incorporation with revolutionary France had impregnated with liberal tendencies that he had to reckon. They were alien in race, they were alien in political tendencies, and they were alien in faith. The Dutch failed to effect that intimate fusion with their neighbours which the Powers had recommended, because the whole course of their policy was anti-Belgian, anti-Liberal, and anti-Catholic. The Church of Rome, conservative though her permanent tendencies are, has a marvellous faculty for adapting herself to the changing courses of secular policy. The French priests who hailed the revolution of 1848 as marking 'the entry of Christian thought into the government of society,' might have found precedents for their short-lived liberalism in the conduct of the Belgian clergy twenty years before. It must be admitted, however, that the peculiar action of the Belgian Catholics was provoked by peculiar conditions. The nation was asked to endure, in its religious life, precisely the same kind of treatment that was being offered to it in its secular life. Anti-Belgian in its civil policy, the government became anti-Catholic in its ecclesiastical policy. It repeated the errors of the Josephine laws, and it reaped an even richer harvest of discontent than the Austrian government had gathered in after that ill-considered legislation. On one day in the summer of 1825 King William signed two decrees, either of which was objectionable enough to have earned for him the illwill of every priest in Belgium. Thenceforward no college, Latin school, or other institution whatever, destined to prepare pupils for the ecclesiastical career, was to be opened

without the authorization of the Minister of the Interior—a Dutchman and a Protestant. The Philosophic College, whose establishment was decreed the same day, and entrance to which was made compulsory upon candidates for the priesthood, gave even greater offence, and the climax was reached when, two months later, the king—again without legislative authorization—decreed that Belgians who had studied abroad could not be admitted into the national universities, into the civil service, or to the exercise of any ecclesiastical function. The importance of these decrees is not the less because, in obedience to the outcries that were made against them, they were modified, and in the end revoked. They illustrate so clearly the tendencies of the Dutch administration that in them, if we have not found it elsewhere, we may discover a key to the situation which had come into existence in 1830. They help us to understand how it came to pass that in 1828 a formal alliance was made between the two parties who are to-day inveterate enemies. Difficult as it seems to realize the fact while the sounds of strife between clericals and liberals reach us from Belgium, there was established fifty-two years ago at Brussels an association known as 'L'Union des Catholiques et des Libéraux,' and it was this association which more than any other agency contributed to the overthrowing of Dutch supremacy in Holland.

We have spoken thus fully of the character of the *régime* which was in existence for the fifteen years that preceded the revolution of 1830, because it is a too prevalent belief that the revolt against the House of Nassau in the Low Countries was but the breaking of the wave which, a month before, had swept the House of Bourbon from power in France. The revolution of July may have been the signal for the revolution of August, but assuredly it was not its cause. Eighteen years later the Belgians remained proof against the fever of revolt, while Germans, Italians, and Hungarians were being smitten with the irresistible influences of a new revolution in France. They obeyed the signal in 1830, not from a capricious desire to follow the latest French fashion, but because of their ever increasing consciousness that no good was to be got from a prolongation of the union with Holland. The riot at the Théâtre de la Monnaie on the 25th of August, coming as an unrehearsed but very realistic interlude in the opera *La Muette de Portici*, was the only theatrical incident in the great popular movement which won for the Belgians their independence. For the movement was serious, it was widespread, and it was persistent. However

much the leaders may have been inspired by the example of the French liberals, the work was, in some essential respects, very different from theirs. Charles the Tenth was overthrown by the people of Paris ; all Belgium had to take its part in the overthrow of William the First. The French Revolution of 1830 was a Parisian revolution ; the Belgian Revolution was a national act, participated in at all points of the territory, though Brussels had peculiar duties during the three September days scarcely less sanguinary than the three July days of the French Democrats' calendar. It was pre-eminently the work of Young Belgium, as some even greater achievements on another scene, and in later times, were the work of Young Italy. There was the still surviving Charles Rogier, the Brussels journalist, with his battalion of three hundred volunteers ; Chazal, the young officer who had barely reached manhood, and whose military services in the revolution earned him a general's commission a year later, that is to say, in his 25th year ; Van de Weyer, the journalist, who afterwards became Minister of State, and for many years honourably represented Belgium at the English court ; Nothomb, the young law student and journalist, who was the Abbé Sièyès of the Belgian Revolution, as well as its historian. Young as they were, these men gave the world no occasion for despising their youth. There were Cavour's amongst them as well as Garibaldi's—constructors as well as destroyers.

The end of September found the Belgians in possession of the whole of the national territory, with the exception of Luxembourg, Maestricht, and the citadel of Antwerp. But the responsibilities of success were only less onerous than the disappointments of failure would have been. The impulses which had worked for victory must now be held in restraint, or everything that had been accomplished by the revolution would be undone. Holland had been vanquished, but the five greater Powers of Europe remained to be reckoned with. Thus the first lesson which the Belgian patriots had to learn was that their work had an international as well as a national character. This might, perhaps, mean that the Belgians would have to forego the absolute right to decide how or by whom they should be governed ; and herein, of course, a sacrifice of very appreciable costliness would be involved. But the future would be to the wisest ; and to the fidelity with which the men of 1830 embraced this great dogma of the gospel of opportunism was due the ultimate success of their work. It is difficult, indeed, to overestimate the merits of that sagacious policy which, in the very beginning of her

existence as an independent state, won for Belgium the favourable regard of at least the greatest of the Great Powers. Europe could not be conquered as Holland had been ; it must be conciliated, and this could only be done by giving prompt assurance that the triumph of the national party carried with it no menace to European order. The almost unanimous declaration of the Constitutional Commission in favour of a monarchical form of government disarmed many suspicions abroad. At home the impression which this declaration made was for a time less favourable. It was looked upon as reactionary. 'Ce n'était pas la peine de verser tant de sang pour si peu de chose,' said the one member of the Commission who voted against it. Nevertheless, the republican tendencies which showed themselves in the political society of Brussels and the larger cities soon exhausted their energies. The National Congress which met in November, after having proclaimed the independence of Belgium, reaffirmed the monarchical declaration which had been made by the Constitutional Commission with an even greater approach to unanimity than it showed in affirming a few days later the perpetual exclusion of the members of the House of Orange from the government of the country. Anything short of this unreserved choice of the monarchy would have been fatal to the new state. Even in Belgium there were many accommodating minds, whose fidelity to the national cause was momentarily weakened when the Prince of Orange, issuing from Antwerp a proclamation which recognized the principle of national independence, thereby opened the way for a transaction between the victors and the vanquished. Still more important was it for the leaders in the Congress to take account of the influence that a rash policy on their part might have upon the disposition of the Powers. We know, from a statement which Lord Aberdeen made in the House of Lords a year later, that at the time the Wellington administration agreed to the assembling of a conference in London to discuss the Belgian question, they had in view no more radical change in the relationship of that country to Holland than a provision for its administrative independence.

It says much for the political wisdom, no less than for the diplomatic skill of the creators of Belgian independence, that though the Powers began by offering the country a political existence as restrained as that which the Congress of Berlin two years ago provided for Eastern Roumelia, they ended by acknowledging its right to complete independence. The secret of the patriot's success was that they never strayed far from the

principle of solidarity of interest between Belgium and the European system. One error they did indeed make, when in February, 1831, they concurred in the abortive candidature of the Duc de Nemours for the throne. The new kingdom, if it were to endure, would have to be neither French nor German, Austrian nor English. Louis Philippe, flattered as he was by the selection of his son as King of the Belgians, was too wise to imitate Louis the Fourteenth's famous project for the levelling of the Pyrenees. He took a fortnight, it is true, to make up his mind upon the subject, but his rejection of the offer which the Belgian Congress had made to the Duc de Nemours was explicit enough. It saved France from war, and Belgium from the loss of her independence. Henceforward the intimate and essential connection between the dynastic and the diplomatic question was steadily kept in view at Brussels. In their search for a king, the ministers of the regency—for Baron Surlet de Chokier had been proclaimed regent in February—sought for one who should be *persona grata* to the European monarchies at large, instead of being open to the suspicion of representing the interests of any one of them in particular. The names of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had already declined the throne of Greece, and of Prince Otho of Bavaria, who was destined a year later to accept it, had already been 'mentioned.' Prince Leopold's candidature was favoured by M. Van de Weyer and by M. Lebeau, the young journalists who were at this time trying their 'prentice hands at diplomacy and statecraft. But it was looked upon with something worse than disfavour by the ministers of Louis Philippe. The suggestion of the Belgian envoy that Leopold be proclaimed on the understanding that he should choose a French princess for his consort, made Count Sebastiani, Louis Philippe's Minister for Foreign Affairs, lose his temper. 'If Saxe-Coburg,' he said, 'sets foot in Belgium, we will point our cannon at him.' 'Very well,' replied the envoy, 'we shall then ask England to point her cannon at you.' Time and necessity, however, worked on Leopold's side. Before three months had passed, his candidature was nowhere confronted with open hostility. The English government declared that they would recognize any prince whose election would not be equivalent to a reunion with France. Count Sebastiani, abandoning the cannon-ball diplomacy which he had previously employed, expressed the willingness of France to accept any prince, whether Leopold or any other, whose election would not be hostile to her. At the end of April the obstacles that stood in the way of Leopold's election

were obstacles which could be removed only in the conference room in London.

It is not necessary, in order to indicate the difficulties which at this stage confronted Prince Leopold on the one hand and the regent's ministers on the other, to refer at any length to the proceedings of the Conference which had assembled in London in the autumn of 1830. The Dutch had claimed the intervention of the Powers in a spirit of humility which contrasted very noticeably with their subsequent proceedings. At the end of December the Conference had admitted in principle the dissolution of the kingdom of the Netherlands, thereby making an important advance upon the concessions contemplated by the Wellington administration, who had left office a month before. The King of Holland protested against this act in terms which must have been intended to fall upon the ears of the parties to the Holy Alliance as an *argumentum ad homines*. It would 'compromise the stability of every throne and the social order of every state in Europe.' The next act of the Conference reversed the position of the two nations who were suitors in this High Court of Europe. The question of territorial limits and that of the distribution of debts had to be decided, and the decisions of the Conference on these matters, which are contained in the protocols of January 20 and January 27, put the Dutch in an acquiescent and the Belgians in a protestant attitude. This time of conflict in the Conference was a time of danger to the new state. The failure of the Nemours project had discouraged the liberals as much as it had encouraged the reactionary party. The refusal of the Powers to satisfy the territorial demands that the Belgians had made filled the more impulsive section of the nation with hostility towards the Conference, which meant hostility towards Europe, and a cry for war was heard amid a population who had no army. The external situation was as perilous as the internal. Of the five great Powers, three were still exhibiting a lingering affection for the Orange cause, while England, through Lord Palmerston, was daily admonishing the ministers of the regency for their want of what in our day would be called 'sweet reasonableness.' Projects of partition were being revolved in the brains of Talleyrand and of others in France. Holland, it was conceived, might recover South Brabant and Limburg, and to France the southern provinces might revert: Luxembourg could go to Prussia. Thus there was no time to be lost if the independence of the country was to be preserved. It became clear to Belgian statesman that

there must be a new departure, and the line upon which it was taken was this—that the dynastic question should be settled promptly, and in such a manner as to divest the diplomatic situation of the dangers which enveloped it. The Leopold candidature was reverted to in all seriousness. A deputation of Belgian notables waited upon the prince in London at the end of April, and they learnt from him that his acceptance of the crown would be dependent upon a precedent agreement by the ministers of the regent in the bases of separation laid down by the Conference three months before. The condition was complied with by the Belgian government. On the 4th of June Leopold was proclaimed King of the Belgians, and the cause of national independence was thenceforward secure. The intimate interdependence that existed between the dynastic and the diplomatic questions was soon made apparent. Before the month had ended, the Conference of London had materially modified the terms of separation which pressed hardly upon Belgium. Provisional possession of Luxembourg was given to the new state, its ultimate disposition being left for future negotiation between the two Netherland kingdoms; and, by a system of territorial exchange, the whole or greater part of Limburg was to be preserved to Belgium. When it is remembered that the Conference had expressly declared that every one of the obnoxious provisions in the January protocols was irrevocable, it will be understood what Leopold meant when he affirmed in after years that from the first he had been a mediator between the European Powers and the country of his adoption.

The Dutch invasion—an act singularly in contrast with King William's intimation to the Conference a few months before, that a suspension of hostilities would be 'received with gratitude' by the government of the Netherlands—gave the new kingdom *son baptême de feu*. King Leopold's inauguration at Brussels on the 21st of July, 1831, was followed within a fortnight by an advance of the Dutch, which the Belgians, despite their self-confidence, were altogether unable to resist. French help saved them, as at the end of 1832 it recovered for them the citadel of Antwerp; and the perils through which the kingdom passed in the first month of its existence left behind them lessons as well as regrets. Upon the king the incidents of August made very painful impressions. 'Cette malheureuse campagne,' he wrote many years afterwards, 'me fait journellement une peine affreuse.' But the army profited by it. Before the year was out the effective was raised from 25,000 men to nearly

90,000, and twenty years later, when King Leopold endeavoured to impress upon his ministers the necessity of jealously maintaining the national defences, he significantly wrote that 'a country cannot *twice* expose itself to the same danger without perishing.'

With the spring of 1832 the Belgian question, so far as it was a question between the new state and the signatories of the Treaty of Vienna, was at an end. Holland, having proclaimed her intention not to sacrifice her interests to a revolutionary phantom, and having prophesied 'the destruction of the European system and of the peace of the world' as the certain accompaniment of the events she was endeavouring to ward off, was unable to settle her differences with the new kingdom until seven years later. By the Treaty of London, of April 19, 1839, King William formally concurred in the destiny which the House of Orange had so courageously withstood, and thenceforward the work of Belgian diplomatists was lightened. By this time the new kingdom had won for itself a status which some of the older monarchies might have envied. The coldness with which King Leopold's representatives had at first been received at the courts of some of the absolutist princes had long since disappeared. Belgium was no longer regarded as an irresponsible and dangerous ally of revolutionary France, as she was at Turin in 1832, when Charles Albert could trust himself to speak with her representative on no other topic than the Flemish school and the paintings of Quentin Matsys; when at Naples the king stammered out a few formal compliments, and the envoy in return ventured upon some vague generalities concerning the museum, Vesuvius, and the pretty uniforms of the Neapolitan army; and when at the Austrian court Leopold's minister had to listen to the emperor bitterly upbraiding the liberals for 'despoiling Holland,' and reproaching himself for having 'consecrated injustice' by recognizing Belgian independence. These incidents are worth recalling, because we are able to contrast them with the frank expressions of goodwill which the conduct of the Belgians evoked in the same quarters in 1848, when almost every throne in Europe save that of King Leopold was shaken. In Berlin, where the governing classes were at the time sorely in need of some reassuring spectacle, 'all forms of admiration were exhausted' in doing justice to the attitude of the king and his people. The compliments of Metternich upon this occasion must be regarded as conveying with them the compliments of every upholder of absolutism in Europe. The old chancellor, alighting at Brussels after his ungracious ex-

pulsion from the country for which he had done so much of good and of evil, confessed that, after all, he had misjudged the Belgians. 'If we had known you better in 1831,' he said, 'we should have done better by you; but we looked upon you as an ungovernable set of fellows.' And so did many others, amongst others our own Coleridge, whose sneer at the men whom King Leopold undertook to reign over had better be forgotten.

The truth is that the Belgians had from the first shown that they were a very governable set of people indeed. They had the good fortune to solve in a year problems which it has taken the French nearly a century to dispose of. For, let it be remembered, even in the presence of those controversies which have ranged the nation into two opposing ranks, that no party in Belgium has shown a serious disposition to question the fundamental principles upon which the system inaugurated in 1831 was based. There are ardent liberals in Belgium—republicans even—but they are wise enough to concern themselves little with those first principles which Frenchmen have such a fatal tendency to bring without ceremony into the too fierce glare of political controversy. It is not many years since an eminent republican—one of the deputies for Brussels, we believe—gave an unintended exposition of that spirit of opportunism which so powerfully contributed to the consolidation of the monarchy in its early days, and which has resisted all the efforts that intemperate partisans have made to entirely extinguish it in later times. 'It requires a very small effort,' this gentleman said, 'for a republican with sincere convictions to say that he does not regret the republic when he has the happiness to live under a monarchy at the head of which is placed a monarch who, like Leopold II., observes sincerely and loyally the constitution. The king himself has too lofty a spirit to believe that there is in Belgium a single republican who can wish for his overthrow.' We do not know that any form of eulogy which could be passed upon the two Leopolds, and upon the constitution under which they have governed the Belgians, would be more impressive than this.

When Leopold the First, on the day of his inauguration, told his subjects that he had no other ambition in coming amongst them than that of making them happy, he laid down for himself a programme which few people thought he would be able to realize. It was not altogether *con amore* that he accepted the part which the constitution assigned him. His own belief, which he had not hesitated to express to the depu-

tation who waited upon him in London in April, 1831, was that it gave the lion's share to the legislative power. Nevertheless he loyally accepted the part which the constitution assigned to him, taking care, however, that the first example of kingship which was to be given to the Belgians should be something very different from that of a *roi fainéant*. The constitutional monarchy was, in his hands, something different from the best of republics. Without for a moment infringing upon the prerogatives of his parliament, Leopold exercised a very palpable personal influence upon the external and the internal policy of his country. If he appeared at times to have the portfolio of foreign affairs in his own care, it was well understood both at home and abroad that the king was the one man in Belgium who had a complete grasp of the facts and principles which went to make up the European polity of his day. And not by knowledge and judgment alone was he qualified for the task which he thus assumed. There was no unreal boasting in the remark which he made to some of the survivors of 1830: 'You have made Belgium, but I have introduced her to her neighbours.' His position, indeed, in regard to the sovereigns and statesmen of Europe was unique. Connected by his first marriage with the royal family of England, and by his second with the house which during half his reign ruled in France, his influence at the two Western courts was of the closest and most personal kind. In Germany and in Russia he was remembered as the first of the German princes who had joined the army of liberation in 1813. In his youth he had been the companion of Alexander the First. He had been in as close relationship with Greek revolutionists as with the great and small autocrats of the Holy Alliance period. He had known Castlereagh as intimately as in later years he knew Palmerston, and if Metternich was among his acquaintances, so was Melbourne. Had not destiny called him to a throne, his vocation might fitly have been that of *amicus curiæ* in the High Court of Europe.

We should add little to the common stock of knowledge concerning Belgian politics were we to give anything like a detailed account of the working of parliamentary institutions in that country during the past forty-nine years. All that we propose to do is to explain the position in which the two parties stood to each other in the early days of the constitutional monarchy, and the conditions under which they have been in controversy ever since. The revolution, it will be remembered, had been made by a combination between

the clericals and the liberals. The two parties, urged by very different motives, had worked together for a common end. When that end had been attained, they parted company, and the allies of 1830 became in a few years two opponent parties, very evenly balanced, and each 'hating the other for the love of God.' It seems a pity that political controversy in Belgium for well-nigh half a century has been so largely mingled with theological passion. The clerical question crops up in every argument as persistently as the head of King Charles the Martyr claimed attention in every memorial that Dickens's madman attempted to write. No matter what the subject may be that is under review—whether it relate to education, to the administration of charity, to municipal or provincial administration, to the construction of roads, bridges, and canals, the clericals must take one view of it, and the liberals must take another, and railing accusations are exchanged between the parties in a spirit little in accord with the national motto—*L'union fait la force*. The late king made many efforts to moderate the antagonism that showed itself between the two parties as soon as the external problems which he and the parliament had to solve had been disposed of. Coalition cabinets had served until 1840; for while the question in dispute with Holland remained unsettled, there were powerful reasons for clericals and liberals to observe a truce. The fall of the De Theux administration in 1840 marked the termination of the armistice; and the conflict became severe when the Lebeau cabinet, which was altogether liberal, found itself at issue with a clerical majority in the senate. Once more the old spirit of compromise which had done so much for the country was invoked, and a mixed cabinet, with M. Nothomb at its head, came into power, signaling its term of office by passing the education law of 1842, the law which gave place to the measure so fiercely debated in 1879. The more permanent tendencies of political society at this time were on the side of the clericals. The influence of that party, both in the cabinet and in the chambers, was sufficiently strong to fix a decidedly clerical character upon the education law of 1842, thereby winning for it the unreserved approval of Pope Gregory XVI. The conciliatory policy which M. Nothomb endeavoured to sustain, and after him M. Van de Weyer, had to be abandoned in 1846 when the clericals obtained exclusive control of the administration. But M. de Theux's re-accession to office released the more moderate of the liberals from the restraints under which they had been held for the past five years. The

clerical ministry had from the first to contend against a very determined opposition in the chambers, and to be something more than watchful spectators of a liberal movement out of doors which some amongst the conservative classes regarded with dismay. Scarcely had M. de Theux been in office a month before the principal electoral association of Brussels convoked a congress of delegates from all the liberal associations in the country. What was the impression produced upon timid minds by this step may be gathered from the letter which Louis Philippe wrote to his son-in-law on the mere announcement that the meeting was to be held. 'C'est sur la table du conseil que je vous écris,' he hurriedly begins, and then, recalling his old experience and the revolutionary storms through which he had passed, he says that the liberal congress convoked for the 14th of June reminds him of nothing less than the Commune of Paris in 1792, dictating from the Hotel de Ville to the National Convention at the Tuileries ('après la disparition de la royauté,' he ominously interposes) everything that it was pleased to decree. His ministers, it appears, were as panic-stricken as himself, for there was a Guizot amongst them, and we need not be surprised that Louis Philippe should have been able to confirm his own terrors by theirs. He had referred the case to them, and there was but one opinion in that august circle of councillors who were even then leading the constitutional monarchy in France to ruin. The liberal movement was 'altogether incompatible with the legal government of the country.' Happily the good sense of Leopold was proof against the counsels of unwisdom, and even of violence, that came to him from Paris. To the one prudent suggestion that Louis Philippe had offered him he scrupulously paid heed. He kept in close accord with his ministers. For the rest he relied upon the good sense of the nation, and upon the efficacy of a constitution which had already been proved to be a no less sufficient guarantee for public order than for public liberty. Perhaps if Louis Philippe had been as trustful of his subjects we should have had no 'Mr. Smith' landing at Newhaven two years later. The most serious result of the liberal congress in June, 1846, was the defeat which the clericals sustained next year, when the liberals entered into the electoral contests strengthened by this new organization. Serious, indeed, the event appeared to Louis Philippe, who again sent evil monitions to his son-in-law, counselling resistance to movements which he affected to regard as vicious, and, in fact, giving him advice which may here be summed up in the words, 'Do as I do.' Leopold

entrusted the liberal leader, M. Rogier, with the formation of a new ministry, albeit that that statesman had announced as his programme '*une nouvelle politique*;' and he repaid Louis Philippe's attentions by expressing his own concern at the danger which that monarch was courting by making resistance the master principle of his policy. We know the answer he got. 'I am too firm in my saddle to be unhorsed either by the Bonapartists or by banquets of cold veal.' And we know which of the two kings was at this time the more in need of advice, and which was the less competent to give it.

Belgium, in 1848, was the one bright spot in a continent darkened by conspiracies and tumults, by the discontent of peoples, and the distrust of their rulers. Her neighbours had cast out the king who had too long maintained the vicious policy of resistance; her own king was in his capital, confiding in his people, and almost the only sovereign in Europe whose throne and person were removed from danger of attack. An incident which occurred early in the year will suffice to show how cordial were the relations that subsisted between Leopold and his subjects. On leaving the palace one day the king was the object of a demonstration which was described in the newspapers next morning as '*vraiment émouvante*.' An officer who was in personal attendance upon the king declares that the people crowded around his Majesty and one by one shook him by the hand, and that at least two hours passed before he could liberate himself from this almost too affectionate demonstration of popular loyalty. And thus, at peace with the world and with herself, the young kingdom passed through the year of revolution influenced in no way, except for good, by the commotion which was taking place across her borders. When, indeed, a few years later the twenty-fifth anniversary of the king's accession was celebrated by a magnificent series of fêtes, Leopold was able to compliment the nation upon the steadfastness with which it had pursued the path of constitutional progress, without being turned aside by either the revolutionary or the reactionary influences which had been so potent in Europe since 1830. In twenty-five years, he told a deputation from the Chambers, 'Belgium had accomplished the work of a whole century, in moral as well as in material order.' And yet the 'model state' had to pass through its moments of folly. The elements of strife were always present so long as there remained a pretext for raising the old anti-clerical cry in political warfare, and on no occasion—not even in the fierce fights of later times—were these elements more angrily made use of than in 1857, when

the De Decker ministry introduced a bill for regulating the administration of public charity. The ministry, which was formed of moderate Catholics, had to withstand the opposition of the ultras of both parties. There were strange spectacles in the Chambers and in the streets. The Prime Minister accused the ultra-Catholics of intolerance, and of forgetfulness of the first principles of the constitution. Outside the legislative building impatient and excited crowds assembled, and when, after a debate extending over twenty-seven sittings, the papal nuncio and the Catholic leaders were hooted as they left the Chambers, the passions of the contending parties were aroused to a dangerous pitch. On the next day the agitation extended to the provinces, and the king, in consultation with his ministers, declared that order must be maintained, even if recourse were had to a state of siege. 'Understand, gentlemen,' he said, 'the parliamentary *régime* has been brought to an end, for the constitution has been violated—yes, violated. I have kept my oath for twenty-six years, and now I am released from it.' The constitution, however, survived the perils of those days. The Chambers were prorogued, and the agitation subsided, but it was so evident that the Charity Bill was exceedingly unpopular, that the Prime Minister, M. de Decker, declining, as he said, to be 'the Guizot of the Belgian monarchy,' resigned before the opening of the session of 1857, 58.

For the remainder of his reign Leopold the First was associated with liberal ministers. The annals of the kingdom during these years are brief, for the few sounds of strife that were heard were little more than the lingering echoes of an old quarrel. It was a calm eventide into which the old king's life now entered—an eventide chequered by the retrospect of a well-spent day. When in April, 1865, he wrote to one of his ministers, 'I have been a happy king,' he summed up a national as well as a personal experience, for the happiness of kings and that of kingdoms go together. For nearly fifteen years another Leopold has reigned in Brussels, following faithfully in the ways of the first. Thus far he, too, has been a 'happy king.' His task has been less arduous than was that of his father, and perhaps the highest praise that can be conferred upon him is that he has been content with the inheritance upon which he has entered. The character which was impressed upon the monarchy during Leopold the First's long reign has been maintained under his successor. If the present king has lived somewhat below Mr. Carlyle's standard of kingship, he has at least lived up to a standard of which his

subjects heartily approve. And this is by no means because opportunities for asserting a personal influence upon the course of public policy have been wanting. The Belgians have learnt many things since 1830, but they have not found out a way to moderate their party hatreds. Go into the Chamber of Representatives at Brussels, and you will in vain search for the 'Centre.' A Belgian politician is a man either of the Right or of the Left; he is clerical or liberal; and the warfare of the two parties is one in which no quarter is given. Considering the distribution of party forces in the country and the spirit in which they are arrayed one against the other, it is as surprising as it is creditable to the good sense and tact of Leopold the Second that he has kept out of all the quarrels of the past few years. Not even an autograph letter from the Pope, in which Leo the Thirteenth recalled the personal friendship that subsisted between Leopold the First and himself during the time of his nunciature in Brussels, has sufficed to make the present king a party to the never ending conflict between the clericals and the liberals in Belgium.

In the present state of society in Europe it would be rash to declare that any provision whatever would have effectually guarded the neutrality of the soil of Belgium in the war between the civil and the ecclesiastical power. The constitution of 1830 cannot be said to have contributed to the dissensions which for the past forty years have disturbed Belgian society. Complete liberty of worship, and of education, the abstinence of the state from all interference in ecclesiastical administration, and the equality of all creeds before the law—these provisions of the constitution may well have appeared to its authors to be guarantees against disturbances on the score of religious rights and grievances. Into the 'might-have-beens' of history and of politics it is always rash to enter; but it may fairly be asked whether much trouble would not have been spared if a consistent development had been given to these enlightened principles. Looking back upon the course of events in Belgium, it seems to us that the articles of the constitution which deal with religion were widely departed from, firstly, in the education law of 1842, whereby a privileged and even a controlling position in the public schools was assigned to the Roman Catholic clergy; and secondly, in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the government and the Vatican, whereby the Belgian parliament ignored, if it did not contradict, the spirit of the constitutional direction that the state shall interfere neither with the nomination of the clergy nor with their correspond-

ence with their superiors. If these errors have been in any great degree the causes of subsequent difficulty, the legislation of 1879 and the more recent diplomatic rupture with the Vatican have abundantly expiated the offence.

These events may be taken as practically one episode in a conflict which began in the earliest days of the monarchy. The war broke out afresh in the summer of 1878, when a defeat of the Catholic party under M. Malou opened the way to a return of the liberals to office. Scarcely had M. Frère-Orban been installed at the head of the liberal government than a measure was brought in for the amendment of the electoral law in the rural communes, where the priests were almost supreme — a measure conceived with an intention avowedly hostile to the clericals. Amongst other indications of its purpose may be cited the clause which disfranchised about two thousand curés who lived rent free. The head and front of the liberal offending, however, was to be presented a few months later. In the speech from the throne, in which King Leopold opened the session of 1878, 79, mention was made of the determination of the ministry to introduce a measure for the amendment of the education law of 1842, the main principle of which was to be that 'the instruction given at the expense of the state should be placed under the exclusive direction of the civil authority.' This was not so much a new departure in the system of public education in Belgium as a return to the course marked out in the constitution. That the liberal contention to this effect was sound and reasonable is proved by a very plain implication. No sooner had the debates on the education law begun than the clericals in the Chamber of Representatives and in the press set about denouncing those articles of the constitution which define the relations of the State with the Church, notwithstanding that their fathers were amongst its authors. The attitude of the clerical party in these days, in fact, makes us doubt whether they can fittingly inscribe *semper eadem* upon their banners. At any rate, we may put in contrast with recent denunciations of the constitution the eulogy which Montalembert passed upon it in 1852.

Belgium (he says in his eloquent work, '*Des Intérêts Catholiques au XIX^{me} Siècle*') has preserved more faithfully than any other country the manners and institutions of the old Catholic world. Thus she has been called upon to be the first to apply the conditions and to gather the fruits of Catholic action in modern society. Her nationality, nobly reconquered, rests upon a constitution which her Catholic children have had the glory to give her and to defend faithfully until now. She has conse-

crated all the aspirations and all the conquests of Catholicism in modern times—the absolute independence of the Church, the free choice of bishops by the Vicar of Christ, and complete liberty of instruction and of association.

We have not space to inquire into the reasons why the Belgian constitution meets with an appreciation from the Catholics of to-day so different from that which it invited from their predecessors. But it is plain that having begun with the maxim of a 'free church in a free state,' they have at length adopted the more ambitious principle of an absolute church in a state deprived of the means of resisting its pretensions.

There were, it must be admitted, some very cogent reasons for the determination with which the education law of last year was resisted by the clerical party, though it may be doubted whether they were justified in pouring upon it the shower of wrathful epithets through which it had to pass. For, after all, what is the fundamental provision in this '*loi de malheur*,' as it is named? The article in dispute—the fourth—is not too long to quote, and we think that English readers, even those who are most attracted to the principle of denominational education, will fail to see in it the evidences of an essentially irreligious origin or of a necessarily anti-Catholic tendency.

Religious instruction (it is enacted) is left to the care of families and of the ministers of various creeds. In each school accommodation shall be put at the disposition of ministers of religion, where they may impart religious instruction to the children of their communion who frequent the school, either before or after class time.

From this enactment, according to the clerical party, there must result a system of godless education. '*L'école sans Dieu*' was the phrase which they chose in order to represent to their people the character of M. Van Humbéeck's bill, and the 'banishment of God' from the schools of the state was the theme of sermons and speeches, of episcopal letters and newspaper articles. The clerical argument was summed up by the Minister of Public Instruction in a speech which he delivered in the Chamber of Representatives on the 19th of May, 1879, in which, with great sarcasm, but no unfairness, he observed—

To open a school where the teacher shall be strictly enjoined to wound no belief, to scrupulously respect the convictions of all, to avoid troubling the most delicate conscience—that is called opening irreligious schools! To preserve liberty of conscience, to leave to all, teachers as well as pupils,

every facility for performing the duties of their religion—that is called undermining Catholicism! To encourage and assist religious instruction by providing accommodation for pastors in every school—that is called a fraud!

It would be too much to expect that experience of the new system of state education will for some time to come moderate the antipathy which the Belgian clergy have shown to it. This antipathy received formal and official embodiment in the instructions to the parish priests drawn up at a meeting of bishops at Malines in the autumn of 1879, according to which parents who without sanction send their children to the public schools, masters and mistresses of such schools, professors and pupils at the normal colleges, and members of the school committees, are deprived of the sacraments of the Church. A more audacious defiance of a government within its own domains could scarcely be offered, and its audacity is not the less because it was only by accident that these extraordinary instructions were made public. For a time, indeed, it was hoped that the bishops were acting alone. Cismontanism and Ultramontanism appeared to have exchanged cloaks. All the violence seemed to be on this side of the Alps, all the moderation on the other. Had not *Leo Senza Dente* succeeded *Pio Nono*? Was it likely that the mild and prudent pontiff who had already censured the attacks which certain of the faithful had made upon a constitution by whose liberties they daily profited would approve of so plain a declaration of war against the government of King Leopold? There was, assuredly, a pretext for the confidence which people put in the moderation and good sense of the Pope. The Holy See, so Cardinal Nina informed the Belgian minister at the Vatican, had proved its good disposition, not only by abstaining from associating itself with the manifestations of the clergy against the new law, but by giving counsels of calmness and moderation. These counsels were offered at a time when, as M. Frère-Orban declares, the clergy were making the churches resound with the seditious invocation: 'From schools without God, and from masters without faith, deliver us, O Lord.' The scant attention that was paid to the admonitions of the Vatican seemed to us at the time to be a strange manifestation of obedience to an authority claiming the submission of the faithful, '*Non solum in rebus, quæ ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quæ ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ per totum orbem diffusæ pertinent.*' A local hierarchy seemed in its violence to be in conflict with a pontiff ineffectually

pleading for peace and moderation in a matter essentially belonging to the 'discipline and governance of the Church.' No wonder that in November, 1879, the newspapers published a telegram from Brussels announcing that the clerical party were in consternation at the proof furnished by the papers laid before the Chamber of the Pope's disapproval of the bishops' procedure in regard to the new education law. But the consternation of the clericals, where it had a real existence, was but short-lived. A secret diplomacy, it began to be affirmed, had been carried on side by side with the regular communications between Belgium and the Vatican. If the affirmation insinuates a charge of duplicity against the Vatican and the hierarchy, the clerical party have no ground for complaining of it, since it was in their own newspapers that it was confidently and repeatedly made. We have no actual proof of the existence of this secret correspondence. What is very clear, however, is that the attitude of the Vatican ostensibly changed at some period subsequent to the passing of the education law in June, 1879. A week before M. Frère-Orban made his remarkable statement in the Chamber the pontifical secretary of state had written to the nuncio at Brussels, declaring that there never had been nor ever could be any difference of opinion or disagreement between the bishops and the Pope. And a few months later there was read in all churches in Belgium a letter from the Pope to the Archbishop of Malines, commending the faithful of Belgium and their bishops for the efforts they had made 'to prevent, or at least to attenuate, the disastrous consequences of the scholastic law, which is completely opposed to the principles and provisions of the Catholic Church.' The withdrawal of the Belgian minister from the Vatican was the mildest measure of retaliation to which a government thus assailed could resort. It has, moreover, given legitimate satisfaction to a long-standing claim of the Belgian liberals.

In the conflict between sacerdotalism and democracy which still rages, for the moment silently, but not the less persistently, we are liable to forget that in Belgium there is, above and beyond the party spirit, a national spirit, strong, healthy, and abiding, under the impulse of which Catholics and Liberals, Flemings and Walloons, are welded into one nation. More than once during the present reign the safety of the kingdom has been menaced by the arms or the policy of her neighbours, and each time she has passed through the ordeal strong in her own unity and in the guarantees with which Liberal and English statesmen of a past generation had

been mainly instrumental in surrounding her. When, in 1869, Napoleon III. endeavoured to acquire possession of the Luxembourg railway (obviously for strategical purposes), and people in Paris were talking about an imminent occupation of certain points of Belgian territory, all parties rallied round M. Frère-Orban, and sustained him in his successful appeal to the guarantors of the kingdom's neutrality. So too in the following year, when the outbreak of war between France and Prussia awakened fears that Belgium might have to serve its old function of cockpit of Europe, the Belgians learnt then how precarious their position had been since 1867—how Louis Napoleon had conspired in that year against the independence of a neighbour the neutrality of whose territory he had in terms promised to respect, and how necessary it still was to adhere to the spirit of the national motto. The incident has as important a place in our history as it has in theirs. If the Belgians are satisfied with the course that their own statesmen took in that anxious time, we English have at least equal right to look back with contentment upon the co-operation which our own government offered them—a co-operation which was in keeping with the best traditions of British statesmanship. The events of 1870 will most usefully remain in the memory of the Belgians if they serve as reminders that, in her maturity as in her childhood, their country has interests and relationships which are not confined within her own borders. Concord at home, and a careful surveillance of events on the other side of her frontiers, should be the cardinal points of her policy. For the Benedetti project is one of the events of history which is not impossible of repetition, even though its author has disappeared from the scene.

THOMAS J. BENNETT.

ART. V.—*The Christian Church and War.*

IN the course of the recent debates regarding the wars which this country had been carrying on in Asia and in South Africa, frequent allusion was made by the opponents of the wars to the attitude of the Christian Church. They complained that the Church maintained an unworthy silence in a crisis when it ought to have lifted up its voice in emphatic protest against a policy by which every principle of Christian morality was outraged. The complaint was sometimes made in unfair and exaggerated terms. When, for example, Mr. Frederic Harrison—whose services we do

not wish to undervalue — declared in the pages of 'The Fortnightly Review' that no help was to be looked for from the Christian Churches in the conflict in behalf of oppressed races, for that the Churches were abandoned to an immoral view of war, he forgot that some of the earliest and most earnest protests against the policy which he detested proceeded from the organs or representatives of the various sections of English Christians. Not to speak of the almost unanimous disapproval of the warlike policy of the late Government by the organs of Nonconformity, the columns of 'The Guardian' contained every week remonstrances against it, which even Mr. Harrison himself could hardly have expressed with greater force. But although it was stated with exaggeration, there was enough of justice in the complaint to make those hear it with uneasiness to whom the honour of the Church is precious. We were sometimes unwillingly reminded of the priest and Levite in the great parable — as ministers of Christ maintained a cold silence at a time when sceptics and heretics were pleading with passionate earnestness for the oppressed peoples. It is an error to imagine that the Church has been more indifferent than its wont during the late wars. The contrary is the case. Those who have compared the state of opinion during the last two years with that of former periods, cannot have failed to observe a marked progress of a sentiment antagonistic to war in all sections of the Christian Church. But a good deal of neutral feeling, and even of positive approval of warlike enterprises, is still to be found within the Church.

Were we not accustomed to its existence we should reckon it an extraordinary paradox that a sentiment in open contradiction to the teaching of Christ should continue to exist in His Church. The avowed object of war—the destruction of men's lives, as well as the consequences which flow from it; the sufferings of the non-combatants; the secular feuds between races and nations which it leaves behind it as an evil heritage, all render it an offence alike against the Christian conscience and the commands of Christ. Voltaire, in his mocking fashion, once asked the clergy of his day why they were at so much trouble to preach against single vices and crimes while they left war untouched, which embraced all crimes within itself. The reasons for their silence are not, we believe, altogether so discreditable as Voltaire supposed; nor are they to be dealt with merely by means of sarcasm and invective. Fully to understand the causes of the neutral atti-

tude of the modern Church towards war, it is needful to go back to the Middle Ages, and beyond them, and to mark the gradual formation of a Church tradition on the subject of war under the influence of special circumstances. We must understand this tradition, for tradition is always a potent factor in the Church, even in those sections of it who suppose themselves most untraditional, and this mediæval tradition seals the lips of many who, if they followed their own better impulses, would plead frankly and earnestly against a warlike policy being pursued by a Christian nation.

The subject of the relation of the Christian Church to war is not only of great practical importance, it has a speculative interest for the student of the history of morals. The history of the relationship is a curious example of a great society completely, or almost completely, abandoning one of the leading moral ideas of which it was the representative, and becoming so hostile to it that it persecuted those who ventured to maintain it. It is a prerogative of the Church, however, to recover its lost ideas by means of fresh inspirations, and there are some signs of such a recovery by it at the present time of its long-lost spirit of peace.

It is scarcely needful to show that the mission of the Church was to promote peace among mankind. Christ commanded His disciples to love their enemies, and thereby show their kinship to the Heavenly Father; and He also urged upon them to make it their special work to re-establish peace among those who were at variance. It was in this sense that its mission was understood by the primitive Church, by which war and bloodshed were regarded with utter abhorrence. Tertullian boasts that although the Christians were a vast host, who could have raised a formidable revolt against the empire, they had chosen rather to endure persecution patiently. He also considered it a subject of congratulation that no Christian had ever been concerned in the assassination even of evil emperors. The reluctance of the Christians to serve in the army was made the foundation of a charge against them that they were a people hostile to the empire. Origen answered the charge not by denying that the reluctance to serve in the army existed, but by saying that as a host lifting up praying hands to Almighty God, they served the empire better than by fighting its battles in the field.

On the conversion of Constantine the attitude of the Church towards the State was considerably altered. But the sentiment regarding war, although it changed, did not change

suddenly or completely. If we except Eusebius, who certainly spoke of the wars and victories of Constantine in terms of almost profane admiration, the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, although they did not wholly condemn war, yet gave to it but a hesitating and timid approval. Chrysostom and Ambrose perceived that the use of the sword was necessary to preserve society from anarchy, but they evidently felt it difficult to reconcile it with the theory of Christian life which they found in the New Testament. The boldest apologist for war among the Church fathers was St. Augustine.

What is the evil in war? (he writes in his reply to Faustus). Is it the death of some who will soon die in any case that others may live in peaceful subjection? This is mere cowardly dislike, not any religious feeling. The real evils in war are love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power and such like; and it is generally to punish these things, when force is required to inflict the punishment, that in obedience to God or some lawful authority good men undertake wars. . . . A great deal depends on the causes for which men undertake wars, and on the authority they have for doing so; for the natural order which seeks the peace of mankind ordains that the monarch should have the power of undertaking war if he thinks it advisable, and that soldiers should perform their military duties in behalf of the peace and safety of the community.

Several reasons led St. Augustine to express a more decided approval of war than the other fathers of the Church. In the first place, he found himself under the necessity of defending the wars of Moses against Faustus and other Manichæans. Secondly, he had himself sanctioned war, and even religious persecution, in the case of the Montanists in Africa, against whom the Catholic party invoked the aid of the civil power. Besides those reasons which had their origin in his outward circumstances, there were tendencies in his profoundly meditative and speculative mind which led him to look at all events with the eye of a religious philosopher rather than as a practical moralist. The thought was ever present to him that all things were ordained by God, and that out of all God was bringing good. His faith could discern good even in the darkest events of human life and history. This tendency of St. Augustine to view all things from the high standpoint of religious philosophy frequently exercised an unwholesome influence upon his judgments on ethical questions. By his anxiety to vindicate the ways of God, he was sometimes led to vindicate what had its origin in the wickedness of man. The result is that the authority of the tenderest, most devout, and in all respects most noble-minded, of the Christian fathers, is ap-

pealed to, and not without justice, as having encouraged and used persecution and other barbarous and unchristian customs.

The painful perplexity with which the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries generally speak of war shows how deeply they had been impressed with the words of Christ on the subject. They felt that the use of the sword was needful, but were oppressed by the feeling that when a man who had himself received God's forgiveness unsheathed the sword of vengeance against even a guilty fellow-man, he was in some danger of falling under the same condemnation as the unmerciful servant in the parable. Hence their dislike of war, and their shrinking from all personal responsibility regarding it. A curious illustration of this is to be found in one of the letters of Gregory Nazianzen, who records the shrinking with which he touched the hand of the Emperor, when invited to his table, because it was a hand that had shed so much human blood. It was expressly forbidden to the clergy to use the sword. St. Ambrose, who vindicated the lawfulness of war in certain circumstances, writes, that for him as a priest of God it was not lawful to oppose force to force; and on one occasion he refused to encourage the people to resist what he considered a wrong that had been done them. Christians engaged in military service were considered to occupy a lower place in the Church than those engaged in peaceful occupations. According to one of the canons of the Council of Nice, those Christians who after abandoning the profession of arms afterwards returned to it, 'as a dog to its vomit,' were for some years to occupy in the Church the place of penitents. An additional proof of the strong sense entertained by the Church fathers of the unchristian character of war is to be found in the frequent assertions that Christianity had diminished war, and had lessened its horrors. Athanasius finds a proof of the Divine power of Christianity in the circumstance that the Goths, who before lived a life of constant warfare, settled down to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, after embracing Christianity. Christian apologists often referred to the alleged clemency shown by Alaric to captured Rome—the clemency of that 'mildest and most Christian of kings' being attributed by them to the reverence felt by him for the chief seat of the Christian faith.

So long as the Church was confined to the old empire it showed no disposition to encourage the practice of bloodshed—a practice from which it had itself suffered much. It was among the Teutonic races of the north that it first manifested

warlike propensities. The conversion of these races was in many respects the grandest achievement of the Christian Church. They possessed the faculty of reverence, the *charisma* of young races which is the foundation of all religion, and they bowed before the 'white Christ' of whom the missionaries spoke in the spirit of genuine devotion. They were truthful and courageous, and their morals were better than those of the effete inhabitants of the dying empire. But they were emphatically men of blood. Their religion, which was an apotheosis of war, their traditions, and their habits all combined to render them the most warlike people of the earth. The chief difficulty, therefore, of the Church was to teach them to love peace. There is no reason to doubt that the early missionaries sincerely deplored the warlike spirit of their converts, and strove most earnestly to abate it. According to a well-known story, the Gothic Bishop, Ulfilas, showed his sense of the special weakness of his Teuton converts by refraining from translating the books of Samuel and Kings into their language, as he did the rest of the scripture. His reason, we are told, was that they contained 'the history of wars; and his nation was already very fond of war, and needed the bit rather than the spur, so far as fighting was concerned.' If the missionaries who first laboured among the northern nations did show a certain toleration to the warlike habits of their converts, it was only in the spirit in which Moses bore with 'the hardness of heart' of the children of Israel; and they did not cease to cherish the hope that wars and feuds would presently disappear before the gentle influences of Christian teaching.

Most unfortunately for the future of European morals a change took place in the views of the Church. The clergy under Chlodwig and Charles the Great occupied a different position from what they had when they were wandering mendicants, with no property but a copy of the Psalter and of the Gospels, and no home but heaven. They became an important corporation, possessed of property which had to be preserved and increased, and they had moreover theological enemies whose mouths they desired to stop. Wars brought to the Church material gains. The services of its ministers were much in request to bless banners and weapons of war, and to offer up prayers for victory. And when the war was over rich spoils were sent to the churches by the victorious kings, partly to manifest their thankfulness to Almighty God for the victories granted to them, partly to make atonement for the excesses they had committed in war. The desire to destroy the power

of heresy was another reason which led the clergy to countenance war. This hatred of heresy exercised an influence upon those who were above the vulgar love of spoils. They regarded heretics as equally beyond the pale of salvation as the heathen. And a bloody war was not considered too great a price to pay for the destruction of the power of Arian bishops and clergy who were destroying men's souls by their teaching. Wars against Arian peoples were represented in the light of holy wars, for which the combatants would be rewarded by Heaven. The 'nursing fathers' of the Church entirely acquiesced in a way of thinking which enabled them to acquire merit in heaven, and at the same time to gratify their own ambitious wishes. The most Catholic, but most sanguinary king of the Franks, Chlodwig, made the Arianism of the Visigoths a pretext for declaring war upon them. The war which followed has been thus described by a modern historian—

It is too little to say that this war was undertaken with the approval of the clergy; it was properly their war, and Chlodwig undertook it in the capacity of a religious champion in all things but the disinterestedness which ought to distinguish that character. After engaging his selfish ambition in their cause, the clergy had carefully inculcated that his success must depend upon the favour of the God of the Christians and the support of His ministers. Remigius of Rheims assisted him by his countenance and advice, and the Catholic priesthood set every engine of their craft in motion to second and encourage him. In the passage through the patrimony of St. Martin of Tours, a few stragglers had robbed a poor peasant of a little hay. When the offence was reported to the king, he furiously drew his sword to punish the delinquents on the spot, exclaiming aloud, 'What hope have we of victory if St. Martin be offended!' Emissaries were dispatched to the shrine of the saint with many rich presents, and among them the king's best charger, to obtain from him some certain token of his favour. The messengers had scarcely stepped across the threshold of the church, when the precentor, seemingly by accident, chaunted forth a verse from the eighteenth Psalm: 'Thou hast girded me, O Lord, with strength unto the battle; thou hast subdued under me those that rose up against me.' The men returned to the king with this encouraging response. Chlodwig pressed forward in full reliance upon the protection of the saint.*

In the crusades of Charles the Great against the heathen Saxons the clergy acted the same part as in the wars of Chlodwig. They encouraged 'the apostle by the sword' when he forced Christianity upon a reluctant people, and offered them the alternative of baptism or death.

Throughout the entire Middle Ages a close alliance existed

* 'The First Book of the History of the Germans.' By Thomas Greenwood. London. 1836.

between the soldier and the priest. Instead of being divided, as they had been in the Church of the fathers, by an almost impassable gulf, they generally appear in the Middle Ages as close confederates. The great evil of this alliance was that war was elevated into a sacrament, and its issues represented as a sign of the special favour of God towards the victorious party. Indirectly another evil consequence resulted from this alliance. The clergy, as we learn from Gregory of Tours, represented the kings as responsible to God alone, and not to their peoples. This increased their own power over both; for as representatives of God they demanded the obedience of the kings, and could through them command the people. This innovation on the wholesome traditions of the Teutonic races bore evil fruit in the after history of Europe. 'The right divine to govern wrong' may be said to be an invention of mediæval bishops.

The Church of the Middle Ages never entirely lost an evil conscience in its encouragement of war. The clergy were forbidden by many councils to engage in it; but the prohibitions were not always sufficient to prevent the ecclesiastical princes from appearing at the head of their retainers, and even from mingling in the fight.* There were times at which the Church woke up to the evils of war, and preached against it. This was sometimes due to a revival of Christian feeling, but it was as often caused by dislike of particular wars which were disadvantageous to the Church. For instance, when Philip the Fair desired to levy contributions for his wars from the clergy, he met with a determined opposition from Boniface VIII., who dwelt with much unction upon the evil of war, its dangers to the souls of men, to good government, and the ruin it brought upon the finances of the country. But such protests could not have much weight when on other occasions the clergy were found preaching crusades, stirring up reluctant kings to lead their people to the distant battle-fields, and even parting with their hoarded treasures to furnish men with arms to slay the infidel. The spread of more enlightened and humane views on ethical and social questions was one of the best fruits of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately it did little to lead the nations of Europe to take a graver view of the evils of war. One of the Reformers, and he by no means the most zealous, Erasmus, clearly perceived the evil effects which wars were calculated to exercise on the

* We read of an Archbishop of Mainz who once slew nine foemen with his own hand, but not with the sword; for 'that would have been contrary to Christ's word to Peter,' but with a club.

life of nations. He declared that almost all the wars of Christendom had arisen either from folly or wickedness, and he pointed out, with his usual clear-sightedness, the various evils which are indirectly caused by war. But circumstances arose which diverted the thoughts of the Reformed Churches from this subject. The attempts made by Catholic princes to repress the Reformation drove most of the Protestant nations to arms. Religious wars of the fiercest character raged throughout Europe, and the ministers of the Reformed Churches naturally sympathized with those who were fighting for civil and religious liberty, and for the Protestant faith. They could scarcely have been expected to preach a doctrine of non-resistance when the ruthless liegemen of the Papacy were combining their forces to destroy the Protestant religion, and free institutions. Many of the best of the Protestant leaders were possessed by the thought, and it gave dignity and elevation to their lives, that they were fighting the battles of God in resisting the Spaniard and the Pope. Gustavus Adolphus, William of Orange, and Cromwell are examples of that combination of religious faith with military ardour which the religious wars produced. The ministers of the Protestant religion did not commonly themselves fight; but they gave their warm sympathy to those who fought for their faith; and they may be said in spirit to have mingled in the fray. The prayer for the Queen's Majesty in the Book of Common Prayer contains a petition that she may be strengthened by God 'to vanquish and overcome all her enemies.' Modern critics have sometimes questioned whether such a prayer, however natural and patriotic, is quite in its place in a book of Christian and Catholic devotion. But those who dislike it should be thankful that they did not live in other days. The present prayer is but a faint and feeble echo of the hatred to the enemies of England and of Protestantism, which were to be heard in the churches of England during the days of Queen Elizabeth. The spirit of the maledictory Psalms seven times heated breathes in the following intercession for the realm of England, which we extract from a book of 'Liturgies set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,' which was published some years ago by the Parker Society.

Forasmuch, O Lord, as this discord abroad reacheth almost to the throat of our Church and common weal, and that the enemies, O Lord, especially those that have the mark of Antichrist, seek to build like the moth in another man's possession and garment, and seek to swallow up thy people as a grave; make, O Lord, we pray thee, a hedge about us and thy house, and let thy Church be like Salomon's bed, about the which there

was always a watch, and let the fruit of the English Church be meat unto others, and the leaf thereof medicinable unto thy afflicted and scattered people. Break, O Lord, the *Hydra* his heads, or strangle him within his cave, that he do no more hurt. And forsomuch as thy cause is now taken in hand by our gracious Sovereign, we beseech thee that thou wilt go before her and her wise counsellor, the honourable Earl of Leicester, her highness' lieutenant in those countries, and grant unto him so good and honourable victories, as Josua had against the five kings, which sought to destroy the Gabaonites: fight for him, sweet Saviour, as thou didst for Abraham; and grant that as Josua overcame Amalek, that sought to hinder the children of Israel, by the prayer of Moses, that our noble counsellor, valiant soldier, and faithful servant of her Majesty may prevail and vanquish thy enemies, which disturb thy peace, and afflict our poor neighbours of the Low Countries.

In another prayer from the same collection, the Christians of England pour out their hearts in this fashion to the Majesty of Heaven to implore His help, against enemies without and within the realm.

They determining to deliver us over to the tyranny of that shameless sinful Man of Rome, and the bloody sword, conspire against thee, O God, like hypocrites, against our Queen like traitors, against our common country like spoilers, against us, even as Cain did against Abel. But thy great goodness hath devised better for us, than they do: thou hast spared us, whom they would have spoiled. Thy wisdom hath unfolded their wickedness . . . work out the good work which thou hast begun among us. Confound and bring to naught the attempts of these and the like enemies, as thou didst at Babel. Infold them in the folly of their own counsels, as thou didst Achitophel. By thine Angel smite their force, as thou didst to Sennacherib. In their desperate attempts let them be drowned as was Pharaoh. In their treasons overtake them, as thou didst Absalom. If any of them are to be converted, turn them as thou didst turn Manasseli. Otherwise let them feel their due punishment as did Dathan with his conspirators; that of these also may be left an example of thy justice to the posterity.

Without passing a sentence of rash blame on those who fought the grim battle of Protestantism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or on the ministers of religion whose counsels and prayers were their real encouragement, we may regret that the Protestant churches were cradled in war. In Germany and in France, in Holland and in England, the early history of Protestantism was a martial history. The saints of the early Church had been patient sufferers whose lives read the lesson to those who came after, that the duty of Christians was to 'take it patiently,' when they suffered wrongfully. The memory of the saints of Protestantism was associated certainly with great sufferings and with noble sacrifices, but also, let us frankly say, with great exertions to inflict sufferings on their enemies. The *Re d'oro*, as Italians

called called him—Gustavus Adolphus—with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, is a typical representation of the sainthood and heroism of early Protestantism. The Confessions of Faith drawn up in the Reformation and in post-Reformation eras, also show the bellicose spirit of early Protestantism, by explicitly claiming for the State the right of waging wars ‘under the New Testament;’ while the exhortations to peace, and to the cherishing of a peaceful spirit, are less conspicuous than we might have expected in documents which were essentially of religious import, and designed for the guidance of Christian communities.*

It was unquestionably a misfortune that the Protestant Churches of Europe began their existence with so feeble a sense of the duty of a Church to endeavour to repress warlike instincts in its members. The histories which they had behind them made it difficult for the Protestant Churches to speak the truth on this subject without blaming, or seeming to blame, those who were regarded with almost idolatrous veneration. Nor was the Church of the latter half of the seventeenth century, and of the eighteenth century, much disposed to take up any cause, the championship of which required moral courage and moral enthusiasm. The ministers in the various countries considered themselves as in the service of the State; and were its thoroughly loyal and patriotic servants. They championed in ghostly fashion whatever wars the states in which they lived undertook. The Protestant minister, it must be admitted, was as ready with his Thanksgiving Sermon for the victories of a profligate war, as the Catholic priest was with his *Te Deum*. Indeed, the latter was probably the more independent of the two, because of his allegiance to Rome.

Certain bodies of Christians, especially the Quakers, continued to protest against war, even addressing remonstrances to parliaments and ambassadors amid much laughter; but the larger Protestant Churches remained indifferent, or if not wholly indifferent, too hopeless to lift up their voices. The most powerful protests against war during this period did not proceed from the Church but from the philosophers. It was an age of reason, and was easily offended by the

* Doceant igitur, quod Christianis jure bellare, militare, lege contrahere, tenere proprium. Damnant Anabaptistas, que interdicunt hæc civilia officia Christianis. Damnant et illos qui evangelicam perfectionem collocarunt in desertione civilium officiorum.-- *Confessio Augustana*. Quid si necesse sit etiam bello populi conservare salutem, bellum, in nomine Domini, suscipiat, modo primus pacem modis omnibus quæsierit, nec alitor nisi bello suos servare possit. Damnamus Anabaptistas, etc.—*Confessio Helvetica*.

unreasonable. Its philosophers exclaimed against war because of its unreason. They despised it as one of the follies of humanity. They perceived with their illumined eyes how frivolous were the pretexts under which unfortunate peoples were dragged into hostilities which carried desolation to thousands of homes, and injured in every department, the higher national life. Bayle in his Dictionary often dwells upon war and its fruits. The latter are such, he says in one place, as should lead them to tremble who undertake to advise war to prevent evils which perhaps may never happen, and which, at the worst, would often be less than those which necessary follow a rupture. Voltaire also often satirizes war, ascribing it to the ambitions and jealousies of princes and their ministers. He is very merry over the part played by the Church in the 'infernai enterprise.'

Every chief of these ruffians (he writes) has his colours consecrated; and solemnly prays to God before he goes to destroy his neighbour. If the slain in a battle do not exceed two or three thousand, the fortunate commander does not think it worth while to thank God for it; but if, besides killing ten or twelve thousand men, he has been so far favoured by Heaven as totally to destroy some remarkable place, then a verbose hymn is sung in four parts, composed in a language unknown to the combatants.

It is not a matter for surprise that neither philosopher nor satirist produced much effect upon the warlike propensities of men. Neither have ever been very successful in subduing the tempestuous passions of mankind. Men admit the justice of the philosopher's condemnation, and they laugh with the satirist at their own crimes and follies, but they go on in the old course. The philosophers of the eighteenth century cherished the mistaken opinion that war was exclusively the work of a few princes and ministers, who dragged unwilling peoples into them to gratify their own ambitions.*

It is certainly a gain for the cause of peace that those who suffer most in the war—the people—should be able to control it. But we must not arrive too hastily at the conclusion that the democracies of the future will be peaceful, and that all the wars of the past were only the work of kings and their ministers. The wars could not have continued so long had not the people sympathized with them. An enthusiasm for war has often taken possession of nations, and they have voluntarily made tremendous sacrifices in order to fight to the bitter end.

* Cowper gave expression to the same thought when he wrote—

But War's a game which, were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at?

Democracies are often as passionate and ambitious as monarchies, especially when inflamed by the harangues of their orators. The calm, philosophic reasoner may demonstrate the folly of war and the advantages of peace, and yet, finding himself silenced by the angry storm of popular passion, he may have to exclaim with the poet—

Unsinn, du siegst, und ich muss untergehn!
 Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens.
 Erhabene Vernunft, lichte Tochter
 Des göttlichen Hauptes, weise Gründerin
 Des Weltgebäudes, Führerin der Sterne,
 Wer bist du denn, wenn du, dem tollen Ross
 Des Aberwitzes an den Schweif gebunden,
 Ohnmächtig rufend, mit dem Trunkenen
 Dich sehend in der Abgrund stürzen musst!
 Gehört die Welt. Dem Narrenkönig

More may be expected from the Church, for the Church does not appeal simply to man's reason, but likewise to his fears and his hopes, to his reverence and his love, and has proved itself stronger than philosophy in subduing human passions. It is often said that in our age the influence of the Church has greatly declined. It is true that the dogmas of the Church are no longer received with the same implicit but often unthinking faith which formerly was given to them. But that the Church has less influence over the spirits of men now than formerly is not so certain. It may be doubted if there ever was a time when it was so likely to be successful in a great moral crusade; for whatever be the faults of our time, there is abundance of humanity and quick sympathy among us. Success in such crusades would be the best answer to those who question the Church's doctrinal authority.

It has been denied by some whose judgment it is impossible not to respect, that the Church has a right to speak on the subject of peace or war, because it belongs to the sphere of the State, not of the Church. One of the ablest theological writers of our time—the late Canon Mozley of Oxford—held this view and defended it with his usual fearlessness of statement in one of his 'University Sermons.' He admits that at first sight the relations of Christianity to war present an extraordinary enigma; for it presents the spectacle of brethren in Christ killing each other deliberately, on an immense scale, by weapons and engines which have been long and systematically improved with a view to the highest

success in destruction. Notwithstanding this obviously unchristian character of war, Canon Mozley will not allow that the Church has a right to interpose its authority, even by way of remonstrance. Christians must be allowed 'to fight each other in full spiritual communion.' The reason for the Church's neutrality is that, although by means of the Church mankind was formed into one spiritual society, national divisions were left untouched.

The Christian Church recognized and adopted nations with their inherent rights; took them into her inclosure. But war is one of these rights, because under the division of mankind into distinct nations it becomes a necessity. Each of these is a centre to itself, without any amenableness to a common centre. Questions of right and justice must arise between these independent centres; these cannot be decided except by mutual agreement or force, and when one fails the other only remains. . . . And, inasmuch as the Church has no authority to decide which is the right side—is no judge of national questions or of national motives—not having been made by her Divine founder a judge or divider in this sphere, the Church cannot in her ignorance exclude the other side either. The Church, therefore, stands neutral, and takes in both sides; that is to say, both sides fight within the bond of Christian unity.

Granting—and we do not question it—that nations have a right in certain circumstances to draw the sword, if the Christian Church is a teacher of morality, and a judge also in the moral sphere, it cannot forego its claim to decide whether a particular nation is exercising a right or perpetrating a wrong. Self-defence and the preservation of one's own property is as much an inherent right of the individual as war is an inherent right of nations. The Church is not the tribunal which settles the questions affecting life and property which arise between individuals. In this sphere it is not the 'judge and divider,' nevertheless, in order to exercise aright its special duty as moral teacher and moral judge, it must come to some conclusion regarding the actions of men accused, say, of murder or of theft, but who allege that they were merely exercising their right of self-defence, or reclaiming property that was their own. If this were not the case, thieves and murderers would be allowed to go on their way 'in full spiritual communion,' the Church having no power to remonstrate with them or to excommunicate them. A school of earnest Evangelical Christians, who have little in common in other matters, with the profound Oxford High Churchman, agree with him in maintaining that the Christian Church should have nothing to say on the question of peace or war, or on any national question, except, perhaps, to pass a vague

sentence of condemnation on the nation as part of the world, and all its ways. This way of thinking is often associated with so much beautiful and self-denying Christian life that it is difficult to speak of it with severity. But we may be pardoned for saying that those who hold this theory are not usually very severe thinkers, and scarcely carry it to its legitimate conclusions. The truth is, that it is less possible than ever it was for men to escape the responsibility of national actions. The responsibility begins when we pay our taxes, and it is not lessened by our refusal to use our influence that the taxes we have paid be applied to just and righteous objects. If we receive the advantages of civilization, we are bound also to accept its duties and responsibilities. A refusal to pay any taxes at all would be the truly logical consequence of this theory. To pay taxes, and then on Christian grounds to refuse to perform the other duties of a citizen, resembles the conduct of a merchant content to place his capital in a business, and to draw dividends, but declining on the ground of Christian principle to take any interest in the management of the business. The same remark applies to the objections made to service in the army. Christians may not unnaturally shrink from the actual business of slaughter; but as regards the moral responsibility, that of the tax-payer is the same as that of the soldier.

If the Church has the right and duty of speaking on the subject of war, especially on those wars in which its own members are directly or indirectly concerned, there only remains the question, What is the Church to say on the subject. Should the Church condemn war at all times and in all circumstances? This is the attitude taken up by some, and a good deal can be said in behalf of it which looks very plausible. Unquestionably many passages of the New Testament appear to sanction it. We are unable, however, to adopt a position which in its extreme form would lead to the dissolution of human society. Against the brigand who takes his station on a high road to rob travellers the magistrate employs that sword which St. Paul says is committed to him. And one nation may in a spirit of pure brigandage assail another, and to yield would merely strengthen it for a similar act in future. A nation bent on brigandage must be met with armed force. But it is one thing to concede that sometimes force is necessary to repel persistent aggression, and quite another to fly to arms when a neighbouring nation shows itself to be in an aggressive mood, or even commits an act of

aggression.* Dr. Wayland, an American writer, who takes up, however, we think too extreme a position in opposition to war, has said with much force of hostile aggression—‘I believe the aggression from a foreign nation to be an intimation from God that we are disobeying the law of benevolence, and that is His mode of teaching nations their duty in this respect to each other. So that aggression seems to me in no manner to call for retaliation and injury, but rather for special kindness and goodwill.’

This aspect of the question is worthy of consideration, although the author may have pressed it too far. Not all acts of aggression—we may say, not many acts of aggression—are originally prompted by deliberate designs to spoil or ruin the nations against which they are directed. A quarrel between two jealous courts, a feud between rival ministers, may readily lead to an insolent, defiant act; or the popular sentiment may have been worked up by foolish speakers or writers into a state of angry jealousy against a neighbouring people. Aggression met in a conciliatory spirit often disappears as suddenly as it arose. And a power which always sought to meet aggression in a spirit of magnanimous conciliation would probably never be obliged to engage in war. The public opinion of Europe would render war against it almost impossible. A Quaker writer, in answering the statement that war is unavoidable, has asked the pertinent question: ‘Has any nation fairly made the experiment and failed? Where is the country that has regulated its conduct by that justice, that liberality, that love, that humility, and that meekness which Christianity requires, and has yet found war unavoidable?’

When civilized and powerful nations like England come into close proximity with barbarous or half-civilized races, there is a special need to exercise a lofty forbearance as well as an indulgent gentleness. Those whom we have to do with have much of the child nature in them—are foolish, capricious, jealous. It is easy for an ambitious soldier or a crafty governor who desires war to construe their acts into aggressive designs, and to attack them; and unless there be wise and firm statesmen at home to keep a close watch on their representatives and check them, a nation like England will always be at war with the weak races which swarm on her

* We have not thought it needful to say anything in condemnation of purely aggressive wars, which are condemned by all moralists and jurists. ‘Every just war is a defensive war, inasmuch as every just war supposes an injury perpetrated, attempted, or feared.’ Paley and Grotius expressly condemn an attack on a neighbouring power made ‘through a fear of our neighbour’s increasing strength.’

distant frontiers. But if, instead of putting an evil interpretation upon every childlike movement of the savage, we exercise forbearance and kindness, the natural jealousy which these races feel for the intruding stranger may yield to better feelings, and we should give to the world a great example of a wise, merciful, and yet successful exercise of that great tutelage of races which has been committed to us. The English have been often called the Romans of the modern world. They resemble the old masters of the world in their matchless capacity for governing half-civilized races. By a policy in which prudence and audacity are curiously mingled they can keep millions of men in subjection. They resemble the Romans also, it is to be feared, in their scorn for the people whom they govern, and in want of sympathy with them. In reading the history of the early conflicts of Rome with the Teutonic barbarians, it is manifest with what scorn and cruelty the Romans treated them. The open-eyed men of the north were disposed to admire the all-conquering Empire, but the Empire knew of only one policy, and that was always and everywhere to assert its own ascendancy. And before the races whom they had caused to hate them, they finally fell. A treatment of other races in which our own superiority is constantly asserted cannot fail to leave feelings of rankling dislike in the minds of those subjected to it, and will not be compensated for either by the bestowal of the advantages of good government or by lavish almsgiving. The offended manhood of a nation will not be conciliated either by a plentiful supply of capable civil servants, or by numerous relief works in time of famine.

The Christians of England could perform no higher service to their own country and mankind than to endeavour to introduce something of the forbearing spirit of which their religion speaks into the relations of their country with the numerous barbarous races with which it has to do. But some are frightened by the idea of a political Church, if it spoke on national questions. We believe that if the sense of its moral vocation were stronger in the Church than it is now it would be less, and not more political. Men and Churches which profess to be non-political do often nevertheless support parties because they receive from them certain pecuniary or ecclesiastical advantages. It would be more seemly if Churches, filled with a sense of their moral vocation, kept themselves from all indissoluble alliances with political parties, and if all political parties knew that in the pursuit of an unchristian policy at home or abroad they would

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have opposed to them the entire Christian sentiment of the country. And there is no part of the national policy so much as its wars which requires close watching and anxious scrutiny by those who wish England to lead the van of moral civilization of the world. And this is especially the case when the wars are with 'inferior races;' for, as we have already said, unless public opinion exercises a strict scrutiny of the initiation as well as of the conduct of such wars, they are apt to be left in the hands of soldiers burning for active service, or of civilians anxious to distinguish themselves by acts of annexation.

The present moment seems favourable to a step forward being made in opposition to war, especially against wars waged against the weak. The English people are suffering at present from a fit of nausea. Like all Teutons, they are a fighting people; but they are not mean and ungenerous. They were fooled into the belief that in invading Afghanistan they were encountering Russia; but when the fooling was over, and the real state of the case was disclosed, it became evident that the shooting of fugitive Afghans, and the burning their villages and stores of winter food, was the task to which the Government of England had sent its soldiers. Then came the revulsion of feeling. And when the still more miserable war against the Zulus followed, and English soldiers were sent out with an abundant store of the deadliest and most scientific weapons of modern warfare to mow down a gallant tribe of naked barbarians, then, for the first time in their lives, many Englishmen felt unable to hear of the victories of the forces of England without any feeling but sorrow and shame, not to say regret. Another reason why the opponents of war should take a step forward at present is that some of its advocates have done the same. In older and ruder days, when education and information were less diffused, men really believed that in all wars their own country was in the right. The average Englishman in the days of George III., believing all foreigners to be rascals, and Frenchmen particularly, found no difficulty in praying and fighting for the success of England. This indiscriminate backing of one's own country is no longer possible, unless on principles which imply a cynical contempt of political morality. And this has been the tone of those who lately defended the wars of England. A strong empire must crush surrounding barbaric weakness. England has the strength of a giant, and it must use it like a giant. This was the political morality to which we had often to listen

during the 'imperial epoch' which has suddenly come to a close. In such morality there is a deeper wickedness than in the insensate English patriotism of the days of Pitt and Dundas. The downfall of the late Government was a subject of congratulation to all who take a serious view of national affairs. Those who were interested in the material prosperity of the country, as well as those who desired to see an improvement in its political morality, rejoiced together when the greatest and most just statesman of modern times took the place of Lord Beaconsfield. None had greater cause to rejoice than the opponents of war; for no prominent European statesman cherishes a deeper dislike of wars than Mr. Gladstone. They derange his budgets, and they grieve his conscientious and noble spirit. The course of the present Government since its accession to power has shown the pacific spirit of its chief. Offended Austria was pacified by a few words of graceful apology, which Mr. Gladstone had the courage to make. We are no longer in Cabul, and it is to be hoped that our evacuation of Candahar is not far distant. The firm insistence on the part of the present Government on the carrying out of the terms of the Berlin Treaty is another evidence of a desire for peace, as well as of a sagacious comprehension of the only means to which peace can be maintained in South-Eastern Europe. Our policy in South Africa has been less satisfactory; and the Colonial Legislature has been permitted to plunge us into hostilities for which there is no justification; and from which we shall reap no advantage. This, as well as the hesitation regarding the evacuation of Candahar, are a proof of how difficult it is for the most powerful and just-minded minister to reverse at once the domineering traditions of Indian and English statesmanship. But the mere presence of Mr. Gladstone at the head of the Government is calculated to encourage those who are labouring to educate public opinion to a juster view of the responsibilities of war. No one can doubt that he will rejoice to find a pacific public opinion pressing with irresistible force upon his ministry.

The difficulty of successfully resisting the spirit of warfare in a race so warlike as our own need not discourage those who have watched the progress of moral reformation. All the follies and brutalities of the past, when they could no longer be defended as legitimate, were excused on the ground of necessity. Slavery, duelling, and such like, were so excused. Mankind, we were told, could not get on without them. But by the heroic efforts of a few, a public opinion was

developed which rendered them discreditable, and they have vanished, or are vanishing, from the face of civilized Europe.

An argument is sometimes used to reconcile Christian men to war and to its horrors, of which it is difficult to speak with patience and courtesy. Wars have frequently been the means, we are told, of effecting much good. Divine Providence, it is said, has frequently made war the means of disseminating civilization, as was the case with the wars of Alexander the Great, whose invasion of the East forms a civilizing epoch in the history of the world. It is even added sometimes that war has proved a pioneer for the Christian missionary, and missionaries have in some ill-considered utterances accepted the camp-follower's position thus assigned to them. The answer to this is that war is certainly sometimes God's minister of vengeance, and even of mercy, to mankind. Plague and famine are also His ministers 'fulfilling his word,' and with them war is classed in Holy Scripture. If we would hold fast our faith in a Divine government of the world, we must sometimes dwell upon the manner in which good comes out of evil. But it is not to abate our zeal against evil that such revelations of the Divine procedure have been made. It would be wiser if, instead of speaking of God bringing good out of evil, we rather spoke of Him as producing good in spite of antecedent evil. It has been so in many of the instances cited of war having produced a new and more fruitful civilization. The latter was the result of the contact of races. The wars with which the contact begun were no necessary part of the process, but an evil and ill-omened introduction which shed unwholesome influences upon much of what followed. It is not necessary that men should always fight when they meet for the first time; and the nations which lead the civilization of the world may be naturally expected to encourage that policy which their wisdom and experience have taught them to approve. 'There are two ways of disputing,' says Cicero, 'the one way is by argument, the other by force; and the former being peculiar to man, and the other to beasts, we must have recourse to the last when the first cannot prevail.' We do not deny the necessity for the occasional employment of the 'brutal' method, but let it be only when the 'human' method has really been tried and has failed.

JOHN GIBB.

ART. VI.—*Materialism, Pessimism, and Pantheism :
Final Causes.*

OF all self-contradictory teachers, surely the apostles of our new materialistic gospel are the most self-contradictory. They tell us in one breath that we can know nothing, that we must not dogmatize on the nature of things, because that is metaphysics; and in the next breath they contradict themselves flatly by telling us that there is nothing but matter and force, which between them *explain* everything. Moleschott tells us that the 'affinities of matter' are the *schaffende Allmacht*, the creative Allmightiness, and that therefore final causes are useless and absurd. Yet the 'affinities of matter' are pure ideas, and can be nothing else; and these are absurd out of a mind. It is only a choice between ideas then. Are the purposes we see answered—the elaborate contrivances, such as the fertilization of plants by insects—causes, or are they the preferences and dislikes of forces *inter se*? And what are forces but ideas? What are general laws but ideas of the common conceiving mind, or spirits of men? How odd that one should have to toss that ball back to Germany, Germany having tossed it over to us! But these ideas are inadequate to explain the facts. They are means to ends, and must be so regarded. They minister to higher ideas beyond them. Moleschott says that the organic and inorganic worlds are but a series of mathematically arranged results, a pure theorem in mechanics; nay, the whole history of the cosmos (men included) could be deduced *a priori* from the mathematical laws of the universal mechanism, if we had all the elements of the problem. What are mathematical theorems, if they are not ideas? All could be deduced *a priori* by a mind from mathematical ideas! and yet the whole (including the deducing mind!) is brute matter and blind force! chance! fortuitous concourse of atoms! entirely devoid of intelligence! Is not this the very flattest of all conceivable self-contradictions? Then *how* are we to draw out emotions, sensations, volitions, designs, aspirations after the infinite and ideal, conscience, the conceptions of Raphael and Shakspeare, out of one little box containing *only* mathematical theorems? Verily the inexhaustible bottle, the magic hat of the conjuror are nothing to this! and the blood of St. Januarius pales before the miracles of our new hierarchy! Talk of the incredible wonders of modern spiritualism, which no orthodox scientist or sober man of common sense, who values

his reputation for sanity, dares believe in. At least, if this 'matter' makes us, and if we could deduce it from our own ideas, itself must surely be or possess *a priori* ideas; for we have them, and could make it out of them. Whence did we get them? From matter? Then must it not be like us—a thinker, a spirit, or many such? Personal? No! it is a blind, blundering brute! at one and the same moment this, and yet also entirely subject to the necessary laws of thought. Strange monster, indeed! This god 'matter' reminds one of nothing so much as of the raree-showman's '*lesser wiffle-woffle*,' that could not live in the water, and died when it came on shore. 'These be thy gods, O Israel!' But this comes of crooking one's back over one small heap of dust—grubbing there, and then swearing that there can and shall be nothing in the universe beside, because one has grown bent and short-sighted one's self. Let Science keep to her own province, she will be honoured and thanked as heretofore; but let her not intrude into the inner shrine of our temple to desecrate it. Or let her worship there, as we all do, with lowly eyes and bended knee. Science in her own province is a glorious and welcome revealer of God's truths, nor can we dispense with her wonderful revelations. Let her only be rightly, cautiously, and reverently interpreted.

Then Moleschott says, we must choose between God and His laws. If there be a God, He doesn't want laws, and if there be laws, they don't want Him. That is a simple dilemma, indeed! But why doesn't God want His laws? And how do there come to be laws without Him? How can there be an order without an orderer? And what if we do not seem to be the orderers? or at least, we may ask, who, or what orders the order of our thoughts? And if there be God, how should He be known to us but by His laws, His order? But then it may be asked, and fairly—atheists do ask—who or what orders His thoughts? The reply is, that His thoughts are not as our thoughts. They transcend our thoughts. They are the spiritual essence, or reason of our thoughts, which we cannot as yet fathom. But spirit is self-moving. There is a certain unreason in nature, and in us, I believe. That, however, is not in God, as God; it is in the creature, as out of God, as 'free,' spontaneously active, in the lower creaturely time-life. Indeed, the laws of the phenomena of matter are the laws of the self-government of spirit in creaturely time-life. But in order to get at the root and essence of these, we need to go beyond finite spirit, to the root and essence of spirit, that is, to infinite, universal Spirit. Büchner, in '*Science and Nature*,'

actually speaks of a 'pre-existing impelling form' in nature. Where does it pre-exist? In *Kraft* or *Stoff*? How does the Beauty and Reason to be realized exist in blind unconscious forces beforehand? There is no chance then? But what is this 'form,' or 'type,' if not *an idea*? And how can ideas exist out of a conscious spirit? Man must deify nature, recognize her mystic divinity, whether he like it or no. The whole structure of his thoughts and language testifies to God, is impregnate with divinity. For he is a spirit, and God is Spirit. The language of final causes, nay, the employment of the idea of design or use to discover laws by, plays a greater part in modern atheistic science than in all the Bridgewater Treatises. Read Darwin on Fertilization, for instance. Only they say now that the perpetual uses we observe in nature are all systematically accidental and irrational—a contradiction in terms. 'Ah! but we impose our own ideas on nature!' Very well; then cease to talk of her as a blind mechanical god, for that is your idea too—and she evidently has no existence. For all you can know of her is your own idea of her. That all science proves. So either abandon your science, or admit that you are only amusing yourself among your own thoughts: and then we prefer ours, as more adequate to human nature and its practical needs, and therefore to nature as a whole; for man is a somewhat important part of nature. 'We never get on better,' admits Kant, 'than when we proceed as if there were God and the soul's immortality.' But you, perhaps, prefer to say, 'Nature corresponds to our ideas.' Very well, that is what I say; then nature has purpose, has ideas, is but the great symbol of God. But whence the 'ideas' that you amuse yourself in 'imposing on' poor nature? From the blind brute herself? How very odd! Moleschott, however, is so bold as actually to attribute to nature, in so many words, 'an end and design, a *τελος*' and yet to tell us in the next breath that she is blind force, and no more! Would it be believed? What next shall we be requested to swallow, metaphysical and religious absurdities being exploded? If all is chance—very well; think it who can. But if all is necessity, how can that be otherwise than ideal, spiritual, an order, reasonable? And there is (by the avowal of our opponents) *so much more than mere mechanical necessity* in nature. Besides, there is the awkward fact of *man* and all his powers, moral or other, speculating, discovering. Whence is he? 'A product of nature,' we are told, 'and nothing else.' Very well; then nature must be God, only imperfectly comprehended by us. But in presence of nature, none

save the most arid, prosaic, stunted, narrow mind can be materialistic. I do not mince phrases. Upon all that we Christians hold sacred cheap ridicule and scorn is cast. I do not believe in the oily indifference, which means want of earnestness, and of which we have enough and to spare. Let both sides now throw away the scabbard, and gird themselves to battle. All is at stake—God, humanity, justice, mercy, purity, affection, honour. And cannot we all see and feel nature for ourselves? Why should specialists have a monopoly of her secrets? She is not *their* mistress; *they* have not her confidence at all. They who love her know her best; to them she whispers; not to the irreverents and vivisectionists, who stare at her with brazen face, who would indecently expose her, and blab, and calumniate.

Then we are told that there is no vital force, only mechanical and chemical forces. Why is a vital force a more heretical metaphysical entity than a chemical or mechanical one? It is after all but a different application of the same energy; nobody ever supposed that it was a bogey, or anything else except that. We poor innocent metaphysicians are accused falsely of multiplying metaphysical *entia*. But spirits, selves, persons we know; and nothing else do we, or can we possibly know. What is the good of saying that 'naught is everything, and everything is naught,' that everything is identical with everything else, and that the highest can proceed from and come out of the lowest; and that causality is nonsense, or means something else, when all men's common sense rises in revolt at the strange sophistry that now passes itself off as a philosophy? If this is 'science,' 'science' is but a passing craze that, with all its airs and pretensions, mankind will soon enough relegate to the limbo of fools and folly, whereto it professes to have sent theology. We shall all go on believing that the lower must proceed from the higher, the less from the more, and not *vice versâ*; we shall all go on believing that two and two make four, however unfortunate it may be that 'priests and tyrants' herein agree with us. No doubt Goethe's objection to teleology has some reasonable foundation. The sole end of cork-trees is not to stop ginger-beer bottles—yet why not *an* end? Final causes, in other words, are the interpretation our intellect puts upon the intelligible phenomena of nature; yet, though there is a higher end than these, though the final and most real end may be hidden, yet there are many ends, one within and by the other; and it seems quite unreasonable to deny that the ends actually answered are an integral part of the whole idea

of nature. God indeed does not work as we fancy, and as we should work. But still purpose, contrivance are the truest interpretation we are able to put upon the phenomena; these put us in possession of the actual truth according to the measure of our ability to know it, much more than if we stop at 'affinities,' and so on, which are but instruments subordinate to the idea, though themselves a part of it. There is not less reason, but more reason than we can discern in nature. Yet the less purpose we see is also included in the Divine intuition. The 'conditions and results' (the so-called 'facts') of positivism are also laws of thought, and can be nothing else, so it is perfectly arbitrary to stop at these; and if the higher idea that seems revealed in nature be a chimera, why should the 'conditions and results' be less of a chimera? If the spirit be untrustworthy at all, it may be untrustworthy in all. 'Trust me not at all, or all in all.' 'Happy dispatch,' or idiotcy and silence, are then the only logical attitudes for man. Let us grant Dr. Moleschott the present normal connection between phosphorus and thought, though Liebig does not grant it so readily. But we would urge that other forms of 'matter' may be, for all he knows, equally valuable in this connection. Besides, the real truth is, *No thought, no phosphorus.*

It is urged, indeed, that in some cases there is no design manifest at all, and in others that there is an evil or a foolish one. But in all cases there is the same evidence of design in this sense; that means are manifestly adapted to produce the ends they do. So far there is reason everywhere. Look at the adaptation of the organism to its environment, and of the environment to the organism. Look at the 'law of natural selection.' Why are there 'variations' in organization, and the preservation of those favourable to an organism, by the 'law of heredity'? How do not all these arrangements exhibit purpose? It may be said, 'But what of the organisms that are not favoured, and perish?' 'What of germs that never flower?' How do you know, I answer, that they do not fulfil their purpose? You mistake by fancying that they were meant to survive; you mistook their purpose. But they exhibit an order also; they live and die according to intelligible law, even as do those that survive, only the purpose is in their case less clear and manifest; that is because we do not know enough concerning them. Besides, the whole of the inorganic world, exhibiting law and constant order, causes and effects, seems to my mind to exhibit adaptation of means to ends, idea, purpose. We rely upon it, calculate what will happen,

and act accordingly; and the organic is entirely founded on and nourished by it. It is merely that the idea or final cause of the inorganic is less clear to us because we are organisms, and chiefly concerned with the organic. But without the inorganic, how could the organic be? Atheists do not explain how the human mind comes to be so related to the external world, that purpose is irresistibly suggested by the latter to the former, if there is no purpose or, at least, nothing intelligent corresponding, which in the human mind and action would be purpose.

Fate (or mechanical necessity), it has been said, causes all combinations, having infinite time to work in, and among them those that appear purposive. I answer, Mechanical necessity, atoms, and their constitution—these are ideas of ours; hypotheses, which are illegitimately assumed to be *veræ causæ*, if purpose is no *vera causa*; they are equally *our* conception. Again, unless you fall back upon *chance*, a conception expressly repudiated as absurd by Lange, one of the most philosophic of materialists, all these combinations imply causes adequate to produce them—say, the constitution of atoms. But to say that this atomic constitution has a tendency to produce purposive combinations *as well as others*, is merely to reaffirm what we deny. We argue that atoms have no such tendency taken by themselves, yet they are constantly, or very often, suggesting purpose. Witness the law of heredity. And this very imagined constitution implies an ideal order, a systematic arrangement. If it be said that they are so once for all, from everlasting, then I ask, What makes them move from one state of combination to another? Whence the change? There is nothing in the hypothetical constitution you point us to capable of taking them into an infinitude of new combinations one after the other. And why is this motion a harmony, an order, a system capable of being thought intelligibly? How is it reducible under reason if it have no principle of reason in itself? How have the atoms this appearance of concerted action if they are mere atoms, each acting on its own impulse? But an atom, a centre of force, with spontaneity, acting in a myriad different ways, *and in concert with others*, so as to produce a harmony, a system, an order, is surely either under intelligent guidance from without, or is itself a spiritual Ego, and highly intelligent. Does the original atomic constitution occasionally produce chaos, and not order? Nay, must not a constitution that can be thought as an ordered system always produce order? 'Necessity' means rule, order, subordination of effect to

cause, and nothing else can be thought, because to think is to submit the object thought to the law and rule of thinking; nothing else can be affirmed intelligently. No thought corresponds to the mere word 'chance.' And how could *the same original constitution* produce now chaos, now order? It could only be, *relatively speaking*, chaos, a lesser order, or an order not to us fully intelligible—yet still potentially intelligible—therefore order. But there is indeed a necessity of self-existence; only that cannot be an hypothetical phenomenal thing like those shifting atoms. That is unchanging, real, right, good, with a reality, rightness, and goodness above our thought, as we are now, though the source and substance of ours. That the purpose in nature sometimes seems to us evil or foolish is also true, as likewise that the purpose seems sometimes frustrated, as in germs that perish. But then I have admitted that all ends are but partially understood by us, and prove themselves means to further ends which we can often see to be good; and these, again, are means to ends out of our view. Often the end is not what we have supposed. Nay, there are many ends being answered even at the moment, besides the one we see.

Need we then limit, as Mill suggests, God's goodness, or His power? Now, Divine goodness is doubtless not exactly like ours; but must it not transcend, instead of falling below our ideal? It must include that, as being the inspirer and reality and source of ours. But are we judges of the ultimately best? Divine power in one senso may be limited. God cannot do otherwise than the best; and that best is what is, if we saw the end. He wills what is, and can will no otherwise; for what is is Himself, the Possible, the Real; and is real and right and true in itself; it flows from the eternal and perfect One. Though it may be truly evil in its present imperfect state, in its transition, as we know it now, relatively evil, God, willing and seeing it as part of the whole, which is its true essential state, wills always good and not evil. Whatever is is right; but that maxim may be abused by being misunderstood, for the evil is not; it is only as the illusive appearance of the reality to us. 'This St. Augustine excellently explains in his 'Confessions.' Yet it is false to say that God's power is limited, because absurdities and wrong are impossibilities, not objects of power; all that can be is. Do we really believe, with Alphonso of Castille and certain recent writers of verse, that *we* could give God some good advice?

Some profound pantheistic philosophers like Spinoza have not seen their way to admitting a personal immortality

or a personal God. I apprehend that is because they have not grasped the idea of personality. Spinoza believes in one substance with infinite attributes, and infinite modes of those attributes. 'The only attributes we know of, however,' he says, 'are thought and extension.' What fundamentally vitiates his philosophy is putting these side by side—whereas *extension is but a mode of thought*. These individual men he regards as modes of those attributes; and the modes pass, arise, and vanish, he says, while the substance remains. Yet if the modes all vanish which constitute the attributes, if these are unreal and illusory, must not the attributes be so likewise? And if the attributes are so, since these must be grounded in, supported, caused by, the substance, and express the nature of the substance, must not the substance be illusory also? And if so, all goes together. If Spinoza did not feel *himself* to be substance, how could he *conceive* this eternal substance at all? how could he know about it? To distinguish between substance and mode, the passing and the permanent, must he not have had the types of both in his own spirit? must he not have been both? and must it not have been in and through and by these very changing thoughts of his, whether as his, or as appearances to him of the outer world, that he got his idea of the eternal substance revealing itself in the attributes of thought and extension, and revealing itself in the modes of these? But can the spirit that knows the eternal substance, that *has the type of it within*, be other than that eternal substance? And if the thought and extension, if the mind and the body through which and in which alone it can be known by men, and which are theirs, which are a part of them, if these are all in perpetual flux, if these are unreal and illusory, must it not be the same? Which is absurd, for then there is no thought and no thinker; for if there be no thought, there is no thinker. And, according to Spinoza, all particular successions of thoughts, being only modes, are equally unreal; but an addition of infinite negatives cannot make a positive—a thousand noughts do not make one. Our existence is in thought; and if that be unreal, then so is our existence, and we certainly cannot know that there is real existence at all. If we know it, we must have it; but we have it in and by thought. *Cogito, ergo sum* is a fair inference, though we know our existence, without inference, in and by thought. It is by thought Spinoza knows the real and eternal substance, yet he says thought is unreal and illusory; for if it flashes up out of nothing, and perishes the next moment, it must be so. Yet how can that which has no stability and permanence in it know the real and permanent? how image, how reflect,

how conceive, how name it? But Spinoza failed to see that it is only by means of this very flux of phenomena, by the intuition of its own identity amid the differences, and by the identity of type, by the similarity, by the recognition in memory, which its own permanent self establishes among different and successive phenomena, as well as by the comparison of such experiences with those of other similar self-identical permanent thinkers, whom it claims kindred with, and who awaken its own life, with whom it feels identity, union, fellowship, that it is only thus the spirit of the thinker can conceive of substance and its attributes at all; therefore not only must the substance be within, but thought and its modes at any rate must partake of the reality and permanence of substance. It was in fact the thinker, the person, the essential activity of substance that Spinoza failed distinctly to grasp. Himself the thinker was in his system, in truth, unaccounted for, left out in the cold, and he only accounted for a Somewhat, presumed to be a long way off from him, that he believed himself to be contemplating. He says indeed expressly that it is only for us, to our understandings, that substance manifests itself as thought and extension; in itself it has not these. Therefore evidently these, as well as we ourselves, are totally unconcerned in all this; and the part of philosophy that interests us has still to begin. We have thought and extension, and we know that we are substantial. In us substance *has* these attributes. If Spinoza says, it only *seems* to have, then we ask, Why? And to this we get no answer. It is thought that says all this about substance—that it only seems to have thought, &c. If thought itself only seems, thought can affirm nothing about itself, and still less about 'substance.' Shall thought repudiate itself? Thought is, or nothing is. Let us interpret it, if possible; this certainly is not the way. And who are we to whom, it is admitted, substance manifests itself in this illusory manner? Nay, substance may not be exhausted in us, and that of course I fully admit; but we cannot be illusion, we cannot but be permanent, nor can our thought be otherwise, for it is the only basis of our knowledge about this or anything else. What does this prove but that we have not got to the bottom of our own being, of our own thought? But the mere fact that we do not know how we existed before birth, or how we shall exist after death, the mere fact of these two shut gateways of our imagination is quite insufficient to show that we are bubbles, unsubstantial, modes, accidents, unrealities, 'rainbows on a cloud,' as Hartmann has it—I mean on Spinoza's,

or any other pantheistic showing. The living spirit, as active source and basis of all phenomena, is not grasped at all in these systems; and yet the systems themselves were utterly impossible without this. If we are 'modes,' we and the modes must have somehow a permanent reality, which however our present understanding may be unable fully to comprehend.

What is really purposed by positivism and pantheism both, is to give a permanent value to the infinite procession of creatures which neither creature possesses. 'But a chain is not stronger than its weakest point.' Here they are *all* weak points!

But whatever be the the common opinion of his doctrine, I believe that Spinoza held human immortality precisely in the sense that Aristotle held it (see Eth. Th. v.), and Aristotle held that the *vous ποιητικός* is immortal—the active, though not the passive intellect. What he meant by this we may have some notion of by remembering how he defined the Divine intellect—*νοησις της νοησεως*. And so in Part V. Spinoza speaks of the intellectual intuition, the pure divine contemplation as surviving death. They both say that memory and discursive thought and affection perish with the body. That does not seem, as I have elsewhere argued, at all to follow; nevertheless, I have also argued that we must own with them these phenomenal modes of being not to be absolutely permanent. They have their reality in the action, reason, or intuition, which is permanent. But these thinkers did not recognize that our mortal faculties and acquisitions are transfigured and made substantial in that higher state, that they can by no means be destroyed, and hence that our inmost personality cannot perish. This is, of course, very important, because otherwise there would be no immortality of the person, the immortal lacking identity with the mortal. Now can there be indeed a preservation of individuality in the Divine? I answer, Yes; otherwise there were no individuality in the human. Persons are in the Divine in a transcendent sense that we cannot comprehend, because the lower of course cannot comprehend the higher, though the higher can and does comprehend the lower: in the higher there is the full noumenon and phenomenon, but the phenomenon is interpreted; the reason and meaning of it are manifest. (On this point see James Hinton's 'The Art of Thinking, and other Essays.') There can be no noumenon without phenomenon, any more than there can be phenomenon without noumenon. It has been rightly maintained that con-

consciousness is impossible without subject and object, without distinction of knower and known. The 'absolute' that is not relative is an abstract term only; and well may Mansel triumphantly break the logical shins of his readers over it. If we insist on defining God as the absolute blank effacement of all difference, as abstract unity, we must certainly, with Hamilton, Mansel, and Spencer, with Schelling, and Hartmann, deny Him consciousness.

But, then, what is the use and meaning of Him? Why imagine a God at all? What *rôle* does He fulfil? Hartmann indeed elaborately explains that He does the most transcendent acts of wisdom in the world without any consciousness whatever. But really one cannot discuss so apparently nonsensical a paradox. If it were true, then Hartmann no doubt might make out his case for the non-immortality of man; for what is essential in us would be unconscious, and according to him consciousness arises from the unconscious in matter meeting, and opposing the unconscious in mind! He has what seems the most farfetched, inconceivable, and inadequate explanation possible of *why* these two unconscious factors should become conscious on meeting at all, if they were otherwise in their own inmost nature. In this system there is indeed no difference between 'mind' and 'matter.' In fact, there is and can be neither. But consciousness is said to arise from the 'stupefaction' of these inconceivable and imaginary factors on meeting. Stupefaction and astonishment in the unconscious! But 'consciousness' is an unessential byplay, and a great mistake, and will soon come to an end, we are assured. Hartmann says that the 'forces within' come into contact with the 'forces without,' and that thence consciousness emerges. But what is the difference between forces 'within' and forces 'without,' if both are alike unconscious? There is none. 'Within' what? 'Without' what? Not within a person, for there can be no person before consciousness. As neither perceiving nor perceived, what *are* these forces? How do they ever emerge from their blank nihility? Why, there can be no object without a subject, no forces *without*, because there is no consciousness for them to be out of, therefore no external world, and no mental world, therefore nothing at all.

Should the Deity succeed in reducing Himself—or rather, should we succeed in reducing Him—by the extraordinary, absurd, and unintelligible process which the pessimists Schopenhauer and Hartmann endeavour to describe—to unconsciousness, what should prevent Him from becoming conscious

(in creatures) again? Experience of the mistake? How can that influence Him after He has become unconscious? Is it not to be feared that in the infinitude of past ages He has already made that grave mistake, as pessimists deem it, many a time, and that nothing can keep Him from it, even if the suicidal aspirations of all creatures everywhere should become universal, of which there is no immediate probability? Extravagant as all this system—which has a considerable following, strange to say, in modern Germany—may be, the assumption on which it is based is very characteristic of the age—that the prevalent pain, misery, hopeless poverty of the masses, the hard, tyrannous graspingness of the richer and well-to-do, the general *ennui* and despair, or *welt-schmerz*, has no meaning beyond itself; that there are no rich sweetnesses in adversity, but that all is pure evil, as it seems, the only escape from which lies in returning to universal unconsciousness, for that pain grows with civilization, disease becomes more complicated and incurable, the nervous system becomes more sensitive to agony, and the desires of men become ever more antagonistic and irreconcilable. All is found out to be vanity and vexation of spirit, while it is proved that there is no hereafter, no compensation for suffering and injustice. Nor can inherited evil habits—*fate*—be broken through; men are slaves of sin for evermore. Ah! this commends itself to the weary man who suffers in himself, and feels the burden of all this unintelligible world; who beholds the shaping of weapons of slaughter, ever more terrible, the toiling lives of millions, stunted, irreclaimably vicious, born evil and with evil surroundings, deprived of all humanizing influences that can influence them, even external nature made black and hideous for them in their manufactories; who sees starving children moaning, tortured, murdered; the red heaps of mangled, dishonoured, and groaning bodies on a myriad battlefields; and all the foul wrongs men do to one another—how they hate and bite and devour one another; our frivolity, too, our emptiness, our ephemeral span of life! Aye, but God reigns. He overrules the evil for the good of all His sons. He kills to make alive. To deeper and deeper abysses He leads, but only that the very root of evil may be destroyed, that Satan's unsatisfying lie of a self-life may be exposed in all the nakedness of its deformity, and contradicted before the universe once for all. Out of the eater comes forth meat. Christ Jesus has read for us the riddle of the Sphinx. Drinking the cup of the Father's wrath to the dregs, He has felt and pronounced it to be Love. And

if Faith can so drink the cup, she too shall smile with martyrs in the midst of flame.

But even Hartmann takes the material 'forces' far too *naively* as he finds them, instead of thoroughly investigating the concepts that are supposed to reveal them. Yet he is far too much of a philosopher not clearly to see that they are the very focus of intelligence; only he perversely chooses to say that this intelligence is unconscious. And he never asks himself the question at all whether all this material world is not mere phenomenon relative to the imperfection of our intelligence? He is satisfied with calling it unconscious, because we ourselves are not in the secrets of its consciousness. He curiously enough, however, admits that the orders of existences which appear to us—taking for granted that we know them quite adequately—*really are just precisely as they appear to us*: and so he maintains that protoplasms, cells, fibres, and all the zoophytes, &c., even atoms—if we mean by atoms centres of force—have a kind of consciousness. But he is again too much of a philosopher not to see that these detached grains of sensitiveness merely added together will not account for the order of the external world. And so he has recourse to his *unconscious consciousness*, to his unwise wisdom, to his unintelligent (or foolish?) intelligence—which is God! Having dug deep into the mines of consciousness for the noblest attributes of his own conscious spirit, he proceeds to place these outside himself, and endeavour (in words only, however, for nothing more is possible) to deprive them of that which is their essential and common *differentia*, consciousness; he proceeds to assert that, though in him and in all of us where he finds them they, of course, belong to conscious spirit, a personality, yet in the outer world, and in the common principle or root of both worlds (!) they exist by themselves deprived of consciousness. But at every step of his demonstration he really uses self-contradictory phraseology. It is far more self-contradictory than the flesh without the blood which Portia so aggravatingly insists that Shylock shall take, a distinction to which, as it always seemed to me, Shylock so reasonably demurred. The world is found to be one vast system of thought; only so can it be talked of, or conceived, or explained by science, and therefore forsooth the world is *without* thought, unconscious, has only the dead forms of it (whatever they may be), which no one can possibly conceive; yet the world is active, is alive. Is that only as a galvanized corpse? 'Nay, but to be without conscious thought is more noble than to be with it.' Well, we know the activity of our

own conscious spirits, and we know a similar activity without us, with all the signs of consciousness about it. But this 'unconscious consciousness,' what is that? Must not this outer thought be conscious, if we only saw behind the appearances? Hartmann is solely misled in this matter by not seeing that our modes of consciousness may not be the only ones, nay, cannot be. I admit all that he says about the inadequateness of discursive, logical, successive, sensuous thought to account for itself. I have argued that elaborately in 'The Contemporary Review' (as against Berkeley and others), and shown that there cannot be a God possessed of such a mind as ours. But the source, the principle of sufficient reason, the cause, the reality of our time-thought can only be a transcendent intuition, a transcendent consciousness. And Hartmann, strangely enough, in some passages seems almost to grant this. The Eleatics and Neoplatonists have similar ideas about the One, the Source of All, which they say must be above being. But this transition from the one to the many is the difficulty. The conscious hierarchies of Neoplatonism do account for the world; but the one remaining unconscious even while manifesting itself in the many is a flight beyond the Eleatic or the Neoplatonist, and accounts for nothing; for the many clearly displays a pervading and all-harmonizing consciousness. An all-harmonizing intelligence Hartmann, however, urges need not be, cannot be, as ours. And that I cordially grant. But do not therefore most unwarrantably cut the very throat of your intelligence by calling it *unconscious*. Moreover, if the many, with its all-harmonizing intelligence, were not also in the One, the many, the world, we ourselves should never emerge at all; there would be no many; we should not be. In truth, the One is zero, is nothing, without the many; the many are zero, are nothing, without the One. It is Hegel's glory to have demonstrated that the Relative is the True.

Indeed, the 'God' of post-Kantian German philosophy is no god at all. He does not implicitly contain the world, though He is said to bring it forth. He is no adequate cause. He is, in fact, merely the pure potentiality, the *hyle*, the matter, of Aristotle, and therefore really more impotent than the formed 'matter' of Materialism. This is a grave assertion, yet true. But you want the form, the *energeia*, the principle of motion or development, the idea, the spirit. One would think *this* was the right God, and the vulgar, with their healthy instincts, are inclined to think so too. But this, with German pantheism, only comes *after*. This is apparently the result

of the self-development of the *hyle*. Reason, says Renan expressly, is organizing God. Who and what then is this impersonal reason? An absurdity, a figment! And yet you never get further than the human spirit as it is now, the human soul as artist and as thinker, as Schelling or as Hegel. Schelling's *Indifference-point of subject and object* becomes first object, then subject. Why and where and how did it begin to do that, being but blank self-identity? Fichte's absolute Ego, in order to be conscious (how, if it were not conscious, to begin with?) became many empirical Egos, *i.e.*, ourselves, and created an opposition in itself, which we call the external world. But God's proper godlike state is *ahead* in both cases—in time, in men; *we* are the best state God has yet arrived at. And yet, after all, we are perishable bubbles! mere phenomena! mere empirical Egos! Surely this is anomalous. One would think that with infinite past time to work in, something more satisfactory might have got itself put together—'Nascetur ridiculus mus'—and these human bubbles are God's best work! One cannot say much for it, to be quite candid; nay, these bubbles are God Himself at His best! So also say Mr. F. Harrison and the Positivists. We are to worship man, not as he is in God, eternal in Christ, but as the poor fleeting shadow-pantomime he is now and here—as our own abstract idea—a poor, weak, evil, transitory phantom-God, indeed! Infinite past time has not 'organized' God yet; why should the future? And the end, the result, is no more contained in the alleged beginning, than it is in the blind 'force' or nebula, or bacteria of Materialism. The absolute spirit can only be known in ourselves, and in others like us, and in the cosmos external to us. These, at any rate, are what common men want to account for and understand. But the absolute spirit, which these philosophers show us at the beginning, has no apparent relation to these, and certainly no apparent tendency to produce them. We are personal spirits, and interested in ourselves. If philosophy is so high and mighty that she will not condescend to talk about ourselves at all, we, on the other hand, are not much interested in her sermons, because she seemed to profess that she was going to explain to us all about 'man' and 'nature'—we are 'men,' and out there is nature. Nothing can be more monstrous and absurd than the way in which these philosophers talk with contempt of this 'empirical Ego of ours,' and profess for their part to be concerned only with 'the absolute Ego.' What on earth are they, the thinkers, but 'empirical Egos,' whose thought (more or less) hangs together? and if they do know anything about the 'absolute

Ego,' they can only find the type of it in themselves, in their own personal empirical selves; if it really has nothing to do with their own conscious spirits, then it can only be an abstract notion, a mere philosopher's toy, upon which grave men with urgent, practical interests can only look with passing amusement, perhaps pity. The true absolute Ego must be the Ego in which, or of whom, all empirical Egos partake, the very substance and source of their moral beings, and of their personal affections, which enables them to exchange thoughts, to work for a common end; which enables them to love, to sympathize, to give themselves to one another in service, to form one grand community, however the members of it may be separated by time and by space. And that Ego must be before, must be above, must contain all the rest. That Ego must be Spirit supremely conscious, and we spirits in Him. 'In Him we live, and move, and have our being.' Neither can any in Him perish so long as He remains. He loves us in the perfect Son, in whom He sees us, and we are to love Him, yea, and all in Him, returning to Him, drawn by His Spirit in each one, though we must wander for awhile. Here is the principle of repulsion making the distinction, which is essential to the attraction, to love, to consciousness. And hence the infinite universe. God distinguishes these persons from Himself, even as we distinguish our thoughts from ourselves, though He knows they are in Him. Hutchison Stirling, our eminent metaphysician, has opened up this thought, as in Hegel. Subject and object are indeed in Him one, but one in many, one in all. And this is the only identity or unity possible; mere blank self-identity, $A=A$, or $O=O$ is none. This is the true reconciliation of theism and pantheism, warranted by reason and Holy Scripture.

Yet we lack the highest comprehensive intuition that finally identifies all in one. In conscious spirit is the very pulse of being, is all activity. Hegel has shown that more clearly than all, and yet he did wrong to make logical human thought the all in all. But of Schelling and Fichte in their earlier stages (and of Spinoza, as he is generally understood) it may be asked, If the empirical Egos, if the personal spirits, are all nothing, merely temporary unsubstantial phenomena, beginning and perishing at death, what becomes of the absolute Ego which thus manifests itself, which thus attains to consciousness in men? It seemed to be little enough before, and it would seem to be still less after! Again the answer would probably be that the race is real, though the individual is not. But this is utterly unphilosophical.

The race is composed of individuals, and must be a mere unsubstantial shade itself if all the members are; while itself seems, according to science, destined to disappear, as many now fossilized races of animals have done before it. Yet Schelling and Fichte thought differently in their later stages on this important question, though it may suit infidels to sneer at their later views as adopted in their dotage. It is absurd to say that they who know the absolute are nothing, that they upon whom true being can arise and shine out of the depths of their own consciousness are nothing, but that this idea of theirs, this absolute is alone real, is the source and substance of them, though it will exist when they are not; in fact that it is utterly different from them. They could then as little know it as, on the dualistic hypothesis, a mind could know matter. The same reasoning applies also to Hartmann's Unconscious, and Spinoza's Substance; except so far as that involves thought and extension, and therefore involves the eternity of all thoughts and extensions, all minds and bodies, all men.

It may be replied, perhaps, that if we and other finite 'modes' have a certain duration, that makes us sufficiently real. I do not think so. Duration is only relative. Of some duration we can take no cognizance, and our duration in this life might be below the *minimum sensibile* of some minds. Whose shall be the standard of measure? But in fact no duration is fixed; it is the past becoming the future: all is ever changing. A 'thing' is only in its becoming something else. Hegel has proved that sufficiently. *And in changing, it retains its identity.* There is no annihilation conceivable, or suggested by experience. The 'modes' pass, but *they are in their passing, and indeed no otherwise.* It is only our thought that thus presents to us ourselves and other things as in time. 'The One remains, the many change and pass;' yet remain essentially in the One, which without them would not be.

We object to the '*infinite potency of matter*' explanation of the world as it actually is, including man and his faculties, because, while professing to include the present order of things in an explanation of this, and a myriad other hypothetical ones, it really neither accounts for the hypothetical nor the actual. The hypothetical possibilities indeed we might willingly leave unprovided for, but we object to their throwing dust in our eyes by way of helping to explain the actual fact, though they do no such thing. We ask, how is the actual possible? what accounts for it? And the answer is that an infinite number of other orders of things was also possible, this among them. But on the contrary, in that case

the others would have stood in the way of this; there is less reason than ever why this one should be *rather than* the rest. To this it is replied that all have had, or will have, their turn,—the unintelligible as well as the intelligible. But is it not evident that such an assertion only leaves an infinite number of imaginary universes to be accounted for instead of one? We ask you to explain one, the actual, and you do so by showing us a myriad others equally unexplained or inexplicable. What surprises us most is that so acute a thinker as Lange* should appear to see force in the strange Democritean or Lucretian theory, that man, and the actual, purposeful order of nature are only some among infinite possibilities, all having their turn. We urge that intelligence and order cannot be the work of blind, unintelligent chance, nor of necessity—for the atomists have almost given up the unintelligible word Chance as a first cause, to substitute Necessity. But the objection to that word is its vagueness. If, however, they are pressed, they urge that unintelligent atoms, by their necessary constitution, are capable of producing intellect and order, because they are also capable of producing an infinite number of other chaotic universes. That, so far as I understand it, is the contention upon which Lange is disposed to look with favour. This actual order is one of infinite possibilities. But what we deny is exactly that. We say that, however possible chaos, or an infinite number of chaoses, may be as a result of the constitution of unintelligent atoms, the actual order involving human intellect, and apparent purpose, means and ends, is *not* thus possible, *cannot be so explained*. There is no jump possible from oxygen or hydrogen or carbon atoms to the one and self-identical intellect conceiving these by virtue of its own powers of remembering, comparing, differencing, identifying, by virtue of its own categories, or inherent manners of conceiving and feeling. Nor even if you tacked on an imaginary intellect or subject to each of these atoms would the jump to the actual order of things—to human intellect, and the world we know—be more intelligible. How would harmonious and purposeful results be explained by an infinitude of separate and isolated subjectivities? Here again chaos, but not order, might be explained. And how would these infinitesimal subjects be fused into one human subject capable of conceiving with his one and self-identical consciousness, the same through a variety of experiences, through different times, these same atoms and their supposed subjectivity, of which we can, however, form no distinct conception? How should

* See his 'Geschichte des Materialismus.'

all these myriad, and scarcely developed different fuse into this one and self-identical, fully developed, human subject, the same through so many diverse experiences? This is, I think, a sufficient answer to Professor Clifford's theory of '*mind-elements*.' Atoms and elements are mere hypotheses, and of not quite unquestionable value even in their application to natural science; but it is simply a grotesque absurdity to apply the hypothesis to mind, of which the very *differentia* is unity through diverse experiences. There is nothing in common between a composition of atoms, or even of forces, and the one self or spirit that is alone able of conceiving these—indeed, by virtue of which alone these can exist—seeing they are essentially conceptions and hypotheses of the one self, or of many similar selves. They cannot constitute the self, because they, in order to be conceivable, presuppose the self-conceiving them. Apart from the human self, they can only be the operations of intelligences, or of one Supreme Intelligence, so (phenomenally) appearing to us as we have capacity to comprehend them. But further: I defy Democritus, Lucretius, or Lange to conceive at all of atoms otherwise than as arranged in some order—and that is no true chaos; it can only be so relatively speaking. The necessary constitution of the atoms which atheistic materialism is forced to postulate is already in order, for it can be defined, and science explains it to us, *i.e.*, it is subject to conditions of the human reason. In fact, nothing but an order is thinkable, will submit to the primary conditions of being thought. Unintelligent atoms, therefore, can neither produce the intelligent and intelligible order we know, *nor* can they produce any imaginary chaos. So the atheists by this hypothesis are but gratuitously adding to their own difficulties, and, like the cuttle, enveloping themselves in the ink of confusion that their enemies may not find them out. If you ascribe all to chance, chance is the negation of causation, and of the principle of sufficient reason, and therefore this is finally to give up all rational explanation. The atoms, forsooth, fortuitously fall into their present order, because they also fortuitously fall into infinite other situations; but their so falling in one case is not explained by their falling otherwise an infinite number of times with equally little, or indeed no explanation at all, or by the gratuitous assertion that they so fall. How shall chance do everything in turn, when it is indeed unthinkable, and able to do nothing?

But of course, if you postulate a given constitution of atoms as self-existing from the first, and evolving the actual order, you postulate a first cause as remote as possible from fortui-

tous. Indeed Lange is emphatic in repudiating the no-idea of 'chance' as an absurdity. You have then left Necessity. But Necessity again is a mere abstract name until you give some definition of it. It is anyhow a conception of the human mind, and what it may be apart from any mind conceiving it, who will undertake to say? What it means in the mouth of a materialist, however, is the self-existing constitution of elementary atoms. Let us, then, keep that signification of the word before us. This is a conception belonging to the region of mathematical quantity, and mechanical energy. But what are these apart from thought, and thought's categories? We are here certainly in the region of law, and intelligent order—even of necessary order. Whence shall we fetch this law, order, and necessity except out of the thought conceiving it—thought involving one thinker, or many similar thinkers—which is what we mean by Ego, or spirit? But if the necessary constitution of atoms involves intellect and spirit to think them, and if yet this seems insufficient to account for the actual order of the universe, which suggests more, which suggests purpose, will working toward special ends, it seems gratuitous to admit one sort of intellectual machinery, while denying another so much more capable of explaining the facts. But though the atomic atheists may admit even this degree of intellect without so intending, they do in fact grant it, and cannot help themselves, because indeed reason can discern nothing but reason, or the reflex of reason in the so-called material sphere. And what is that reflex but reason veiled, or imperfectly discerned? It is ever an intellectual construction with intellectual materials. For even so-called sensible qualities are sensations *classified*, and therefore brought under the constructing power of intellect, poured, moreover, into the moulds of our general intellectual abilities to conceive, or categories, such as number, quantity, quality, space, unity, differences, &c. But outside our human minds these can only be in other minds similar to ours. Because the resultant perceptions, or conceptions, involve essentially a classifying, remembering, comparing Ego or self, one and self-identical through a variety of experiences. Now the atomist having gone so far with us—albeit unwillingly—why should he refuse to recognize *purpose* where there is good evidence of it in nature? For our parts we are free to confess that the appearance of purpose may be an indication of some operation of a faculty higher than purpose, beyond it, and so appearing to us. But that it is an indication of what is below, and less than purpose, we do not admit. It is at least purpose; but

what appears to us as design may in reality be a corresponding operation on the part of a much higher and diviner Spirit.

It is also strange how Lange seems to regard the laws of natural selection, and the stability or permanence of the purposeful or useful, as contrasted with the evanescence of the unpurposeful or useless, as a kind of happy addition to the chapter of accidents known to the ancients, and supplementing their atheistic explanations of the universe. But how in the name of reason can this order, this law of nature, be the result either of accident, or of what is called Blind Necessity? What is there in Blind Necessity to make order, reason, purpose, utility, the growth of intelligent and intelligible organizations, more stable and permanent than anything else? Once having turned up, they are so in themselves, it may be answered. Very well; but then we revert to the point we have at some length discussed—how, and why have they turned up? But in truth *all* varieties, or differentiations, in the organic as in the inorganic, are *equally impossible without adequate cause*—what appears to us unpurposeful quite as impossible as the more apparently useful remainder; for all imply an order, are brought about by fixed, adequate means, in accordance with permanent, intelligible laws. It is only that their purpose is not so clearly manifest to us in some instances as in others; their meaning and reasonable signification is less plain. But the other notes of an intellectual product which we have spoken of are there. And since the same laws are in operation by which the manifestly purposeful results were effected, it seems only reasonable to believe that the faculty corresponding to human design is also operating here, only in a manner not so obvious to human understanding. It is really strange Mr. Herbert Spencer should not see that his own novel, elaborate, and ingenious book of Genesis, explaining the formation of organisms, and especially of the brain (in his 'Psychology'), is, and can only be, an account of the *modus operandi* of a creating intellect; and the same may be said of the Darwinian theory of evolution by natural selection generally. Yet Mr. Spencer *contrasts* his account of origination by law with the old belief of intelligent creation! How should God's creation proceed otherwise than by law?

But to speak one final word on Pessimism, which, though in modern Germany only, and in the far, melancholy East, it has been characteristically erected into a system, yet pervades the whole atmosphere of our modern world like a blight, weighs a heavy, if unavowed, burden upon the hearts of so

many. Even in England it has found more or less coherent expression in recent verse, and in painting. In Italy it took form in the grand poetry of Leopardi. Even in the days of our fathers *welt-schmerz* became half-articulate in the melodious wail of Byron, Shelley, and Heine. In recent English verse the wailing is indeed less respectable, and hardly a *welt-schmerz*, for there is perhaps a more pitiful sorrow in the world than that of a Nero, or Trimalchio, unpacking the heart of his frenzied lust by cursing like a drab, because of his own limpness after an orgy. But if we are asked what after all is the outcome and result of all the evil under the sun, we point to Christ on the cross. Then the swine of Circe rise up from their orgies to jeer at us for this vaunted Christian symbol—a gallows-tree! Yes, a gallows-tree! and we glory in it. We believe that the Son of God hung there to wrest hell's empire from it, triumphing for humanity, for the world. In a suffering, outcast, degraded Christ we glory—that He is with and in the poor, the suffering, outcast, and degraded. Yea, and 'all the breasts of all the loves' poor humanity will reject for Him! How many have been crowned conquerors, because of love in them embracing suffering for others, or submitting in perfect faith to the All-Father's will! And what if all, in their measure, shall be, in the Supreme Son, redeemers and saviours one day? enabled to become so through fiery discipline rightly used—learning obedience, like Jesus, through all the sin and suffering? walking at last unmoved in the furnace, though heated seven times, like those Jewish children of old, with One for their comrade in the midst of it, whose form is like unto the form of the Son of God! It is but a coward's part to desire for one's self annihilation, the ignoble repose of an everlasting inactivity, when so long as there are creatures there must be ills for love to cure by voluntary sharing. Mr. Harrison's notions of selfishness must be eccentric, for he assures us that his desire for unending idleness is less 'selfish' than this noble hope of Christ's disciple. Is it no fair and satisfying consummation of all this purgatorial earth-pain, if we poor worms, who have done so much wrong to so many and to ourselves, if we who at the best have done so little good, if even we may be permitted, like St. Paul, to 'fill up that which is behind of the sufferings of Christ' for the sake of our brethren in the world? And let him who objects to the 'critic' finding fault with the 'poet' seriously ask himself if he does well to find fault with his God. Is He not the *Poeta Sovrano*, the Supreme Artist, the Creator? Is the cross indeed 'foolishness' to us? Shall we howl and blaspheme

because we are bidden to put off the horned satyr's bestial hoof, and put on the martyr's human crown? because, at whatever cost of death-pangs, which are birth-pangs, we are bidden to 'let the ape and tiger die' within us, and to claim the blood-bought heritage of man; to be 'born again'—human?

NOTE ON THE BEARING OF PHYSIOLOGY ON THE
QUESTION OF IMMORTALITY.

But the teachings of physiology must not be ignored. And these teachings are either, as one school contends, that the nervous motions proceed *pari passu* with all thought and all sensation as invariable concomitants; or, as another prefers to put it, that the former are transformed into the latter. The arguments derivable from experience to prove this are very strong, and can be found in any good work on mental physiology. This constitutes, no doubt, a formidable difficulty for those who would maintain that the conscious person may continue after the total destruction of the body at death. I found it insuperable, until I saw that the brain and body (as well as the rest of the external world) have themselves the nature of thought, and must represent a system of external or objective thought, which can only exist in a conscious self-identifying person, or persons—such a system at least modified by our own subjective thought; the appearance then of thought without to thought within. What is represented here but the fact of a wonderful intercommunion of spirits or intelligences, the solidarity of the universe of souls? And because the thinker himself, and we who know him no longer, at the death of his body have the fact of this communion presented to us in the same manner, because the interaction of the persons no longer takes place in the same phenomenal way, shall we therefore say that the thinker himself is annihilated? With us he does not communicate any longer in the same recognizable method—that is all we can say—we have lost the traces of him. For the body of flesh and blood was the normal way in which we intercommunicated in this stage of our existence. If he were changed (as the materialist contends) into gases and salts, he would be changed into his own or some one else's ideas; and this is not very conceivable. One self-identical person cannot well be hocus-pocused into another, or many others, as to the very root and substance of him, in which, as I have here and elsewhere more fully argued, his potential, conscious, personal self-identification through memory is an integral factor. Yet it is inconceivable that he should be annihilated without being changed into something. Force persists, though its form may change. But force is an idea of ours, and changes in order to fulfil itself in many phenomena. We, however, thinkers and willers, voluntary exerts of force, must be the very substance of it; while the correlated forces (of which Mr. Grove's work, *é.g.* tells us) are the phenomenon we think. If we were changed into something totally different, substance and identity, the very essence of force, would be annihilated. There can be no identity between a conscious self-identical person and unconscious matter or forces, such as gases or salts, which cannot even potentially identify themselves with that conscious person. And hence, if the materialist were right, there would be the very annihilation of force or substance, which is inconceivable. Between the conscious and unconscious (whether the imaginary god of the materialist, brute, dead

matter, or blind force, or the equally imaginary *absolute* god of Hartmann, Mensel, Herbert Spencer, and Oriental or German pantheism) there can be no possible identity; so that it is vain to talk of one passing back into the other, whence it came, and thus satisfying the law of thought—*ex nihilo nihil fit*. There cannot be absolute beginning or end, but all birth and death is only change of form.

Here we begin to see light on the influence of the mind over the body, and the body over the mind—on the old problem of how we can pass from mind to matter, and *vice versa*. The undeniable moral and intellectual influence of disease, the marvellous mental and moral effect of certain drugs, or of accidents to the nervous system—all this, however mysterious still, becomes less incomprehensible when we see that there is no barrier between subject and object such as we had imagined. If matter were what the vulgar suppose, the transition to mind would be for ever unthinkable. But a passage of feelings and ideas from one or many minds to others is different; and even a transition from lesser degrees of consciousness to more is conceivable. And all that we see in the external world must really, if we could truly gauge its significance, represent some degree of consciousness, however low—the unconscious cannot exist; it is unthinkable, and involves contradictions.

RODEN NOEL.

ART. VII.—*Dr. Julius Müller.*

- (1) *Dr. Julius Müller. Mittheilungen aus seinem Leben.* Von Dr. LEOPOLD SCHULTZE. Bremen: Müller. 1879.
- (2) *Dr. Julius Müller, der Hallische Dogmatiker.* Von Dr. MARTIN KÄHLER. Halle: Julius Fricke. 1878.

AFTER the death of the celebrated Lutheran theologian, Martin Chemnitz, in 1580, the Roman Catholics said, *Vos Protestantes duos habuistis Martinos, si posterior non fuisset, prior non stetisset*—You Protestants have had two Martins (Martin Luther and Martin Chemnitz); if the latter had not existed, the former would not have subsisted. Each was necessary to the other. Luther gave the living impulse, Chemnitz directed it into fixed intellectual channels; Luther originated, Chemnitz organized; Luther was the man of genial inspirations, Chemnitz the man of systematic development.

We were reminded of the relation between the two Reformers whose names we have just mentioned when we thought of Julius Müller and the lifelong friend at whose side he laboured at the University of Halle for upwards of thirty years—Augustus Tholuck. Together they did a work for the Evangelical Church of Germany which neither of them could have done alone. It is true the name of Müller has rarely been mentioned in connection with the overthrow of Rationalism and the revival of Evangelicalism, which took their rise in

Halle; but none the less did he bear his part therein. Tholuck stimulated, aroused, awakened; Müller instructed, disciplined, established. The former was chiefly interested in men, the latter in truth. Tholuck's charisma was the Socratic, Müller's the systematic. The one lived with men, the other lived in his study. If to speak many languages be to have many minds, then Tholuck was many-minded; for there were few in Europe who equalled him as a linguist: Müller, on the contrary, though a sound scholar—sounder, perhaps, than his friend—scarcely spoke more than his mother tongue with fluency; and the one was as slow of speech as the other was agile. Tholuck had travelled widely; Müller seems to have been a stay-at-home; and yet the former was as little a cosmopolite as the latter; nay, we question if the judgments of the latter, with regard to foreign modes of theological thought and Church action, would not have been more impartial and insightful than those of the former. The intellectual idiosyncrasies of the two men were reflected in their most successful courses of lectures—Tholuck's having been on the Method of Theological Study, a subject which furnished him opportunity for exercising the gift which he so pre-eminently possessed, of throwing out hints, sowing the seeds of thought, suggesting inquiry, and directing to varied sources of information; Müller's, on the other hand, having been on Dogmatic or Systematic Theology, in which with masculine energy, scientific rigour, profundity of thought, Biblical and theological learning, and philosophical acuteness, he gathered up and wove into one massive and organic whole the evangelical and ethical thoughts which to each in his own way were a constant source of living joy and strength. This parallel might be pursued further, but as we shall have other occasions of referring to the relation of the two men to each other, we will now proceed to give our sketch of the life, development, and labours of him to whom this paper is devoted.

Julius Müller was born at Brieg, in the Prussian province of Silesia, on the 10th of April, 1801. His father was a Lutheran clergyman, a man of great intellectual refinement, contemplative reflective character, and almost womanly gentleness; whilst his mother was quick, energetic, in a good sense worldly wise, clever, and practical. Besides Julius there were a daughter and two sons. The elder of the latter was the celebrated archæologist Karl Otfried Müller, who fell in Athens a sacrifice to his impetuous zeal in 1840. The youngest brother became a distinguished schoolmaster. Julius, the

second son, inherited the temperament of his father; Karl Otfried resembled his mother; but the two brothers were as attached to each other as had been their parents.

Owing to the lack of a higher school at Ohlau, where the father was stationed, and to scanty means, the education of the boys was attended with no little difficulty; and they had to be sent to Brieg, where there was an excellent gymnasium. Here Julius remained till his thirteenth year, and had already reached the highest form, when his father suddenly resolved to take him away and find him a post in some such practical department as the Post Office, partly thinking him too delicate to study, and partly also influenced by the fact that an accident had deprived him at an early age of the sight of one eye. However, at the earnest entreaty of his teachers, who took a deep interest in the boy and prophesied for him a distinguished career, Julius was permitted to continue at school, and at Easter, 1819, to enter the University of Breslau.

The wish of his parents was that he should study law, and he was accordingly entered for this department; but his own inner inclinations led him to hear also lectures on subjects such as theosophy, history, and science, and he soon came to feel that the studies necessary to the vocation chosen for him were altogether out of harmony with his dreamy and romantically disposed mind. Still he worked hard, and as a result gained the prize for an essay on 'The Relation of Natural and Positive Law.' All this time he was compelled partly to earn his own bread by giving private lessons. His elder brother, Karl Otfried, had been a teacher in the gymnasium at Breslau since 1818, but removed in 1819 to Göttingen, where he became a professor at the university. Thither too Julius also went in 1820—a step only too natural in view of the reverence and affection with which the shy younger brother regarded the elder, and the need the former felt of a stronger nature on which to lean.

On the way to Göttingen the two brothers spent a few days in Dresden, whose scientific and literary circles and art treasures opened up to Julius a new world of thought and fancy. He was especially fascinated by Tieck, the head of the so-called Romantic school of Germany. In Göttingen, too, he was introduced by his brother to a circle of distinguished friends, intercourse with whom added intensity to the ferment which was then agitating his entire being. But a still stronger hand now laid hold of him and set him face to face with the eternal realities which were henceforth to give colour and occupation to his life. The change which he

underwent was described by himself in a Latin essay written about this time. He says—

My soul had long been troubled with inner unrest. I had sought in vain for a good which should be fixed and abiding, exalted above the vanities with which I was encompassed, but which were unable to satisfy the inmost longings of my heart. Before my mind there hovered the dim image of a divine life, but I could not define its nature; one thing only was clear to me, that it must differ entirely from the life which I was then inwardly living. In a word, I was as yet ignorant of the divine, saving power of Christianity. Ever since my sixteenth year I had been incessantly devoured by this anxiety and longing. No historical, no philosophical studies vanquished or relieved it. As I grew it grew with me, till I arrived at Göttingen, and then, for the first time, I experienced the divine power of the gospel, and entered into the possession of the peace which Christ alone can give.

It is not clear how this crisis in his history was brought about, but from the letters which he wrote to his father on the subject in 1820 it would appear that its chief, if not sole fountain, was the unsparingly earnest scrutiny to which he was in the habit of subjecting his life, both inner and outer. This supposition harmonizes well with the opening words of his great work on sin—words which have an almost weirdly solemn and musical ring, and yet are marked by rare sobriety and truth—

No special profundity of thought, but merely a slight degree of moral earnestness, is necessary in order that we may be brought to a standstill and plunged into reverie before that mysterious phenomenon of human life which we term evil. The presence of an element of disturbance and discord in a sphere where harmony and unity seem to be called for with special energy, can scarcely fail to excite the mind to ever fresh meditation and inquiry. It meets us everywhere in the past history of our race; it betrays its presence in varied phenomena of the present; whether we consider humanity as a whole or the individual life, it is sure to catch our eye; and it lurks in the inmost recesses of our being. It is a dark shadow which casts a gloom over every circle of life, swallowing up, as it were, its brightest and most joyous forms.

As the result of the change which had come over him he resolved to turn to the study of theology, but owing to the difficulties raised by his parents, was unable to carry out his design till Easter, 1821. Little did he anticipate the mental struggles that were awaiting him. It is true the gradualness of the process by which he had arrived at his consciousness of the love of God saved him from the violent alternations which some have to experience; but still times of doubt and conflict came, and no efforts of his could ward them off. The theology taught at this time in Göttingen by such teachers as

Plank, Eichhorn, Staedlin, and others, though not the cause of his difficulties, was far too superficial and narrow, or even rationalistic, to satisfy a mind constituted and trained like his. But with the moral earnestness that never forsook him, even now he looked for the fault, not in others, but in himself. In another part of the Latin essay from which we have already quoted, he says—

I narrowed so much the boundaries of human knowledge, taking for granted that there must be discord between it and divine revelation; I treated reason as so perfectly worthless in divine things, and regarded pious feelings to such a degree as the properly religious organs, that it was inevitable that as soon as the first warmth of my religious life began to be dissipated, the old unrest and the old doubts should stir again in my soul with renewed energy. Ere long the temple which I had reared for myself was reduced to a miserable heap of ruins; even the religious traditions which I had brought with me from childhood slipped from my grasp; a positive aversion to theology seized hold on me, and I threw myself into the study of the newest philosophical systems with such impetuosity that not merely faith in Christ, but even faith in God, threatened to disappear.

In 1822 he returned to Breslau, and here his mind began to grow calmer. The theological atmosphere of its university was better suited to his needs. He was specially aided by intercourse with Professors Scheibel and Steffens. The former was pre-eminently a soul-seeker and a soul-finder—a man of whom his colleague said, ‘I have never heard a preacher who seemed to be so sanctified and glorified by his subject in the pulpit as he. When he spoke of faith, of love, of the Saviour, it was as though he spoke not merely *of*, but *from* another world.’ But he owed most to the influence of the Norwegian Steffens, a man who studied and expounded natural science and philosophy in the spirit of a Christian mystic. So close indeed became the intimacy between the two that Steffens employed Müller to revise, correct, and write out for him a book which he was anonymously publishing against himself. He describes his experiences as follows—

During that summer I began at last to understand more clearly why no salvation or fixity were to be found in philosophy, namely, because it is unable to inspire with divine life. For this reason I returned to the source of life in order again to draw from it peace and blessedness. I came then also to the conviction that the wisdom revealed by God is destined to lay hold not alone of feeling, but also of the entire man.

The thought expressed in the last sentence may be said to have dominated the whole of his after life. His great aim became to unfold the inner reasonableness and self-consistency of the Christianity which had brought peace to his heart and vigour

to his will. 'Twere well if his conviction were more universally shared by Christian teachers and believers. There is unfortunately a disposition to treat the Christian faith as a thing that may perhaps justify itself to the heart, but cannot do so to the intellect. If this be the case, it is certainly doomed to extinction. It may retain its hold for a while on the ignorant, becoming thus a kind of paganism—a religion of the *pagani* or ignorant country villagers—but it must ere long utterly disappear. Unwittingly many who regard themselves as holding places in the van of Christian culture and life are contributing to this result by their repudiation and denunciation of dogma, doctrine, theology.

In Breslau, besides pursuing the usual theological studies—exegesis, dogmatics, Church history, methodology, and so forth—Müller heard also lectures in philosophy, ethics, and Sanskrit. So remarkable were already his ability and attainments that even now his friends did their best to persuade him to decide for the vocation of a university teacher; but he himself, from an unwillingness to undertake anything for which he feared not being properly qualified, refused to precipitate matters, and preferred to leave the future to be shaped by the providence of God.

At this time the University of Berlin was the great centre of intellectual life and activity for Germany. Thither, at the suggestion as we shall find of Tholuck, whose first acquaintance Müller would seem to have made at Breslau, he accordingly went. The presence of three such master-minds as Hegel, Schleiermacher, and Neander, not to mention other names, was of itself enough to give to its intellectual and moral life a lofty tone, and secure for it a determining influence on young minds. Neander, however, was the teacher to whom Müller felt himself most strongly drawn; for in him there was just that interpenetration of reverence for the Bible, wide learning, deep thought, intense religious life, and profound humility that hovered, perhaps to some extent unconsciously, as an ideal before his own soul. At all events, to realize these qualities became the goal of his desire, and he continued to the end of his life to confess himself to be in these respects a pupil and follower of Neander. Three other men with whom he became intimate also exercised a strong influence over him. The first was the Baron von Kottwitz, the man of whose piety, goodness, Christlikeness Tholuck speaks so warmly in his '*Guido and Julius*,' and who indeed was the means of the latter's conversion to Christ. His living faith, his practical certitude, materially aided in giving the final

deathblow to Müller's doubts. Here too began his lifelong friendship with Tholuck. Concerning the beginning of their acquaintance he speaks in the Dedication to his ' *Dogmatische Abhandlungen* ' (' Dogmatic Treatises ') :

When the call of the Lord made me a theologian, and the more thorough study of theology, but especially of philosophy, again involved me in doubts and struggles, the advice of a now departed friend led me to thee. Thou directedst my attention to the moral spirit of Christianity and again awakenedst in me the confidence that saving truth was to be found in Evangelical Christianity, and there alone. In consequence of thy persuasion I went to Berlin, and there at thy feet and at those of our glorified Neander I was initiated into the theology whose source the latter indicated by his favourite motto, *Pestus est quod facit theologum*. Little did I then dream that it would be afterwards vouchsafed me for more than thirty years to labour for this theology after thine example and in thy company at the same university.

Though, as has already been indicated, they were very different men, and took very different views in some respects of the methods and requirements of theological science, yet they continued to the end to cherish for each other the deepest respect and the truest affection. The third to whom he was indebted was the court chaplain, Friedrich Strauss, who became to him almost a second father, and who appealed strongly to the practical Christian side of Müller's nature. Of his sermons Müller speaks in letters written at this time in the highest terms, as characterized alike by vigour of thought, depth of Christian experience, and childlike simplicity of faith. To the hold which Strauss gained over him is probably to be attributed the conviction with which Müller quitted Berlin, that the path of duty lay for him in the direction of the pastorate — a conviction which remained unshaken, notwithstanding the offer made by the government, on Neander's recommendation, to supply the means for further study, the prospect opened out to him of a professorship at the University of Dorpat, and the urgent entreaties of Neander, Tholuck, and other influential men.

The conviction thus produced was greatly strengthened by a providential deliverance from sudden death which he experienced in the autumn of 1823. On the day of the public entry of the Crown Prince and his young bride into Berlin a great crowd gathered on the bridge near the Royal Palace. Suddenly the side-rails broke, and numbers were precipitated into the river Spree, where they found their death. Amongst the crowd was Julius Müller, but he was wonderfully preserved. He wrote immediately afterwards to his parents—

When I heard the screams of the dying around me, and saw the people jumping from the bridge on to the boats moored to the banks, the terror of death for a moment laid hold on me. In fact, I was so crushed that I could scarcely breathe. Then came the sad thought of my parents. . . . But as soon as I had done what was my first duty, namely, commended my soul to God, that He might deal with it according to His good pleasure, all fear vanished at once, and a blessed calm filled my heart. Having been graciously brought unharmed out of this peril, I feel that I owe God special thanks for affording me the opportunity of experiencing the indescribable blessedness of complete surrender to Him in the decisive moment, and of knowing for myself that death has no terrors for him who has found in Christ the ground of his hopes.

With this confession Müller may be said to have finished his university studies. He wrote at this time to his brother: 'My whole mind is bent on the practical; and even if it is my destiny to become a university teacher, my belief is that the old-fashioned plan of letting theologians first occupy the pulpit for a considerable time before calling them to a professor's chair is the right one. For nowhere are practice and theory so closely connected as in theology.' Easter, 1824, he passed his first examination in Berlin, and in the course of the same year the second, at Breslau—the latter with special distinction.

His prospects of securing a parish were, however, suddenly overclouded. It was just now in Prussia the era of political suspicion and espionage and prosecutions. Quite unexpectedly Müller was taken in hand by the authorities on a charge of having been at the head of a political society during his stay at Göttingen, and was called upon to confess what he knew. Being as innocent of political meddling as a newborn babe, the business rather amused than alarmed him; but it might, after all, have gone ill with him if his friends Neander and Strauss had not interfered on his behalf. He used jokingly to say many long years afterwards, when referring to the affair, 'I don't know to the present day whether the inquiry has been quashed or whether it still hangs over me like the sword of Damocles.' It terminated, however, with a very complimentary letter from the minister. In fact, it was an absurd business, for Müller was never bitten with the idealistic political notions which were so common then among students, and he remained to the last a thoroughly loyal, and indeed all too conservative, subject of the Prussian monarchy.

After one or two disappointments he at last accepted an invitation to the pastorate of Schönbrunn and Rosen, in May, 1825. Whilst there he gained the confidence and affection both of his parishioners and of the neighbouring clergy-

men. A paper read by him at this time before a conference of pastors, on the 'Treatment of Biblical History in the Country Schools,' excited a good deal of attention. He also married the daughter of a neighbouring clergyman, and found in her an almost ideal friend of his heart.

Meanwhile he was far from laying aside his scientific studies. The first plan he formed was that of a history of German mysticism; then he commenced a history of pietism, from which, however, his attention was diverted by a controversy into which he was drawn in connection with a movement among the Romanists of Silesia. The immediate result of the occupation with the doctrinal peculiarities of the two Churches thus occasioned was that he laid aside his historical studies, and devoted his attention to questions of systematic theology, beginning with the doctrine of sin. In pursuance of this new design he paid repeated visits to Breslau for the purpose of consulting the university library, and at last became so interested and absorbed in his undertaking that the thought of giving up his pastorate for a professorship spontaneously presented itself to his mind. Probably, however, nothing would have come of it, or at all events not for a considerable time, but for disagreements that arose between himself and the ecclesiastical authorities. The occasion thereof were the measures by which Frederick William III. sought to bring about an union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, both of which were connected with the State. To union as such Müller had no objection; indeed many years afterwards he took an active part against those who sought to dissolve it and widen the breach between the two great sections of German Protestantism. What he disapproved of, and was prepared to resist, at the sacrifice of his position and prospects in Prussia, was the arbitrary manner in which the king and his councillors interfered with the liberties and rights of the Church. An inconsistency has been found between his earlier and later conduct by those who were ignorant of the principles by which, in both cases, it was dictated. He was what one might term a thorough Presbyterian of the type of the original Free Church seceders; *i.e.*, as far as questions of Church government and of the relation of Church and State were concerned.

The upshot of the affair was that he resolved to quit the pulpit for the professor's chair; and very soon the way was opened. In 1830 the position of second university preacher at Göttingen became vacant in consequence of the death of Professor Hemsens. After some hesitation he offered himself

through the medium of his brother Otfried; and so energetically was he supported by Professor Lücke that, after laying a volume of sermons, printed for the purpose, before the authorities, by way of establishing his fitness, he was chosen to fill the vacant post. He entered upon his duties in the summer of 1831, having been six years a pastor. As soon as he was fairly settled, he set to work to prepare for the Examination, Public Disputation and Lecture, which had to be gone through ere he could enter upon the career of an university teacher; and with such energy and industry did he apply himself, that by the following March he attained his object.

The waters of Göttingen were, however, not altogether smooth. His preaching proved too positive and Evangelical for the authorities, and accordingly he was decried as a 'pietist,' as 'a gloomy and dangerous mystic,' and so forth, not only in Göttingen, but even as far as Hanover. But, as he wrote to a friend, he resolved that, with God's help, these things should not prevent him calmly and firmly continuing in the path upon which he had entered. 'I am indeed chargeable with what is here called mysticism; but it is a mysticism whose central point is faith in redemption through Christ the Son of God.' Academically, too, his course did not open very brightly; none of his first lectures were a success. Indeed his only success was a 'Homiletic Society' which he founded; and great was the joy of the young tutor when its members at Christmas presented him with two engravings in token of their affection and gratitude.

But by degrees difficulties disappeared. His preaching found an ever-increasing number of appreciative hearers among the members of the university. A volume of sermons, which he published at the special request of Professor Lücke, in 1833, found everywhere hearty recognition for beauty of form, warmth of feeling, depth of thought, and truth of substance. One result of their publication was a flattering invitation to occupy one of the principal pulpits in Bremen, which, however, he declined. Shortly after, in 1834, he received an appointment to an extraordinary professorship at Göttingen. But public attention having now been called to his merits; other offers were not long in being made to him. The government of Hesse Cassel first invited him to undertake the formation of a seminary for preachers, and, this plan having been renounced, then offered him a professorship in ordinary at Marburg—this last position, after considerable hesitation, due in part to feelings of chivalry towards Göttingen, he decided on accepting, and entered on its duties in the autumn of 1834.

It was a dark epoch in the history of Hesse Cassel at which Müller became a professor at its university. A naturally patient and loyal people had been exasperated almost into revolution by the capricious tyranny, odious espionage, and harsh enactments of its princes. The special object of suspicion and hatred was Hassenpflug, the Elector's chief minister and pliant tool. Unfortunately he was intimately associated with the positive party in the Church—a circumstance which here, as only too frequently elsewhere in Germany, gave rise to the notion that Evangelical religion had some special affinity with political absolutism. As Hassenpflug had been the principal means of bringing Müller to Marburg, the wrath of the liberal party was specially directed on him, and vented itself in a vain effort to strike his salary from the budget when it came before the House of Representatives.

Marburg had not a few drawbacks for a man of Müller's studious, retiring, and mystical disposition. First of all there were mild dissipations without end in the shape of 'Clubs, Harmonies, Ressources;' 'Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday Circles,' which he eschewed so resolutely as to be jocularly termed 'The Misanthrope.' Then there were official papers to be read and signed. And finally he was tortured with ceaseless examinations, concerning which he wrote—

Hessen is the promised land of examiners and examined: every fortnight there is an examination of theological candidates; at the close of every semester, examinations for bursaries, exhibitions, scholarships, and the like! I used to think that Prussia and Hanover were thorough enough in these matters, but I see now that you do the thing in a very lame and wretched fashion.

He found, however, recompense for many disagreeables in the society of such like-minded colleagues as the Hebraist Hupfeld, the jurists Ihling and Puchta, and others, with whose families he and his wife lived on terms of closest intimacy. And even despite the hindrances to which allusion has been made, the four years of his residence at Marburg were the period of his greatest intellectual productiveness. First, he completed as to its essential features the 'System of Dogmatics,' which formed the chief subject of his lectures to the end of his life, and which eventually gave him the proud position of the systematic theologian *par excellence* of Protestant Germany. Even at Marburg they excited great attention, and were attended not only by large numbers of the students, but also sometimes by pro-

fessors. This work has never been published; probably will not now be published. Had it been printed as was at one time expected some twenty years ago, there is little doubt that it would have commanded a large sale, but its day has now passed; many parts of it would have merely an historical interest, and in some important features it would fail to be *en rapport* either constructively or apologetically with the general thought of the present time. One chief cause of this is the circumstance that since 1856 Müller was incapacitated by physical causes, which affected also the action of the mind, from introducing the changes, modifications, and improvements which would have kept it abreast of the progress of scientific and theological inquiry. Another important course of lectures was now worked out—that on Christian ethics. But his principal achievement was the publication in 1839 of the work on ‘The Christian Doctrine of Sin,’ a classical treatise which at once gave him a foremost position among the philosophical theologians of Germany. In 1835 he wrote to his brother Otfried regarding it—

My notion is to make it a quiet, reflective, thoroughly unpretentious book, in which the simply practical and vital connections of the doctrine as set forth in the Holy Scriptures will be defended, or rather defend themselves, against the transfiguration, or rather perversion, thereof by the haughty speculative philosophy of the day. If I succeed in this I shall be heartily thankful.

That he succeeded in opening up the depths of an unwelcome theme to the gaze of his contemporaries was testified alike by friends and foes. And there can be no doubt that his work has exerted a profound and abiding moral influence on thousands of men who are now occupying important positions both in Church and State. It is an intensely earnest book. In a very true sense the writer poured into it his richest life and experience. We are informed by Tholuck that the foundation thereof was laid whilst living with him in Berlin. It was one of the subjects to which he devoted special attention during his Silesian pastorate. And he had probably quietly worked at it whilst at Göttingen. So that, in point of fact, to master it is to sound the depths of the author’s intellect and soul.

In Halle he used to be called *Sünde-Müller* (Sin-Müller), and the house which he was said to have purchased with the profits of the work, *Sünde-Pallast*—jokingly, of course, for few men less deserved either for himself or his house so opprobrious an epithet.

Prior to the publication of this work he measured swords with David Friedrich Strauss, who just then had caused an immense sensation in Germany by his 'Life of Jesus.' Müller's now almost forgotten essay, which appeared in the 'Studien und Kritiken' for 1836, was considered at the time one of the ablest exposures of the untenableness of the conception of myth by which Strauss had sought to overthrow the historical truth of Christianity, and earned for him the hearty thanks of many of his most distinguished contemporaries. So high had his reputation now risen, that professorships were offered him at several universities—at Dorpat, Greifswald, Rostock, Heidelberg, and Kiel—but though the pecuniary inducements held out to him were unusually strong, yet so earnestly was he entreated to remain in Marburg both by the authorities, by his colleagues, and by the students, that he consented to do so. One other temptation, however, was to come in his way—the temptation to go to Halle, at that time, as indeed ever since its foundation, pre-eminently the theological university of Germany. His old Berlin friends, Neander, Twesten, court preacher Strauss, Von Kottwitz, the Cultus-minister Altenstein, even the Crown Prince, afterwards Frederick William IV., and last, though not least, his friend Tholuck, had long wished to draw him back to Prussia, specially to Halle. The last mentioned, who was sometimes almost ready to give up in despair the struggle with rationalism, wrote to him: 'I shall scarcely be able to go on working here any longer without thy help.' As the departure of Ullmann for Heidelberg had just caused a vacancy, Müller's friends at once set to work with all their might to get him called. Not a few hindrances, however, had to be overcome. The Hegelians were just then very powerful in government circles, and they not only resented Müller's attacks on them, but perhaps also feared his opposition. At the university, moreover, the Rationalists, headed by the celebrated Gesenius, had not the least desire to provide Tholuck with an ally, one too of whose scientific vigour and skill they stood somewhat in awe. His enemies brought up against him the part he had played against the 'Union' during his Silesian pastorate. He himself refused to move a single step; especially did he decline to fall in with a suggestion that he should privately retract or modify what he had written in connection with that affair. His reply was: 'Though I too claim the right of being once and again in the wrong, yet as long as my own convictions are unchanged, I can only say, "What I have written, I have written."' At last, however, his repu-

tation overcame all difficulties, and on the 31st of March, 1839, Tholuck wrote to him full of glee and gratitude: 'Yesterday was my birthday, and the best present of all was the rescript of the minister in reference to thy vocation.'

Before Müller quitted Marburg in 1839, a great trouble befell him—he lost his beloved wife, the partner of his joys and sorrows, the helpmeet in all his struggles, and the tender, patient mother of his seven little children. The event greatly saddened his departure, whilst it also added a new element of inward fitness for the important and difficult work which awaited him in his new sphere.

The difficulties thrown in the way of Müller's call to Halle were a foretaste of the struggles which awaited him after entering on his duties. As has already been hinted, both Hegelianism and rationalism were rampant not only among professors but also among the students. Of the spirit of the latter, and their probable reception of Müller, an idea may be formed from the fact that a hundred of them signed a petition to the king in favour of the appointment of D. F. Strauss. Naturally enough, therefore, there was at first no lack of noisy and even stormy interruptions of his lectures when he brought down his massive blows on the reigning ideas and spirits. From him at all events no concessions were to be expected. Shortly after commencing he wrote to a friend—

Between ourselves I may say that I consider myself to be the most restless of the teachers here, and require from my hearers probably the most philosophical capacity and culture. But I am resolved, even if it were to rain Hegelians by the score, that I will stick to the very last by this old Christianity, as it was propounded by Christ and Paul.

He made way, however. During the winter of 1840 he had more than a hundred hearers; in the following winter upwards of one hundred and fifty; and henceforth his 'Dogmatik' formed a necessary part of every theological student's course of study. What he and his lectures became to great numbers of young men may be learnt from the following words spoken by his former pupil and subsequent colleague, Professor Riehm, at his funeral—

We looked up to him as to a man who had once fought out the battle between faith and knowledge in his own soul, and had found a reconciliation between them, the way to which he was anxious to point out to us. We looked up to him with the confidence that it was in his power to lead us into a science born of faith. When a youth's heart had been won by the seeking love of the never-to-be-forgotten Tholuck, and awakened to the search for truth, he came to Julius Müller for the purpose of stilling

his thirst for a scientific and connected knowledge of Evangelical truth. . . . And no one did more to mould the general view of the world and life, carried away from the university by the thousands of men whom it sent into the Church during the last thirty years, than he whose mortal remains it is now our sad duty to commit to the grave.

During the early years of Müller's activity in Halle several attempts were made to secure his services elsewhere and in other ways than as theological professor. Besides invitations to Tübingen and Breslau, he was asked to undertake the editorship of a theological journal, to be sustained by government funds. The idea was also cherished of entrusting to him the conduct of the higher education of the country. But his love of independence and his attachment to the quiet life of a scholar and professor were too great to let him yield to such seductive offers.

Great, however, as was his absorption in study, he still took a vital interest in practical Church matters. He was chosen by the Theological Faculty to represent it at the General Synod of the Prussian Church, held in 1846, where he played a very important part. The questions of the Confession of Faith and of 'The Union' were brought into great prominence, on both of which points he entertained now as definite and strong opinions as in the days of his Silesian pastorate. As the course he took involved him in long and sometimes wearisome controversies, we must endeavour very briefly to indicate the position of things and the views he advocated.

Prior to 1817, which was the jubilee year of the Reformation, there were in Prussia two State Churches — one the Reformed (Calvinistic), to which the royal family belonged; the other the Lutheran, of which the majority of the nation were members. In September, 1817, the king, Frederick William III., issued an appeal to the two Churches with a view to effecting an union between them under the title of the Evangelical Church of Prussia. In that address he says—

Honouring the intentions of my forefathers, I cheerfully follow their example, and wish to accomplish a work which the spirit of sectarianism in the age of the Reformation rendered impossible, but which, now that there is a disposition to set aside the non-essentials, and to lay stress on the essentials of Christianity, may be carried out to the glory of God and to the good of the Church. A truly religious union of two Churches, which are only separated by outward differences, is in harmony with the great ends of Christianity, with the aims of the Reformers, with the spirit of Christianity, and with the interests of the Church, the family, the school, and the state. It is not my wish that either of the two Churches

should go over to the other, but that the two should form one new Evangelical Christian Church; nor that the liberties and rights of the two Churches should be infringed.

The mode in which the royal instructions were carried out led to difficulties, of which mention has already been made. The upshot of the whole was that, down to the time to which we are now referring, the union consisted in little more than intercommunion at the Lord's Supper, and having one Church government. Müller's view was that the full amount of the agreement between the two Churches was not thus sufficiently bought out, and accordingly desired that, without interference with the Confessions of Faith of the individual parishes, the two Churches in their entirety should form one new Church on the basis of a Confession of Faith embodying the points of agreement. It will be seen that at the bottom there was little difference between him and the king as to aims—but to the mode in which the union had been introduced, and to some of the details, *e.g.*, the change in the formula of consecration at the Lord's Supper, he felt insuperable objections. Jealousy of bureaucratic interference in purely Church matters was as intense in him as ever—whether the interference came from an absolute king or a parliament. So strong, indeed, was it that, in 1848, in the days of the Revolution, he was quite prepared to resign his connection with the State Church, and connect himself with a 'sect,' rather than belong to a Church ruled by the national will, and constituted at the polling booth. It may be added to his honour that he succeeded in pleasing none of the parties. The bureaucrats were, for obvious reasons, dissatisfied with him; the strong confessionalsists, to whom the specific peculiarities of Lutheranism were, like the ark of the covenant, on no account to be treated as of minor importance, regarded him as loose; and the rationalistic democrats, who wished to secure the legitimization of religious liberalism within the Church, denounced him as a bigot. He set forth his views on the whole subject in an important work, entitled, '*Die Union, ihr Wesen und ihr göttliches Recht*' (The Union: its Nature and its Divine Right), published in 1854. The last occasion on which he took a prominent part in the discussion of practical questions was at the Church Diet at Frankfort, in 1854, when he read a paper on 'The Re-marriage of Divorced Persons,' in which he condemned the common practice of the Church as opposed to the spirit and commands of Christ. His own view was that, whilst divorce is permissible for other reasons than adultery, the Church ought not

to re-marry save in certain special cases. He therefore took up what seemed to some the politically dangerous position that the Church ought in some cases to refuse what it might be right for the State to permit.

Müller married a second time, some years after his removal to Halle, a daughter of the Senator Klugkist in Bremen; but she too—a wife every way fitted to train his family, brighten his home, and further his labours—died in giving birth to her first child. Many years elapsed before he recovered from the gloom which this terrible event cast over his life. But love for his children and deep interest in their life and pursuits helped him to regain his lost courage and cheerfulness. His son-in-law, whose memoir forms the basis of this paper, sketches a beautiful picture of his household life. To strangers Müller seemed formal, cold, unsympathetic. Unlike Tholuck, who had a fitting word ready for every one who called on him, particularly for students, Müller was silent and, as the German has it, *wortkarg*—word-scant. But to his intimate friends he was a very different man. Though so profound a thinker and so learned a theologian, he took an intense interest in literature, and specially in music. Strangely enough it was the romanticists to whom he felt chiefly drawn—a trait in his character which would be little suspected by those who only knew him by his ‘Dogmatics’ or the work on Sin. Shakespeare, too, was a great favourite, and he who was ordinarily so stiff and formal could unbend to enjoy both the tragical and humorous of which his plays are so full.

For Müller the end of his properly intellectual life came before the end of his actual life. On the 1st of March, 1856, he was seized with apoplexy, which for a time deprived him of speech and permanently precluded intellectual work. He recovered indeed so far as to be able to read his lectures, and continued to do so till September, 1878; but these twenty-two long years were years of unproductiveness. The only approach to work that he can be said to have done, besides a certain amount of reading, was to superintend the republication of a volume of essays, which had originally appeared in such journals as the ‘*Studien und Kritiken*’ and the ‘*Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*,’ under the title of ‘*Dogmatische Abhandlungen*’ (‘*Dogmatic Dissertations*’), essays thoroughly meriting careful study, and some of which ought to have been translated into English. A singular and sad spectacle he was in some respects—a man no longer able to take an active part in the intellectual struggles of the day reading from year

to year the productions of his earlier self. A letter written to him not long after the attack referred to, by his friend Tholuck, deserves quoting—

Dearest Brother in the Lord,—How deeply have thy words moved my heart! That thy brilliant intellect, the star of Halle, should be thus overshadowed is one of the most painful experiences of my life; and yet even now already thou knowest the why—a jewel has been inserted in thy crown without which it would have had no brilliance in the sight of God. It shines now in secret with a brightness which men have never discovered in thee. As far as my so-called work is concerned, I have never been able to regard it otherwise than as a sort of higher natural process. It was this inner necessity that once drove me to thy side because I had a word for thee. That we should afterwards work alongside of each other as teachers—thou the aristocratic, I the democratic professor—was a conjuncture that will rarely occur. Let us, then, bowing our heads in humility and our hearts united in love, still walk onwards together to the end, which, if God will, will not be far off.

The end did not come as soon as either of them expected. Tholuck lived till June, 1877, totally laid aside from work, in consequence of the overclouding of his mind, for the last two years of his life. Just when Müller had resolved to resign the position he had so faithfully filled, and thus to close his fifty-three years' active connection with the Church, he was suddenly attacked by a painful illness, to which, after a few days of severe pain, he calmly succumbed. On the morning of the 27th of September, 1878, Halle's great dogmatic theologian entered into his eternal rest.

One more stroke, and the sketch we have attempted of the Halle dogmatician will be finished. His thoughts may be said to have revolved around a threefold focus, the one contained in the words of the first great German theologian, Anselm—'*Cur deus homo? Nondum considerasti, quantiponderis sit peccatum?*' the others in the words of his Saviour and Master—'*Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth; but I have called you friends*': and '*whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of heaven as a little child shall in no wise enter therein.*'

D. W. SIMON.

ART. VIII.—*Some National Aspects of Established Churches.*

THE question of Established Churches is, in the largest sense, a question of national and not of mere sectional interests. Sections of the national society may be more formally and

especially affected by Establishments, but there are general, social, and religious interests of the nation as such which are also seriously involved in them. The purpose of this paper is to indicate some of these interests, and to demonstrate from such philosophy as may be at command, and from such experience as history furnishes, that in the light of national interests they are inexpedient and injurious. It will clear our way if we note first the true relation of sectional to national interests, and the principles which should determine their legislative adjustment.

There are conditions of society when, on every ground, it may be expedient and right that sectional interests should be subordinated, and even sacrificed, to national well-being. In the long and varied struggle for their civil and religious liberties English Nonconformists have never been forgetful of this. It is sufficient to adduce in proof their refusal for themselves of the liberties which in 1686 James II. would have secured to them by his 'dispensing power,' and their support of the seven bishops in resistance to it. They judged that the purpose of the popish monarch was inimical to English Protestantism rather than favourable to Nonconformist liberties. Up to this very time the seven bishops had with one or two exceptions been amongst the most uncompromising opponents of the Nonconformists. The Declaration of Indulgence proposed by the king, moreover, anticipated some of the equitable principles of the Toleration Act which followed the Great Revolution two years later. It would have given them all that they desired. It recognized the indefeasible rights of conscience in religious matters, and granted absolute liberty of religious worship. But under guise of toleration to Dissenters it sought the re-establishment of Popery. It was a right thing wrongly done, and not done in good faith to the nation. The Nonconformists therefore refused the benefits it would have conferred upon them, and arrayed themselves in resistance to it on the side of their old enemies the Anglican bishops. They would not connive at a national wrong under the guise of a Nonconformist enfranchisement. Acting upon like principles, Nonconformists, for the last fifty years, in almost every Liberal parliament, have forbore to press their just claims, whenever by so doing they would have prejudiced national legislation, or unduly have embarrassed Liberal statesmen. This is only a reasonable policy when no essential moral principle is involved, and only questions of expediency are at issue, or when questions of personal or sectional right come into competition with pressing national interests.

It must further be conceded that there may be conflicting interests at stake, and that a government may equitably sacrifice class interests to the national weal. As, for example, in the abolition of prescriptive monopolies ; or of unrighteous, oppressive, or inequitable prerogatives, such as slavery, the corn laws, and protective laws generally. So again in the utilization of scientific discoveries for the common good, such as railways, the telegraph, illumination, water supply, the regulation of the liquor traffic, the reform of municipal corporations, the regulation of charitable trusts, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and a hundred other things in which the interests of monopolists are justly sacrificed by the legislature for the good of the community ; even when, as in some of these instances—the proprietors of stage coaches and candle manufactories, for instance—there was nothing unrighteous in the monopoly, and when its invasion by Act of Parliament meant actual ruin. It is a first principle of all good government that where there are competing interests those of the few shall be sacrificed to those of the many.

To this, however, there are necessary limits. For instance, no legislative expediency may overpass the boundary line of right and wrong. If the clear issue be righteousness or unrighteousness, no national interest, real or presumptive, great or small, may prevail against the moral right of the humblest individual. Ahab the king may not lay his hand upon the vineyard of Naboth however convenient its acquisition may be, even though Naboth be among the most unreasonable and insignificant of his subjects.

If it be true concerning the individual man that no personal interests can justify the least deflection from absolute rectitude, it is equally true concerning a corporation of men, or a nation. There is but one principle of moral right, and but one moral rule of human conduct, and it is of universal application. The disparity between the claims of a single individual and great national interests may be very great ; and the magnitude of the latter sometimes induces statesmen to disparage the moral sentiment that ought to rule them, even cynically to disavow them. The law of right and wrong, it is said, cannot be strictly applied to national policy. Political necessities will arise when, in order to secure certain great ends, it is imperative to connive at falsehood and to practise unrighteousness. Overreaching in diplomacy, as in love or war, is justifiable and often imperative. The amazing benefits that have accrued from wars of conquest, from treaties of coercion,

and from immoral traffic, as in opium, are, it is urged, an abundant condonation of whatever iniquity there may have been in their methods.

To this we reply, that unless our entire conception of moral obligation be delusive, if there be any truth in our idea of God, and any obligation in principles of righteousness, no end conceivable can be commensurate with the sacrifice of moral equity. Expediency cannot be a factor in the determination of right and wrong. The assumption that the end justifies the means has been a just reproach against much of the policy of the Romish Church; it may not be connived at by professors of a purer faith, or condoned in the domain of national politics. It is fundamentally subversive of all righteousness. It makes righteousness an accident, and subordinates holiness to mere advantage. On this matter there can be no compromise on the part of religious men. They cannot accept one law of moral righteousness for the acts of an individual and another for those of a nation. A lie is not less a lie because a statesman utters it in parliament, or in the character of a plenipotentiary or an ambassador. If, accepting the cynical definition that an ambassador is 'a gentleman sent abroad to lie for the good of his country,' it be right for an ambassador to lie in the interests of national policy, it is equally right for a tradesman to lie in the interests of his business. If it be right for a minister to suppress truth or suggest falsehood in a parliamentary debate, it is equally right for a witness to perjure himself in a court of justice. If it be right for a nation by sheer force to annex the territory of a weaker neighbour, it is equally right for a man to steal his neighbour's purse or annex his vineyard. If it be right for a statesman to sign a fraudulent treaty, it is equally right for a merchant to sign a fraudulent contract. Neither the natural moral sense in men nor the teachings of religion can recognize any difference of moral obligation. Wrong does not become right because the man is changed into an official, the individual merged in a committee, or cabinet, or parliament.

The position is a vital one, and it underlies the entire conception of the question of national establishments of religion. Before it can be discussed as a national expediency, it must be judged as a question of moral right in the relationship of a section of the community to the whole.

While it is on all hands admitted that in matters of mere expediency the interests of a section should be subordinated and, if needs be, sacrificed to the interests of a nation, it must be insisted upon that in matters that involve principles of

righteousness no consideration of national interests may prevail against the rights of the meanest individual.

How far the disabilities which Establishments impose upon Nonconformists are a matter of mere expediency, and how far they involve essential righteousness may appear as we proceed. The first thing is to lay precisely this platform of national right and wrong.

It is further to be remarked, that in all human affairs questions of righteousness very vitally affect questions of expediency. If any lesson from human experience is indubitable, it is that, in a broad estimate of things, which includes all interests and issues, nothing that is morally wrong can possibly be advantageous. Wrong never can come right. The estimate that concludes otherwise can be only blind and partial. The successful fraud or theft of the individual may apparently secure immediate benefit—he acquires money and all that money can purchase; but no moral estimate concerning the whole issue can be a doubtful one. It scarcely needs the light of religion to show that the man could not have made for himself a more disastrous bargain. The laws of moral sequence are as inevitable as the laws of moral principle are inflexible.

Can there be any hesitancy about applying this to nations? Does history teach any lesson more indubitably than that every unrighteous conquest, every oppressive treaty, every act of inequitable legislation, sooner or later avenges itself upon its author; if we wait long enough and judge broadly enough? France is not the only instance, although in its history during the last century it is perhaps the most notorious, that no unrighteous aggression ever yet permanently benefited the people perpetrating it. Territory, indemnity, commerce, are a poor compensation, even on the lowest calculation, for character and moral influence.

If, again, history has any lesson to teach, it is that, in the internal experience of nations, no inequitable laws imposed by arbitrary power—whether laws of religious persecution, of civic disability, or of class injustice—ever benefited their enactors. The Church of Rome is a signal illustration of the curse of successful persecution, and she has exemplified it in almost every land—in Spain, in France, in the Netherlands, in England. In proportion to the success of the persecution has ever been its national retribution. No unrighteousness has ever been inflicted by a dominant Church or political party but sooner or later disastrous consequences have come upon those inflicting it. It is the inviolable moral order of

things. Persecutors always suffer more than the persecuted. Rome has suffered from her inquisition more than from all her avowed antagonists. The Established Church of England has suffered more from her intolerance, her Acts of Uniformity and coercion, than those she oppressed. She drove out the Puritans; they founded the non-episcopal Churches of the United States. She drove out the Nonconformists of 1662; they augmented English Congregationalism and gave it a power of growth which has developed into the most formidable and uncompromising of her assailants as an Establishment. She drove out the Oxford Methodists, and the vast organizations of Wesleyan Methodism in England and of Calvinistic Methodism in Wales are the result. Not only did she thus create forces that became her direct and uncompromising ecclesiastical antagonists — their contention for liberty

Broadening down from precedent to precedent—

but she deprived herself of her own most vital conservative elements. She cast from her the noblest elements of her own religious life—the men whose spiritual piety and self-sacrificing zeal would have been her strength and redemption, who would have counteracted the worldly elements of her position, and have given her aggressive power for the performance of her religious functions. She left herself unchallenged, stately, wealthy, luxurious, and—impotent; vital elements yet remaining in her, but weakened by depletion to what, after these successive ejections, history depicts her to have become.

Probably a more curious Nemesis than that of the Act of Uniformity of Charles II. never befell a Church. Intended for the murder of Dissenters, it has well-nigh strangled herself. Not only did it drive out of her communion two thousand of the most pious of her ministers—had they not been such they would not have been driven out—but it logically disabled her from utilizing the pious zeal of Whitefield and Wesley a century afterwards, and in spite of themselves compelled them to become Dissenters. For the protection of his chapels John Wesley had to license them as Dissenting places under the Toleration Act. And that his followers might not be deprived of the sacraments, and of preachers, he was compelled to have recourse to irregular ordinations.

On the accession of William III. the Toleration Act of 1689 relieved from the disabilities of the Act of Uniformity of 1662 all who declared themselves Dissenters, but it left these operative upon all who did not so declare themselves. So

that from 1689 to the present day the only persons upon whose necks this yoke of bondage has been bound are Episcopalians themselves. At every turn it meets them.

1. It has narrowed their recognitions and intensified the exclusiveness and intolerance of which it was the fitful and passionate expression. The early English Reformers recognized Presbyterian orders, partook of Presbyterian sacraments, and were contented to claim for Episcopacy only a co-ordinate ecclesiastical validity. The exclusiveness of the Act of Uniformity has specially fostered, if it has not largely generated, theories of Divine right and practical repudiation of all other forms of Church life. And this has intensified with every generation, and is more intolerant and arrogant to-day than it was forty years ago. And in many ways of Christian feeling and life the curse of intolerance is chiefly upon him who cherishes it.

2. Intended to prohibit all preaching except by men in Episcopal orders, the Act of Uniformity has hermetically sealed the pulpits of the Establishment. And now, in his paradise of liberty, the Dissenting Abraham has to say to the tormented Dives, 'Thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted and thou art tormented. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot, neither can they pass to us that would come from thence.' And the torment of Dives' torment is that the gulf was dug by himself.

While we sectarian Dissenters rejoice in perfect liberty, freely exchange pulpits with each other, without so much as the thought of there being any compromise in so doing, or of there being anything strange in it; while we stand on common platforms, concede to others the ecclesiastical rights we claim for ourselves, and co-operate freely for all common interests of the kingdom of Christ, the pulpits of the Establishment are closed against the ministers of all other Churches in Christendom. Her Majesty's chaplains in the sister Establishment of Scotland are illicit ministers of Christ in England, and are forbidden the pulpits of their common ecclesiastical head. The Queen herself is a schismatic in relation to the English Establishment when she receives the Lord's Supper in the parish church of Crathie. Could the Apostle Paul reappear on earth he could not legally enter a single pulpit of the Established Church. In the year of the second Exhibition, 1862, the writer was present at a conference of Episcopal and Nonconformist ministers, for the purpose of making provision for

special religious services during the Exhibition. Among intending visitors were Tholuck from Germany, D'Aubigné and Malan from Geneva, De Pressensé and Grandpierre from France. Not a single clergyman was able to offer his pulpit to one of them ; and with a manifest consciousness of shame that was painful to us all, they were reduced to the ignominious necessity of suggesting that these illustrious men should be asked to preach in their schoolrooms ! It was the Nemesis of the Act of Uniformity which imposed upon these brethren the disabilities and humiliations of intolerance. And, with noble exceptions, the feeling grew stronger and stronger. Clergymen shunned all possible intercourse with ministers of other Churches, refusing recognition of their character, to enter their churches, and to take part with them in common religious services. The pitiable petulance, the wild passion, the ludicrous shrieking of so many clergymen elicited by the Burials Act simply indicates the entire possession and the blind arrogance of this spirit of intolerance. The plea of conscience is not sufficient ; this has been the plea of all persecutors and inquisitors, from Saul of Tarsus to the latest Anglican. There is a previous responsibility in the formation of such a conscience, and its evil fruits should be to its possessor a strong presumption that it is of antichrist rather than of Christ.

If some bolder and more Christian clergyman ventures to take part in a Nonconformist service, the prohibition of his bishop is the general result. Vainly do catholic-hearted men like Dean Stanley chafe against the restrictions of the Act of Uniformity, and exercise their ingenuity in evasions of it. No man is more honoured by Nonconformists for his catholicity of heart, and for his entire freedom from all priestly assumptions ; for his daring, too, in denunciation of intolerant pretensions, and for his repeated attempts to give practical expression to his brotherly feelings. But he must not blame us if self-respect sometimes prevents reciprocation of the expedients which he devises. Hardly can we feel honoured if, when invited to dinner, we find ourselves relegated to the servants' hall, even though it be no fault of the host. His action and ours are more than individual or private movements ; they challenge public attention, and more or less involve the Churches represented. No one can blame us if we hesitate at tentative experiments which subject us to imputations of truckling desire or ill-regulated vanity. What clergyman, with any self-respect, would consent to perform a service in a Nonconformist or Roman Catholic schoolroom, and

be excluded from the church ; or in a church on the carefully emphasized condition that it was in a lay and not a clerical capacity? Greatly as Nonconformists yearn for that brotherhood with Episcopal Churches, which obtains between their own various Churches, they cannot in self-respect accept it under any conditions that imply superiority on the one hand or subserviency on the other. The only ground which they can accept is that of mutual recognition and ecclesiastical equality. They have their traditions and prerogatives of right and freedom, of which they are both proud and jealous. So far from looking with envy or desire upon Established Churches, as is often complacently imagined, the strength of the opposite feeling would surprise many who congratulate themselves on their own dignified position and emoluments. It does, moreover, excite a feeling that is not altogether resentment, that this little insular English Establishment with an arrogance and intolerance which only the Church of Rome surpasses, should virtually unchurch all the non-episcopal Churches of Christendom. The Nonconformist when so repudiated may turn on his heel and smile. He who repudiates him must have uncomfortable misgivings, and somewhat hang his head in shame. The curse of intolerance is very bitter.

3. The Act of Uniformity sought to extinguish Nonconformist worship, by prohibiting any religious service save that of the Book of Common Prayer, which indeed is one of its schedules. Again the Toleration Act relieved Dissenters from this disability, but it left all who were not Dissenters bound under its restrictions. Prior to the Act there were various 'uses,' and a clergyman enjoyed certain liberties. Subsequently to it he was bound to its *ipsissima verba*, and to the exclusive use of its liturgy and offices, with their manifold disabilities and disastrous results as we see them to-day. When on the memorable Sunday morning in December, 1861, the sorrowful intelligence of the death of Prince Albert spread through the land, almost every Nonconformist service became a funeral service, and the congregation united in earnest and special prayers for the bereaved Queen. No devotional recognition of it by a clergyman was possible, save the omission of his name from the prescribed prayers for the royal family, and the vague marginal reference of a collect.

It is not, again, any special intolerance that imposes upon a clergyman the indiscriminate use of the Burial Service. As the parochial clergyman, it is the obligation of his office to discharge clerical duties for all parishioners who claim them.

It is simply preposterous for him to speak of having to bury the black sheep of Nonconformists. It is one of the duties for which he is appointed parish clergyman, and for which he receives the emoluments of his official position, that he shall bury all parishioners who may claim his services. That he is compelled, in the discharge of this duty, to use a common service, to pronounce glowing words of 'sure and certain hope' over even a parishioner of notorious wickedness, is simply the imposition, or at any rate the authoritative endorsement, of the Act of Uniformity. Every Evangelical clergyman who baptizes a child is compelled to pronounce words which declare it to be *ipso facto* regenerated, and to address God in prayers thanking Him that the regeneration has been accomplished. Every High Anglican clergyman has to recite at his induction the Thirty-nine Evangelical and Calvinistic Articles and to declare his belief in them, while he can introduce his hymns and vestments and ceremonies only by a flagrant violation of his own clerical vows.

What wonder that clerical subscription has become an intrinsic immorality and a public scandal, through the contradictory teachings of that bundle of compromises which constitutes the Book of Common Prayer, interpreted by the vehement zeal of party feelings and aims? The entire range of commercial contracts would scarcely furnish a parallel to the daily violations of the obligations of clerical subscription; and the most portentous of all symptoms is the indication that this is becoming an accepted morality at which the conscience feels no qualms. Falsehood does not become truth because even the people consent to condone it. Again we say the Nemesis of intolerance is a terrible one.

Similarly it would be easy to show how every other measure of dominant intolerance—the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts, the exclusion of Dissenters from the National Universities, the prohibition of private Dissenting Academies, the Corporation and Test Acts, Acts imposing Church rates, and distraining the goods of Dissenters in default of payment—have one and all terribly avenged themselves upon their authors, whatever triumph or advantage they might at first seem to secure.

Not only have persecutions, according to a well-known law of human nature, multiplied and strengthened those they were intended to annihilate, they have accumulated a tradition of wrong, a heritage of distrust, an instinctive resentment and antipathy, which it will take many generations and a large exercise of Christian magnanimity to eradicate on the one part; while, on the other, according to another well-

known law—that we are always more bitter against those we have wronged than they against us—Churchmen have a traditional dislike to Dissenters, a resentment of their Dissent, a nurtured contempt for their illicit ministry, their unblest sacraments, and their unritual worship, above all, for their destitution until latterly of university education, of ecclesiastical wealth and splendour, of social rank, which makes them the harder of the two to be won. Their feeling of alienation is stronger than ours; which goes far to account for the continued pride, exclusiveness, and intolerance which sometime seem as if intended to perpetuate the strife. We look in vain for either indications of a wish to atone for past wrong or a desire for relationships of Christian brotherhood. Scarcely any event of the past generation has evoked such an outbreak of clerical fury and arrogance as the passing of the Burials Bill. The secrets of many hearts are revealed by it. We very gladly acknowledge, and very heartily reciprocate, the indications of nobler feeling in many of the clergy, who have frankly conceded this measure of social right, and have courteously facilitated its exercise. Some of the bishops, especially, have not shrunk from the odium and the bitter reproach of their fellow Churchmen in their advocacy of it, and in their generous and wise counsels to the clergy for its practical acceptance. The recent charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, too, demands the hearty acknowledgment of Nonconformists, and of all Christian men who look beyond their own narrow Church enclosures for a larger and holier Christian brotherhood. If these were characteristic instead of exceptional instances, we might congratulate ourselves that the bitterness of this contention was well-nigh past, and that only differences of opinion remained to be discussed, with such amenities as characterize ordinary controversies. And perhaps the exceptions are more numerous than our utmost charity will permit us to think. We can judge only from public utterances and doings. And it cannot be denied that the vast majority of these are of a sadly different character—their resentment towards their more Christian brethren, their denunciation of their bishops, their uncontrolled violence and intolerance, their foolish and audacious assumption of Divine right and of official superiority, and the emphatic, and to us strange and significant urgencies, in bishops' charges, leading articles, and correspondents' letters, that they would restrain their angry passions and obey the law, make us not very hopeful concerning the brotherhood of the future. It is the Nemesis of wrong-doing. The evil spirit of

intolerance is not easily cast out. But his injuries are inflicted upon those whom he possesses ; he casts them down and tears them : 'sometimes they fall into the water and sometimes into the fire.' And so, while all other Protestant Churches are making approaches to, and largely realize a true Christian brotherhood, the English Established Church stands aloof in the hauteur of its prerogative and isolation, unblessed and un blessing, an alien from the brotherhood of the Churches.

These illustrations may suffice to establish the position that national wrong-doing to any section of the community always avenges itself upon those who perpetrate it. The question of Establishments therefore presents itself thus :—

Is a national establishment of religion an expedient thing for a nation generally ? and does it affect those who dissent from it only as the operation of an equitable and beneficial law may impose disabilities upon a selfish or impracticable class ? or is a national establishment an inexpediency in itself, and an essential moral wrong to Dissenters from it ; first, as affecting rights of conscience, and next, as affecting rights of citizenship ?

Concerning the latter of these two questions we have not in the present paper much to say, save incidentally and subordinately. In this phase of it the question is mainly one between the two parties in the State—the privileged and the excluded, the aggressors and the aggressive ; and it belongs to another branch of the discussion. Thus much, however, may be said, Nonconformists naturally resent an institution which *ipso facto* imposes disabilities upon them ; whether the disabilities be the grosser and more palpable privations of money and of social and ecclesiastical status, or the more subtle and acute injuries which are inflicted upon sentiment. And he knows little of human nature and of the forces of social life who makes light of sentimental grievance. The national side of this strife between Conformist and Nonconformist is the moral right and the expediency of a national institution which inflicts such grievances upon any class of the nation, which so impairs the national unity and emasculates the national strength. The moral right ought to be very clear, and the expediency very great, to justify an institution which arrays one-half of the nation in irreconcilable hostility to the other half.

On this side the question the aggrieved Nonconformist claims his national rights. As a citizen, he asks that the institution which wrongs him shall be disallowed. As a citizen

he has every social and moral right to employ all legitimate means to get the institution disfranchised by the authority of the national Parliament, in virtue of which alone it exists. For the Establishment is not the Episcopal Church; it is a purely political relationship between the Episcopal Church and the governing authorities for the time being; in virtue of which the Church renders certain religious services, and the State confers certain emoluments. In its essential principles the relationship is the same in Scotland, where the Church established is Presbyterian, and was the same in New England, where the churches established were Congregational. The Episcopal Church as such is complete and valid independently of its Establishment. Not even the extremest Erastian would contend otherwise. No part of the action which determines the Establishment is Church action, save as the Church accepts the relationship. The nature and conditions of the relationship, the doctrines to be taught, the worship to be performed, the discipline to be administered on the one part, and the status and endowments to be conferred on the other, are stipulations external to both the State as such and the Church as such. Neither interferes with the integrity of the other beyond the stipulated conditions.

With the Episcopal Church as such—save in insisting upon the specified conditions of Establishment—no parties external to itself have anything to do. Nonconformists have no manner of right beyond this to interfere with its internal government. And when they are urged, as sometimes they are, not to seek the Disestablishment but to help in the internal reform of the Episcopal Church—to revise the Prayer Book, purify its patronage, restore its discipline and the power of Convocation—their necessary reply is, We have neither right nor qualification for such a function. The establishment of a Church does not give citizens, as such, rights to interfere with the internal economy of that Church, but rights only to insist upon the conditions of Establishment, in respect of doctrine, worship, and parochial services, being carried out. A Church can be reformed only by its own members. No Congregationalist would ask an Episcopalian to assist him in the reform of his Church, or tolerate his interference, or would admit the right or competence of Parliament so to interfere. Neither can an Episcopalian admit such methods of reforming his Church. As members of the national community, Nonconformists have a right to insist that the conditions of Establishment shall be carried out by the Episcopal Church; beyond this they have neither

right nor qualification to interfere with it. Nonconformists find the Church established by a purely political process. They deem, rightly or wrongly, that such Establishment is injurious to the nation. They find, moreover, that it has lost its hold upon the community, until it numbers less than half the church-going people of England. They seek, therefore, by a reversal of the purely political process that established it, to put an end to this wrong and anomaly. By Acts of Parliament the Church maintains its established position and prerogatives; by the repeal of those Acts only can these be abolished. Parliament is the only power that can effect this: to Parliament therefore they appeal. They seek in every legitimate way to influence the legislature to this result, they try to instruct public opinion, they vote for candidates sympathizing with their views, they petition the legislature itself. If to do these things makes us 'political Dissenters,' then 'political Dissenters' we are, and fallen so far from a higher grace that we feel no shame at the imputation; our only feeling is one of amusement, touched perhaps with somewhat of moral impatience, that such a charge should be possible to the lips of men whose position and relationships as established clergy are constituted and maintained solely by legislative enactments.* We may be 'political Dissenters,' but not more so than every bishop appointed to an ecclesiastical benefice by the Prime Minister for the time being and taking his seat in the House of Lords is a political Bishop; not more so than every Church dignitary and Rector appointed to his office and claiming its emoluments by enforcement of parliamentary law is a political Clergyman. Other action than this no Dissenter takes. Nor can the legitimacy of this be questioned by any reasonable man. For unseemly bitterness or unchristian motive in this contention we offer no excuse; but it will scarcely be said that this is an exclusive characteristic of the Nonconformist side of the controversy.

The Nonconformist finds himself suffering disabilities through the parliamentary establishment of a dominant Church. In support of it he finds a cluster of persecuting, intolerant, and disabling Acts. He may not wor-

* 'It is no less unjust than it is common to stigmatize those who hold it ['the principle which forbids the alliance of the civil power with religion in any particular form or forms'] as 'Political Dissenters,' a phrase implying that they do not dissent on religious grounds. But if they, because they object to the union of Church and State, are political Dissenters, it follows that all who uphold it are political Churchmen.'—Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, 'Chapter of Autobiography,' sect. 71.

ship God according to his conscience or preference; he may not educate his sons at the national universities; he may not conduct a private academy; he may not become a member of a municipal corporation; he may not marry, or be buried save in an Established Church. He must pay taxes in support of the parish church, or his goods must be distrained and himself imprisoned. Life in this England of ours under the dominant Church is so intolerable that he flees an exile to Holland or to New England. Gradually, and in spite of the indignant protests of the clerical holders of prerogatives, he so far wins popular sympathy and changes legislative opinion, that one barbarous disability after another is removed. Immunity for Dissenters is connived at, then the Toleration Act is passed, then the Test and Corporation Acts are repealed, then the Marriage Act is altered, then the National Universities are opened to all citizens, then Church Rates are abolished. And now the Burials Bill has become law. And at every concession the monstrosity of not being contented is urged, and astonishment is expressed at the shocking audacity which, like *Oliver Twist*, 'asks for more.'

But why should not Nonconformists ask for more? The question is not how much of a huge social wrong has been rectified, but what of it still remains unredressed? They make no bargain, they enter into no compromise, they simply win so much of religious equality as they can. If they demand anything contrary to social equity, let the demand be righteously rejected; but they would be recreant not only to their own traditions, but to every principle which they and their fathers have maintained, if they were to compromise this wrong in any way, or to stay their hand until the last vestige of it be redressed. They are sometimes taunted with ingratitude. To all who have assisted them in their contention they owe gratitude; but they owe no gratitude, as they feel none, to those whose hand of oppression has been reluctantly and forcibly lifted from them. Gratitude is due only for unmerited favours. It is a new thing to claim gratitude for a tardy and protesting redress of wrongs.

What do Nonconformists ask? That any distinctive social privilege should be conferred on themselves? that their churches should be built or maintained by national moneys? that their clergy shall be endowed with national revenues? that seats in the House of Lords shall be transferred from Diocesan to Congregational Bishops? that any kind of prerogative whatever shall be conferred upon themselves?

Were it attempted to put upon those who have been their

oppressors any such disabilities as they themselves have suffered, they would have no more resolute champions than the men who sturdily stood by their old adversaries the bishops, who in 1829 were the uniform supporters of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, their hereditary and uncompromising hatred of Popery notwithstanding, and who, true to their instincts of liberty, and at the risk of the grossest misrepresentation, have refused to accept for themselves only the liberties of the Burials Act, and have claimed, although unsuccessfully, the same social rights for every citizen, be he Jew, or Turk, or Infidel. All that the Nonconformist claims is perfect equality before the law—that every remaining distinctive prerogative and endowment conferred under other conditions and in less enlightened times be withdrawn; of course by wise methods and on equitable principles.

Believing that national establishments as such work evil rather than good under any conditions, and that in a land of divided and equally balanced ecclesiastical organizations such as England has become, the evil that they work is very great and almost unqualified, we take our stand upon the broad, intelligible, and equitable principle that the civil government of the nation shall recognize no distinction between one Church or one citizen and another, that it shall protect all Churches alike, and leave each to win such conviction and social status as its truth and goodness and methods may secure for it. Either Nonconformists must accept in perpetuity their remaining disabilities, or they must induce the legislature to remove them, and so establish absolute religious equality in the eye of the law.

But passing from the special social grievances of Dissenters and the relation of these to national equity and well-being, let us take our stand upon the broader ground of citizenship, and test the question by considerations of common national expediency. And in vindication of this platform it may be said that others than religious Dissenters have interests in Disestablishment and strenuously contend for it. The Irish Church was not disestablished by Dissenters, or at the special instance of Dissenters. From the time of the legislative union of Ireland with England it was condemned as an essential injustice by individual statesmen of all political parties, and even Bishops joined in the condemnation. And when at length disestablishment was righteously accomplished, it was not the hand of a Dissenter that was lifted against it, nor did the parliamentary majority of either house of legislature consist of Dissenters.

In the very bosom of the Establishment itself the Liberation Society has found a sister organization, numerous and influential in its membership; clergymen themselves advocating Disestablishment as preferable to the Erastian conditions of the National Church. Many of the members of the Liberation Society itself are good Episcopalians, and from its origination such have ever been amongst its adherents. In each of the three distinctly marked schools of thought which chiefly make up the Episcopal Church, there are numerous representatives of the principles of the Liberation Society. Fewer perhaps among the Broad Church party than in either of the other two; for Erastianism is a fundamental article of the Broad Church creed; its latitude of theological belief and its imperfect recognition of the higher and more spiritual characteristics of a Church of Christ keep it from being troubled by parliamentary control of Christian theology and worship. Men of all schools, who deem the Church of Christ to have spiritual rights and liberties which only the Divine Lord can rightly control, necessarily resent parliamentary interference with creed and ritual, and claim liberty to believe and worship according to their own unfettered convictions and preferences. In this claim Congregationalists and Anglicans, Evangelicals and Sacramentarians necessarily concur. It is altogether irrespective of the direction which their preferences will take. Even Evangelical churchmen, to whose most cherished convictions the Anglican Establishment must often do violence, and whose meek acquiescence in such conditions is so often a surprise and shame, are sometimes compelled to confess that 'there are worse things than Disestablishment.' Even bishops occasionally tell us that it is inevitable sooner or later. Indeed, if presentiments foreshadow fact, never was institution more certainly foredoomed. It would be difficult to find an intelligent politician, or clergyman, or observer of any class who does not deem it impending. In the United States, as an eminent bishop of its Episcopal Church informed the writer, any suggestion of Establishment would meet with the most peremptory, and almost unanimous, opposition of the Episcopal clergy.

Then, there are men who belong to no Church, who repudiate all religious creeds, Theists, Atheists, Materialists, Agnostics, Jews, Infidels, irreligious men, with whose misbeliefs religious, Christian men can have no sympathy, but who are none the less entitled to equal rights of citizenship; and whose convictions concerning parliamentary justice and policy are entitled to as much respect as those of the Archbishop of

Canterbury. And English Nonconformists have never fought the battle of liberty selfishly, they have never been contented with exceptional privileges. In contending for their own liberties they have always based their contention on grounds that include those who differ from them most widely. In doing this they have subjected themselves to the misrepresentations of bigoted and unscrupulous religionists, who too often forget that to advocate truth by wrong means is as immoral as to be unfaithful to truth itself. The civil rights which are due to the most religious Nonconformist are also due to the most blatant atheist.

There are, too, Roman Catholic Dissenters who have infeasible rights of citizenship. That they would, if practicable, establish the exclusive and intolerant claims which are the traditions of their Church is no reason why social rights should be denied them; the function of equitable law is not to deny liberty lest it should be abused, but to guard the community against the misuse of liberty on the part of any who possess it. The claim for Disestablishment is not, therefore, preferred by religious Dissenters alone.

Of the 34,000,000 of people inhabiting these islands, or excluding Scotland, which has an Established Church of its own, say 31,000,000, no one ventures to claim for the Established Church more than 7,000,000 of adherents. This, according to 'The Guardian' newspaper of January 15, 1879, is the estimated number of sittings which it provides. Less partial judgments estimate it at a million less. Of itself this is a disparity which simply makes ridiculous the audacious claim to nationality. Whatever it may have been once, and whatever else it may claim to be now, the Church that can by its most partial advocates claim the adhesion of less than one-fourth of the population, and of only one-half the church-going section of the community, is assuredly in no reasonable sense a national Church.

The anomaly of one of the ecclesiastical corporations of the kingdom claiming for itself this high-sounding designation, exclusive political recognition, legislative status for her bishops, the exclusive performance of all state functions of religion, the tenure of all parochial livings, and the appropriation of national property estimated at £200,000,000 sterling, is so preposterous that, if it did not exist, it could scarcely be imagined; if it were not a traditional prerogative, it could not be created.

Only in a very subordinate measure, therefore, is Disestablishment a Nonconformist question. In a higher and

broader degree it is a question of national welfare. To represent it as a mere matter of sectarian jealousy, a rivalry of church and chapel, a struggle for denominational ascendancy, is as disingenuous as it is unfair. This it may be, and possibly is, but chiefly because assumptions like those of the Anglican Establishment intensify differences, engender resentments, and provoke strifes. No such warfare is waged between other Protestant Churches. Presbyterians and Methodists, Congregationalists and Baptists, freely debate their differences, without either violation of Christian charities or damage to Christian brotherhood. It would be difficult to adduce just now a single serious controversy between them. Only one of the sisterhood of Protestant churches stands resentfully aloof, arrogant, contemptuous, militant, mournfully blind to all spiritual goodness or achievement save her own. Upon her, therefore, lies the solemn responsibility of the bitterness and sectarian strife which so mars the social and religious life of England. For the guilt of dissension rests not with those who resist unwarrantable claims, but with those who prefer them.

Is, then, an Established Church such as that now existing in England an expedient thing for the national life? Does it in the best way promote national religiousness? Does it conduce to the morality, equity, freedom, strength, and harmony of social life? Does it religiously control and inspire national politics and legislation? Does it intensify the sentiment of religion in the nation, and promote its virtue, self-reliance, and unity? Is the spiritual and religious action of the Episcopal Church, and of its ministers, purer and stronger, because it is so established? These are great and far-reaching questions. Perhaps no exhaustive and conclusive answer to them is possible. They are calculations of moral influence, and admit of no exact demonstration. Judgments concerning them, moreover, will be largely influenced by prepossessions and theories. And yet an approximate answer may be given, general conclusions may be fairly reached, by adducing experiences of the past, and by dispassionately estimating characteristics and tendencies of the present.

Is, then, the action of a Church upon a nation aided or hindered by its establishment? A twofold answer may be given. First, the answer of philosophy, theory, or sentiment; and next, the answer of history and present experience. How does an establishment present itself to the judgment of philosophy? Which method of appealing to the religious sentiment of a

people is most likely to secure favourable prepossessions—that of the minister who comes to it voluntarily, moved only by religious solicitudes, a missionary of the cross, impelled to seek the salvation of men by the constraints of pitying love which impelled the mission of Christ Himself, and making no demand for pecuniary support save such as may commend itself to men's own sense of obligation and to their pure willingness? or that of a minister who is imposed upon a parish by the government or the patron without any reference to the preferences or feelings of the people themselves—often in notorious opposition to them—and who demands of them his support as a legal obligation, to be enforced by legal penalty in case of refusal; a support moreover often ludicrously incongruous with the service rendered, and in no case regulated by it. That the former occupies the more elevated platform, that he is exempt from much of resentful prejudice, that he appeals to by far the nobler sentiment, and that he wields the greater moral force, is so obvious as to admit of no debate. And yet these are the true conditions of religious success.

On the other hand it is urged, that in making provision for the religious necessities of an entire nation a government must proceed on the basis of a mixed feeling—the religious zeal and self-sacrifice of some, and the indifference, selfishness, and aversion of others:—that there never has been, and probably never will be, a consentaneous feeling such as would provide means of religious instruction and worship for the whole country, and that therefore the government of the country is bound to disregard the indifference or antagonism of a large portion of its constituents whose feeling simply shows its need for the gospel, and in a purely missionary spirit to make an enforced provision, as for example in the parochial system, which provides a church for every village, and ‘a cultivated gentleman for every parish.’

In reply it may be said that, waiving the enormous assumption that the civil government of a country has either the function or the fitness for teaching religion, it may for the sake of argument be admitted, that if the people of any country were so far religious in character, and agreed as to Christian doctrine, worship, and church discipline, it would theoretically be unobjectionable for them to provide for their religious necessities by a national Establishment and a parochial system, even though then the wisdom of the method might be open to grave question. Neither need it be denied that there may have been conditions of national life when a national establishment has been an instrument of much good.

No Church, no condition of any Church, probably, has ever existed in which some good has not been done by it. In civil government there are conditions of peoples in which a despotism is the best form of rule.

But notoriously the conditions of national assent here assumed have never actually existed in England or anywhere else. The history of church provision in England—the history of tithe especially—is a sad caricature upon all such theories. It cannot be gone into here. We can only say generally in relation to tithe that the people have at no period had much to do with it. Bishoprics existed before parishes, and the dioceses were conterminous with the Saxon kingdoms. There were neither settled clergy nor territorial divisions. The Church system was congregational, not parochial. The clergy were largely aggregated in religious houses. Monarchical gifts and endowments were bestowed by the Saxon kings in the exercise of their own personal will, not only without the consent of the people, but often in spite of their almost rebellious opposition. Until the eighth century tithe was unknown in England. Prior to that, according to Professor Stubbs—

The maintenance of the clergy was provided chiefly by the offerings of the people: for the obligation of tithe in its modern sense was not yet recognized. It is true that the duty of bestowing on God's service a tenth part of the goods was a portion of the common law of Christianity, and as such was impressed by the priest on his parishioners. But it was not possible or desirable to enforce it by spiritual penalties: nor was the actual expenditure determined except by custom, or by the will of the bishop, who usually divided it between the church, the clergy, and the poor. It was thus precarious and uncertain, and the bestowal of a little estate on the church of the township was probably the most usual way of eking out what the voluntary gifts supplied. The recognition of the legal obligation of tithe dates from the eighth century, both on the continent and in England. In A.D. 779 Charles the Great ordained that every one should pay tithe, and that the proceeds should be disposed of by the bishop; and in A.D. 787 it was made imperative by the legatine councils held in England, which being attended and confirmed by the kings and ealdormen, had the authority of witenagemots. From that time it was enforced by not unfrequent legislation.*

In 854 Ethelwulf granted a tenth of all the lands in the kingdom to the Church, and in the following year he solemnly renewed the grant under peculiar circumstances. He had been for more than a year absent from his kingdom in Rome; Aelstan, bishop of Sherbourn, had in his absence formed a party for deposing him, and for placing Ethelbald, his eldest son, upon

* 'Constitutional History,' vol. i. chap. viii. § 86.

the throne. Ethelwulf thought that he could best induce the clergy to sustain his authority by a bribe. The result was a convention of the parliament at Winchester, and an enactment confirming the grant of a tenth of all lands to the Church. 'King Ethelwulf, for the greater force and solemnity, offered the charter upon the altar, when the bishops receiving it, ordered it to be transcribed, and sent down into their respective dioceses to be fully published.' Professor Stubbs thinks that this famous donation 'had nothing to do with tithes except as showing the sanctity of the tenth portion,' but it is the most definite act upon which we can fix for the origin of the tithe system in England. Not only is it the donation of the monarch with which the consent of the people had nothing to do, but it excited the strongest discontent and resentment, so that it had to be confirmed and renewed, and under reiterated protests, by subsequent kings—Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, Edgar, Æthelred, Canute, and Edward the Confessor—with severe penalties of fine and imprisonment, and, as Leslie says, 'with many curses and imprecations.' Thus a law of King Edgar enacts—

If any one refuse to pay his tithes in such manner as we have prescribed, then let the king's sheriff, and the bishop of the diocese, and the minister of the parish come together, and let them by force cause the tenth part to be paid to the church to which it was due, leaving only the ninth part to the owner; and for the other eight parts the lord of the manor shall have one four parts, and the bishop of the diocese the other four.*

A curious illustration of pious willingness.

These laws were re-enacted with similar indications of popular antagonism by William I., Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II., and they are absolutely the only basis of the tithe system in England. At the Reformation, Church revenues were dealt with by Henry VIII. without much regard to the religious willingness of the people, more than half of whom remained Roman Catholics, and were despoiled of the Church property they had possessed. And this was the legislation under which tithes are secured to the present Establishment. Pious liberality is a purely mythical quality so far as the tithe system is concerned. Further, a parochial system enacted by a government, as under Theodoræ and his successors, demands an advanced degree of popular religious sentiment. Scarcely can such a system be justified as a mere missionary device, for this would be forcibly mulcting the people for the cost of their own conversion. The parochial system is, there-

* Leslie on Tithes.

fore, simply a diocesan device for utilizing religiously the civil township.

Again, therefore, the theoretic question presents itself. Which is the more natural, the more philosophical order of Christian propagation—to first create its life, according to our Lord's vital symbols of the leaven and the mustard seed, leaving the life to embody itself in churches and parochial institutions as it spreads, or to begin by constructing a parochial framework to be filled and animated with a life hereafter to be produced? Is the order, that is, to be vital or mechanical? Shall the life determine its own growth and forms, or shall the forms determine the life? Certainly all New Testament presentations of Christianity, all recorded apostolic methods, as well as all philosophy and analogy, are in favour of the former.

How far, then, does experience confirm this conclusion? We naturally turn first to the propagation of Christianity in the first three centuries of its history—a process more rapid and vital than it has ever known since, unless it be in the missions to the heathen during the last century, where precisely the same methods have been reverted to. Clearly parochial arrangements, a territorial framework to be filled up with converted men, was never thought of; the method was purely congregational, not territorial. It was to preach Christ in great centres of population—Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Athens, Ephesus, Rome—to deposit the leaven of the gospel in the densest masses of men, trusting to it to leaven the lump by its vital and diffusive properties. The life created the ecclesiasticism; the moral power of the preachers' appeal lay in the voluntariness, sympathy, and self-sacrifice of their mission. They sought men as Christ sought them; and we know with what amazing rapidity Christian life diffused itself.

When Christianity was established by Constantine this vital process of assimilation was arrested, and processes of secularization and corruption began, which rapidly developed until they culminated in the hierarchical despotism and unutterable abominations of the mediæval ages, and in the popedom of the sixteenth century. The records of spiritual aggressive Christian life soon came to be mainly those of individual missionaries, whose names are so honourably connected with the conversion of Northern Europe. The established hierarchy rapidly deteriorated into the worst forms of secular ambition and tyranny.

The religious history of the English Establishment scarcely needs exposition from this point of view. No one will give

Henry VIII., its organizer, credit for either religious motive or spiritual method. A capricious, sensual tyrant and murderer, lust and rapacity were but too predominant amongst his motives; although an extended religious feeling, generated largely by Wycliffe and the Lollards, and excited by the German Reformation, and an impatience of papal corruption and tyranny, no doubt gave him his opportunity. The Reformation in England was almost exclusively, in its ecclesiastical formation, from the king, and not from the people. The enactments of Edward VI., the imperious Erastianism of Elizabeth, and the notorious Act of Uniformity of the second Charles completed the edifice. It is difficult to imagine either spiritual motive or process in this formative period of the Establishment. Down to the time of Laud, the piety of individual men notwithstanding, but one estimate can be formed of the deteriorating course and tendency of the Establishment. Its ecclesiastical tyranny and corruption were the chief elements of the explosion which resulted in the overthrow of both Church and throne, and in the ascendancy of Cromwell and Independency. Then, as throughout its history, the Establishment was the bane of the Commonwealth. In the austere virtues of the Commonwealth, in men like Hampden, Cromwell, and Milton, men saw how greatly piety and patriotism could inspire statesmen, purify government at home, and make it respected abroad. We need not extenuate the defects and faults either of the men or the government in order to justify the verdict of history, that in no nation have purer patriots or a more righteous government than those of the Commonwealth been seen. Whatever the violence of the outbreak, whatever the expediency of the rulers of that revolutionary time, no candid man will venture to suggest a comparison, political, religious, or moral, between it and the foul abominations of the Stuarts. Assuredly we have no cause to be ashamed of the Commonwealth, of its large-brained, godly leader and his rough virtues, of the noble band of statesmen and scholars whom he gathered round him, of his God-fearing army—who anticipated the just boast of the Americans that at the close of their civil war their soldiers returned to the occupations and virtues of private citizens—of his wise and just rule in religious affairs—which his bitterest foes can disparage only by the impotent charge of fanaticism. It was a great religious inspiration and uprising of the nation—a premature, but a glorious birth of time.

Then came the Restoration, with its carnival of licentiousness, in which the Stuarts showed that they had forgotten nothing

and learned nothing. What pious Churchman will boast of either the policy or the individual representatives of his Church during this melancholy period. At once it began a repetition of the suicidal processes which had expressed its own best life. The Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662, and two thousand of its most learned and godly clergy became Dissenters. The Five Mile Act, the Test and Corporation Acts rapidly followed, and only the revolution of 1688, which placed William on the throne, and which was largely the work of Nonconformists, saved the liberties and the religion of the nation. But the Revolution could not save the Church. Moral processes cannot be arrested by external change; and the Church became, by a slow but sure process of religious deterioration, what history describes the Hanoverian Church to have been. It was through a kind of moral necessity that the Church which had expelled the Nonconformists of 1662 should eject the Methodists of the next century.

Indeed, it would seem as if fervid religious life scarcely could exist under the conditions of an Establishment. In 1843 the Established Church of Scotland and its Erastian rulers repeated the same suicidal processes. Indeed, in the entire history of Established Churches it would be difficult to find an instance of an opposite tendency. Whatever may have been the incidental advantages of Establishments real or imaginary, the general tendency and course of every Establishment that Christendom has known has been to religious deterioration. This has been strikingly exhibited by Professor Geffcken in his great book on 'Church and State,' in which, after a historical survey of all the Establishments of Christendom, he is compelled, advocate of State Churches as he is, to pronounce a verdict against every one of them, and to comfort himself with an ideal of the relationship between the two, such as deluded the imagination of Coleridge and beguiled the heart of Arnold. There is not in Europe at the present moment a single national Establishment upon which the most ardent advocate of the institution could lay his fingers as a success; there is scarcely one that might not be triumphantly adduced as an absolute *fiasco*—that has not produced a condition of perplexity, strife, and weakness to both the Church and the nation. Some living can remember the English Establishment as it was fifty years ago, prior to the Oxford revival, when, it is no calumny to say, even making full allowance for the excellences of the Evangelical clergy, spiritual piety in clergymen was the rule and not the exception, and the Church well-nigh merited the charac-

terization of the Apostle Jude, 'twice dead, plucked up by the roots.' It is not meant, that the Episcopal Church has not always had its devout and faithful men—these have been found in every Church. Some of the most saintly men of Christianity have been members of the Church of Rome. In the English Establishment many such have ever been found—preachers, writers, and saintly workers, whom all religious men delight to honour. They are the product not of Church systems but of Christianity; their presence in a Church is no vindication of its system, nor is it necessarily an index of its general spiritual character. There is no cognizable causation between the Establishment and their piety. Nurturing influences there may in a Church, scarcely in an Establishment.

We gladly again recognize the quickening of spiritual life in the Episcopal Church during the last forty years. After the wave of Evangelical life of the last century comes the equally strong wave of Anglican life in this. However far from the doctrinal and ecclesiastical positions of men like Cardinal Newman, Mr. Keble, Dr. Pusey, and their respective followers, we may stand, we must be as thankful to God for their piety as we are for that of Bernard, Fénelon, and Pascal. Just as we thank God for hundreds of pious village priests in the Church of Rome, so we thank God for pious Anglican clergymen in English towns and villages; but it would be as great a mistake to connect the Anglican revival with the Establishment as such, as it would be so to connect the Evangelical revival under Whitefield and Wesley. For what do we see on every hand? So soon as religious life is quickened in whatever school of the English Church, it at once begins to chafe against the conditions of the Establishment. Just as Whitefield and Wesley could find liberty for their inspirations only outside the Establishment, so Anglican clergymen began to migrate in hundreds to the Church of Rome; while with those that remain, the history of the Oxford movement has been a continuous struggle to recast the Thirty-nine Articles, to modify the liturgy, and to break through the meshes of the Act of Uniformity. Whatever the dream of an ideal Establishment, the Establishment as it is is intolerable. The struggles in the law courts, the unseemly conflicts between clergymen and their bishops, the almost ribald vituperations, and actual mobbing of the latter, as of the Bishop of Rochester, four or five weeks ago, at St. Paul's, Walworth, the organization and excitement of ecclesiastical mobs, the imprisonment of one clergyman after another, at the instance of members of their

own Church, the organization of hundreds of clergymen for the avowed purpose of defying the law, are only so many efforts to break down the existing conditions of Establishment. Innovations in worship in a thousand churches, simply connived at by the ecclesiastical authorities, who shrink from unseemly and profitless litigation, the open avowal of lax subscription, are simple confessions of the utter breakdown of the Establishment as it is. Every Establishment dies of life; it can survive anything but a living spiritual Church. Wesley defies it and leaves it; less simple and, we think, less honest modern Anglicans defy it, and insist on remaining within it; if possible, to revolutionize and betray it. But they are alike intolerant of it as it is.

Historians like Macaulay and Froude have pronounced judgments upon the Establishment and its influence, which had they fallen from Nonconformist lips would have been declared ignorant calumny and rancorous spite. There is no need to repeat them. It is enough to ask any apologist for Establishments to adduce a single instance, from either the civil or the religious history of the nation, in which the Establishment has been in the van of either liberty, reform, or evangelization. Her name does not stand connected with any of the great acts of civil emancipation or moral redress, which are the glory of our modern history, and the strength of our modern life—the abolition of the slave trade, the enfranchisement of the people, the first movements of popular education, the amelioration of criminal law, and the abolition of the corn laws. On the side of prerogative, monopoly, and aristocratic domination she has ever instinctively taken her stand. That her bishops should have given their vote for the iniquitous Afghan war is but in harmony with the dark record of her political traditions. Every measure of religious liberty won by Dissenters, from the Toleration Act to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the abolition of Church Rates, and the Burials Act, has been forced from her reluctant grasp, and defiant of her foreboding malediction. While if the inception of measures of education and evangelization at home and abroad be an adequate measure of religious inspiration, she makes a poor figure in the august series of religious societies which have sprung into existence during the last hundred years. Scarcely ever does she lead, almost always does she follow. And yet her sons are as pious, intelligent, and full of self-sacrifice as other men. Free to follow their own impulses, and subjected to ordinary conditions of religious incitement, they would be not a whit behind the most

enterprising and benevolent of Christ's servants. The sole cause of difference is the repressing influences of the Establishment.

As further illustrative of the paralyzing effect upon a Church of a State connection, the relative progress of the Established and of the Free Churches of England may be adduced—the rapid spread of the latter, the enormous losses of the former. The details are too numerous for citation, and the result too palpable to be effected by finessing disputes over exact figures. The conditions which all must admit are sufficient. First, we may point to the spread of Methodism in its various branches. In some parts of the kingdom, Cornwall, for instance, it has searched out almost every hamlet; and there are few counties in which it has not spread with amazing rapidity and force. The Congregational Churches, Independent and Baptist, have in like manner chapels and preaching-rooms in almost every village. Presbyterians and others are likewise doing their share. It would demand long travel to find an English village without one or more Dissenting meeting-houses. In Wales, which a century and a half ago was the almost exclusive possession of the Establishment, it is on all hands conceded that about 84 per cent. of the people are now Nonconformists. In our larger cities and towns, almost without exception, a larger percentage of the religious provision is made by Nonconformists than by the Establishment. Even in the eight most eastern parishes of the metropolis, and with all the church building that special Acts of Parliament and other bounties have enabled, the ascendancy is with the Nonconformists, although at the time of the last religious census the balance was the other way.* In Scotland, the Presbyterian Establishment has been utterly distanced by the children whom she had cast out. In Ireland the Episcopal Church, prior to its disestablishment, was in a ridiculous minority. If we go to the English colonies or the United States for illustrations, not only do we find only Free Churches, but in the United States especially we find them nearly overtaking

* Much disingenuous reproach has been heaped upon Nonconformists because they have opposed a census of religious opinion. In our judgment they have righteously done so. It would, in any case, have been most defective and delusive. Opinions are not fitting matters for a census. If the wish be really to test the relative strength of religious bodies, Nonconformists will readily consent to any census of actual statistical facts—either the number of sittings provided by each Church, or the number of attendants in each place of worship on a given day. With their spacious parish churches Episcopalians have surely no reasonable cause for shrinking from a test like this. When Nonconformists do so, let it be their reproach.

the necessities of their abnormal immigration even in the remotest and most scattered settlements.

These striking facts are more than a sufficient reply to the unworthy fear that were the Church disestablished the religious necessities of the country would not be overtaken. It may be that the voluntary Episcopal Church would not do all territorially that the Established Church now does—no one Church can do all that the entire nation needs—but the Episcopal Church is not the only Church of Christ in the land; and that there would be spiritual destitution all the experience of the past denies. If the contention be for Establishment because of the exclusive right or ascendancy of the Episcopal Church in every place, that is another question, which we will not enter upon here. We will only say that other Churches besides the Episcopal Church itself have something to say about this, and that their relative numbers in England entitle them to say it.

Another argument sometimes urged against disestablishment is that the Episcopal Church would split up into two or more Churches. We can only reply that anything is better than a deceptive, dishonest, and compulsory unity. If the Episcopal Church have not inherent vitality enough to maintain and to propagate herself, and if she be so destitute of internal cohesion as to be kept in existence only by the encircling hoop of civil law, and the external inducement of pecuniary dependence, in God's name let her perish! She has lost all that is worth preserving in a Church, and all that can make a Church wholesome and aggressive. For our part we utterly refuse to believe such timid vaticinations, natural enough in Church dignitaries, but a sad calumny on all spiritual life. We believe that the Episcopal Church would not be a whit behind the chiefest of the Free Churches in her spiritual earnestness, missionary zeal, and large liberality: she would probably be an example to them all. Even her splendid munificence at the present time sufficiently assures this. Whether she would fall asunder or not we are not so sure, but certainly with her present antagonisms of opinion she ought to do so. It would be infinitely more honest to do so, and she would spiritually be much more effective than with her present reproach of insincerity she can be. The sacrifice of truth is a far greater calamity than division. Possibly the *esprit de corps* would prove stronger than the demands of simple truth; sad indications that it would be so have not been wanting in both the extreme parties in the Church. It is easy to retort that we would fain have it so. We can only in all sincerity say that

we have only feelings of regret and sorrow for the dissensions of any Church. We would fain see the Episcopal Church united heartily in faith, worship, and work, taking her just place in the sisterhood of English Churches, and doing a noble part in promoting the kingdom of Christ. But with every unsophisticated mind it will be even a greater sorrow still to see an unreal and schismatic unity maintained. Clergymen subscribing the same formularies and anathematizing each other with an emphasis and passion altogether unknown in the relations of Nonconforming Churches, vexing society and the law courts by their contention—one party in the Church prosecuting to imprisonment another—and yet all calling themselves faithful members of the one Episcopal Church, believers in her articles and worshipping with her liturgy. This is at the present moment the greatest scandal in Christendom; and, we will venture to add, the greatest moral offence of our own social life. Honest separation is no evil compared with this dishonest and belligerent unity. It neither honours truth, glorifies God, nor benefits men.

By some advocates of the Establishment it is contended, that in the Established Church of England greater liberty for divergent theologies is to be found than in any of the Free Churches. Thus, in 'The Guardian' newspaper for December 1, Mr. Boothley writes, in reply to Mr. Bright: 'What denomination of Nonconformists is there that would embrace within its folds any such divergences—not to call them vital differences—as those that exist between these several schools in the Established Church—Ritualists, High Churchmen, Evangelicals, Low Churchmen, Broad Churchmen, and Latitudinarians? . . . left free to preach within the Church *their several Gospels*.' We trust that there is not one, although the standards of many Free Churches are far less explicit and narrow than those which every Episcopal clergyman subscribes. One excellent clergyman writes to 'The Nonconformist' newspaper to contend that Mr. Stopford Brooke need not have left the Establishment. Another strongly pronounced Evangelical declared to the writer that his doing so 'was a mistake.' What is this but a shameless proclamation of the subordination of truth to the National Establishment, and the expression of a cynical contempt for the Thirty-nine Articles and the offices of the Prayer Book, solemnly accepted by each clergyman at his ordination as his theological creed.

It is one thing to tolerate diversities of interpretation and construction, it is another to accept fundamental contradictions on points of vital doctrine. Surely truth is more than

ecclesiasticism. Better a hundred different Churches than a spurious conformity, which in itself is an essential falsehood, and in its relations to the truth of Christ a shameless unfaithfulness. If Nonconformists could thus have paltered with conscience and subordinated truth, they would never have become such. Far less than this would have kept them and their fathers within the pale of the Establishment. They at this moment might have added to the unedifying and immoral controversies and litigations which make the Establishment, as it is, a byword in Christendom, a scandal to unsophisticated morality, and certainly anything but 'the pillar and ground of the truth.'

No one, we think, will affirm that the Nonconformist population of England, that the Dissenters of Wales, that the Free Churches of Scotland, that the ten million registered Church members of the United States,* are less moral in social life, or less devout, consistent, and self-sacrificing in Church life, than members of the Establishment. Many would even give them the palm on the ground that Dissent requires more positive conviction and determined purpose. And all this the Nonconformists of the United Kingdom have done out of the depths of their poverty. Few of the rich of the land have been found among the Wesleyans of England or the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales. There is room enough for the reproach, if any are shameless enough to utter it, that their ministers have not been men of university education; that their church buildings have not been faultless in architecture, or imposing in ritual; that their congregations have somewhat lacked so much of 'sweetness and light' as does not respect goodness, graciousness, and refined feeling. All the greater the honour due to their achievement. Every such disadvantage counts as a heroism rather than as a disparagement, and tells heavily in the balance of intrinsic moral forces. 'If these things have been done in the green tree, what would not be done in the dry.' If with the highest education of the day as their endowment, the wealth of the land at their disposal, a State provision enabling religious services without cost, a parochial system, and 'a cultured gentleman in every parish,' the Established Church has not been able to hold its own against the homely societies of peasants, artisans, and small shopkeepers, the preaching of unlettered men, the necessary support of their own worship

* Exclusive of 9,500,000 Roman Catholics. In the year 1800 the proportion of Evangelical church members to the population was one in fifteen, in 1880 it is one in five.

and mission services by the poorest of the land, her condemnation is complete. Men do not take upon them such onerous conditions of expense and reproach without the most imperative of moral reasons. In spite of all it has had to offer, the parish church has been forsaken for the little chapel or preaching-room. And the sweets of religious freedom and spiritual fellowship once tasted, no inducement has sufficed to bring them back to the Church so left. Individual men, if not successful in the onerous ministry of the Free Churches, may now and then be found seeking the official provision of the Established Church, but no Dissenting body, scarcely any Dissenting congregation, has ever yet returned to her bosom, however reluctantly it might have left her. What is the strange fascination of Free Church life? Why do we not conform? Not because objections to Episcopacy are insuperable—with scores of Free Church ministers Episcopacy is deemed to be as legitimate, and perhaps as expedient, as Presbyterianism or Congregationalism—not because Nonconformists are enamoured of their social ban and their religious disabilities—he would simply be demented who in England continued to be a Dissenter without cause—it is solely because Nonconformists deem the freedom, responsibility, and inspiration of their system, even with its reproach, greater riches than all the treasures of the Establishment.

Many other aspects of the question present themselves, but we have almost exhausted our space. There is the service rendered by English Nonconformists to national freedom and righteousness—a service which all historians from Hume to Freeman have been constrained to recognize (Hume tells us that to Nonconformists England owes the liberties she now enjoys) and which statesmen from Burke to Gladstone have generously acknowledged. In every great conflict for liberty, whether for themselves or for others; in every great contention for righteousness, from the days of the Tudors to the last general election, Nonconformists have been in the van. Their religious earnestness, the very fundamental principles of their position, and the strong instincts and sympathies of their religious life account for this.

The principle of a Church Establishment, moreover, is inimical to the genius of the English people and to the character and tendency of all their institutions. In every other department of national life the sentiment and habit of self-reliance is solicitously nurtured and instinctively asserted, and is a great cause of their individuality, their sturdy independence, and their nobility of character. In

political, municipal, and economical life their self-government and local independence are increasingly asserted. Paternal government, eleemosynary provision find little favour in their eyes. In religion, this is utterly negated by the State Church; while in Free Churches their voluntary support and their congregational government are schools for the most effective nurture of the sentiment of freedom. The State provision for public worship, and the absolute negation of the congregation in Church government, are contradictory to every other development of our national life, and inimical to its best elements in a domain the most vital and the most formative of character. Better a thousand times suffer the mistakes of freedom than avoid them by a negation of it. A State Church is in direct contradiction to the genius of our national life.

If we turn to the great question of national unity, we find that no existing institution of English society creates such social schism, fosters such social animosities, and so disables fellowship in the highest domain of social life. The caste feeling which it generates and intensifies is scarcely exceeded by that of India. Two causes produce this. First, the sacerdotalism, which seems to have special affinities with Episcopacy; and, next, the prerogatives conferred by the State Establishment, which, in addition to their own normal and official influence, intensify and give impunity to priestly assumption and arrogance. It may be that between Episcopal and other Churches there can under no conditions be the recognized equality and the practical fellowship that exist among the Free Churches. The diversities of the latter are no bar to perfect brotherhood; they constitute a harmony which is both a beauty and a strength. But wherever theories of Divine right are maintained, intolerance is inevitable, and indeed imperative. I have indeed no right to tolerate what I think God has prohibited; my very sense of fealty to Him, my very conscience in the highest domain of its exercise, goes over to the side of prohibition, and even persecution. Some of the most relentless of inquisitors and persecutors, from Saul of Tarsus to the Roman inquisitors, have been most religiously conscientious, and it may be, as with Saul, even tender-hearted men. The previous question is, How came the conscience to form such judgments? 'There is,' says South, 'the erroneous as well as the rightly informed conscience; and if the conscience happens to be deluded, sin does not therefore cease to be sin because a man commit it conscientiously.' It may be, therefore—and the attitude of Episcopal Churches when not established makes it probable that it would be—

that the Episcopal Church of this country would not accept a place in the sisterhood of Protestant Churches; that her assumptions would be as extravagant and haughty, and her intolerance as great or greater than it is now. All the more need that she should derive no adventitious aid or immunity from the action of public opinion from her establishment by the State. Can there be a reasonable doubt that if the Oxford movement had been directly amenable to the episcopal congregations of the land; if its leaders had not been artificially protected by their endowments in their disregard or defiance of their people, it would have been an abortion? As it was, they were legally secured in their parishes until they slowly indoctrinated their congregations. Truth, the fair debate and conflict of opinions, as between Church and Church, one school and another, is impossible under such conditions. And thus arrogant and unwarranted assumption is enabled, with all its consequent social schisms, such as English society now groans under.

There are further questions of the waste of national resources. Making the largest allowance that charity will permit for the spiritual service rendered by the Episcopal clergy, can it be doubted that the vast emoluments of the Established Church ought to have been infinitely more productive, nay, that they have not been in myriads of instances the means of introducing to bishoprics, deaneries, and benefices men utterly unfitted for their spiritual functions, and to the exclusion of men who by the natural operation of the law of supply and demand would, on the grounds of fitness, have obtained them? It would be a nice problem, whether State endowments have enabled or hindered genuine religious service the most. It would certainly be difficult to imagine a more wasteful expenditure of resources, if the end of endowment be the spiritual benefit of the people. Free Churches may fail, their ministers prove ineffective—for human judgment is fallible, and the men are but men at the best—but, to say the least, they strenuously seek religious result; and, so far as they have realized it, it has been at a cost not comparable to that of the Establishment. The history of Establishments in every country presents a sad picture of intrigue, corruption, self-seeking, and luxurious waste scarcely to be paralleled in purely civil records.

Closely allied to this is the unspeakable wickedness of political and commercial Church patronage; the appointment to bishoprics and deaneries by the political minister of the day; the gift of 'livings' by wealthy men; their sale and

purchase in the commercial market—which, as practised in England just now, is a grievous violation of every spiritual right of a Church of Christ, almost the negation of its very idea and function; perhaps the grossest abuse ever tolerated in a Church of Christ. But the evil is so palpable that it has no defenders. We need not therefore debate it. But it could never have come into existence save in a national Establishment; and it is therefore one of the corruptions of national, moral, and religious sentiment that must be laid to the charge of this institution.

Legislative and judicial obstruction and embarrassment are also part of the national penalty paid for a Church Establishment. What a place in our parliamentary history the Church has had, and almost always a disastrous one! Churches, like all other institutions, must be subject to legislative control and amenable to the courts of judicature. No Church organization may encroach upon social rights, or invade national liberties. While it is the obligation of every civil government to secure to Christian Churches the exercise of their unfettered social rights, it is their imperative duty to prohibit all encroachment by them, in the name of religion, upon the equal rights of others. Like all other societies, Church societies are inviolable in their association, their worship, their doctrine, and their evangelization, so long as they do not encroach upon the personal or social liberties of others. But legislation for the regulation of this is a very different thing from legislation for the internal doctrine and worship and discipline of a State Church, and for the appropriation of its vast revenues. Such legislation fills a formidable space in our statute book. It has seriously interfered with the business of the nation; and has been the gravest embarrassment of statesmen and of political parties. Whereas legislation demanded by the existence of Free Churches is scarcely ever heard of.

All Churches, again, as corporations making contracts and holding property, are amenable to the law courts of the realm. Like all other corporations, they are bound to fulfil the conditions of contract—as, for example, with their ministers; they are bound to observe their own laws, as towards their members; they are bound to administer property according to its declared trusts. No Free Churchman would dream of questioning the necessity and desirableness of this. It is the simple operation of law in its relation to social equity. It is not *quâ* Church that the society comes into a law court; it is on the simple grounds of social rights. And again it may

be said, the infrequency and simplicity of such cases, as contrasted with the constant, protracted, and costly litigation of the various parties of the State Church, is a sufficient indication of the social order of the former, and of the waste of public time, the scandal, the judicial discredit, and the pecuniary cost of the latter. Such abuses, again, are possible only to Established Churches, and certainly they do not conduce to the social harmony, the legislative and judicial simplicity, the moral purity, and the religious tone of the nation. Why should our English life be burdened, embarrassed, embittered, and corrupted by an institution so prolific of evil as this?

We trust that we have made it sufficiently clear that our remarks throughout have had respect solely to the Establishment as such, and not to the Episcopal Church or its clergy, save as necessarily implicated in it.

Against the Episcopal form of Church government we have nothing to say, save in a general discussion of expediencies. In our judgment it is as legitimate as Presbyterianism or Congregationalism. New Testament precedent, we think, is with the latter, and experience only proves its superior harmonies with the best culture of the spiritual life. But there is no scriptural prescription to make it or any other form of Church government imperative. The Christian life is wisely left to its own embodiments; and whatever most respects its inherent rights, and develops its spiritual perfection, is best. If therefore Christian men prefer an Episcopal Church order, no man may forbid them. For them probably it is the best. The right of preference which we claim we fully concede.

Concerning the clergy and the members of the Episcopal Church we have as much to say that is good as concerning any other servants of Christ. Sometimes their Church system has made them persecuting and intolerant; it naturally makes them arrogant and exacting; but in religious excellency they are very much like other men. For noble gifts of sanctified learning, for holy services of consecrated self-denial, for innumerable instances of ministerial sanctity, fidelity, and heroism, the English people must ever owe a large gratitude to the Episcopal clergy. So far as they and the Episcopal Church to which they belong can be distinguished from the State Establishment, we wish in all sincerity and heartiness to make the distinction. Concerning the Establishment simply as such—its principle, its working, its influence—there is in our judgment nothing to be said that is good. It is diametrically opposed to the genius of Christianity, and to every teaching of its principles and methods which we find in the

New Testament. It is pernicious in almost all its influences upon social and national life ; it reacts disastrously upon the spiritual life and consecration of its own members ; and its history in every instance of its occurrence is a record of an enormous disproportion of intrigue, corruption, and waste.

H. A.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

The Invasion of the Crimea. By A. W. KINGLAKE. Vol. IV.
W. Blackwood and Sons.

In this fourth and penultimate volume of his work the author at first seems to be passing over the 'dead points' of his narrative. Alma, Inkerman, and Balacava are passed, and the storming of the Redan and Malakoff is still a long way off. Accordingly the reader is not keenly excited by the descriptions of battle and combat in which Mr. Kinglake so brilliantly excels. Further, the history of the dreary months traversed in this volume—during which the war made little progress, while the Allied army lay shivering and perishing on the storm-swept uplands of Crim Tartary—reads almost like a nightmare. But for ceaseless reinforcements, both the French and the English armies would literally have melted away and disappeared from the ravages of disease and the inclemency of a Crimean winter.

Nevertheless, this volume is in many respects more useful to the nation, more imperially instructive, than any of its predecessors. While vividly setting forth the sufferings of the army, the author dissects the causes of the great disaster which befell our troops ; and this part of his work is all the more valuable as permanently instructive, because the sources of the disaster lay entirely in a grossly defective system of administration. Mr. Kinglake says that he was astonished, at the close of his most searching investigations, to find that the fault nowhere, or hardly in the least degree, rested with individuals. The officials under whom this terrible disaster befell our troops, whether these officials were military, civilian, or political, each and all did their work in a noble and self-devoting spirit. Our whole calamities during that Crimean winter were attributable to the system under which our army was governed and our Ministers forced to work. Not a few of those glaring defects as regards army administration have since been remedied, but we fear that far too much still remains to be done ; and we feel assured this volume will do more than anything else to bring about the improvements which are so imperatively needed.

It is only too plain now that the public, indignant at the sufferings of our troops, and also mistakes in the strategy of the war, did gross in-

justice to Lord Raglan, whose noble spirit and high abilities Mr. Kinglake at length does justice to. Nothing can be finer or more touching than the quiet heroism with which Lord Raglan bore the painful and critical ordeal to which he was subjected. With a bleeding heart, and a brain all but distracted and overborne by the dire anxieties of his position, the British general maintained a calm and cheerful bearing, ever dreading lest a knowledge of the weakened strength and woful condition of the Allied host should lead the enemy to hurl another Inkerman-like assault against the sickly and fast-thinning ranks of the besieging force. In truth, fearfully overworked as our soldiers were, the task of pushing forward the siege-works (or at least seeming to do so) was a necessity of our position. In truth, it was the Allied army that (at least for several months) was really the besieged party; and the trenches and siege-batteries were indispensable to enable us to maintain our position in front of Sebastopol.

One part of this volume was sure to call forth (as indeed it has already done) keen protest and criticism. Mr. Kinglake shows how the war-correspondent of 'The Times' actually imperilled, not merely the fortunes of the campaign, but the very existence of the Allied army, by the minute information and revelations which he sent home for publication, and which were immediately telegraphed to Sebastopol via St. Petersburg. Lord Wellington (complained Lord Raglan in one of his letters to the Government) throughout his Peninsular campaigns was never half so well informed as to the positions and conditions of the French armies as the Russians were from day to day in regard to the Allied army, and by writings actually supplied from our own camp. No spy, not a dozen of them, could possibly have obtained and supplied to the Russian generals the information which Mr. Russell daily sent to 'The Times.'

In connection with this subject Mr. Kinglake gives a graphic description of Mr. Delane and the 'interior' of 'The Times' office. Although, like all Englishmen, lovers of publicity, we must acknowledge the truthfulness of Mr. Kinglake's remarks in this chapter, which will not be the least interesting part of the volume to the general reader. The volume is a service to the nation.

Japan: its History, Traditions, and Religions. With the Narrative of a Visit in 1879. By Sir EDWARD J. REED, K.C.B., F.R.S., M.P., &c., &c. In Two Vols. With Illustrations. John Murray.

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan. An Account of Travels in the Interior, including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé. By ISABELLA L. BIRD. In Two Vols. With Map and Illustrations. John Murray.

These two volumes, which appear together, present a complete and reliable picture of Japan as it was and as it is, the one most appropriately

supplementing the other. Sir Edward Reed has, we think, erred a little in his arrangement, in giving his admirably clear and concise account of the history, philosophy, and religion in the first volume, and relegating what is much more likely to attract the general reader—the account of his visit to Japan in 1879—to the second volume, thus demanding first of all an amount of interest in much that is remote and abstract, and hampering himself not a little with the sense of unnaturalness; for certainly what is seen should be first described, and then whatever is suggested to the mind by what has been seen, or arises from it. This seems a simple rule enough, but travellers are too often inclined to set it at naught, notwithstanding their own interests, artistic considerations, and the claims of the general reader, which in such matters ought surely to be primary and paramount. Nor does our general criticism of Sir Edward Reed end here. Not only has he devoted his whole first volume professedly to early history, language, literature, and philosophy, but he interjects into his second volume, as a third chapter, a general disquisition on the language and literature, thus breaking up the narrative so well begun, and simply throwing the reader back to the very position assigned to him in the middle of the first volume. For readableness and attractiveness in this respect, then, we consider that the arrangement might have been better for all concerned. With respect to the matter, that is another thing. Sir Edward Reed has made himself master of Japanese life and history. No point of the least interest is omitted here. We estimate at the highest value the chapter on the Shinto religion and the account of the manner in which it passed into effete-ness, giving place to the insurgent Buddhism, which in Japan, as in some other places, has split up into divergent lines, determined by the view taken of Nirwana: the one holding that it is total annihilation of the individual life, and the other that it is simply the entrance into rest. We are glad to see that Sir Edward Reed, in opposition to the declarations of such writers as Mr. Talboys Wheeler, is inclined to see in the Nirwana of Buddhism a suggestion of something beyond annihilation. Buddhism was a reaction against Brahmanic dogma and ritualism: it changed the centre for high action from outward to inward motives. In doing good, the reward is in the doing. In this Buddha was distinctly a practical teacher; but one remarkable point is often missed: Nirwana—complete escape from all desire and earthly longing—is possible here below; the master himself attained it, and in this lies a world of meaning; a little chink is by it opened into a world with wide horizons. Sir Edward Reed's chapter on Buddhism is one of the most suggestive we have seen on the subject. 'The Way of the Gods,' as the leading idea of the Shinto religion, is most luminously expounded, and equally so the principle that lies at the root of the worship of ancestors, which is general in Japan and in China. Not less so are the chapters on the Ancient History, the Political Development, and the possibilities that lie before Japan. The chapter on 'The Reforms of the Last Ten Years' is sufficient to take wholly by surprise the reader who has not been attending carefully to the news from Japan month by month and

week by week. Education—particularly female education—has been improved after European models (for the Japanese, unlike the Chinese, are very ready to adopt new methods of doing things); normal schools have been established at great centres; half-barbarous laws have been repealed; a new monetary system has been adopted; the clan system, with its rivalries and recurrent outbreaks, has been abrogated; a postal system after the European model has been established; telegraphs have been effectively introduced, steamships bought and built; and the whole system of life, social and political, is speedily undergoing transformation into something higher, more civilized, more fitted to enable Japan to cope with European life. Even vote by ballot has been introduced. Sir Edward Reed's last word is suggested by that fact. Elective assemblies are being established throughout the empire. They are to deal with all questions of taxation, and may petition the central government. 'The qualifications for membership are an age not less than twenty-five years, a three years' residence in the electoral district, and the payment of a land-tax within that district of not less than £2. The qualifications for electors (males only) are an age of twenty years, inscription on the register, and payment of a land-tax of £1. The voting is by ballot, but the names of the voters are to be written by themselves on the voting papers. I cannot help thinking that by thus cautiously but steadily advancing along the approved path of political progress the emperor and the existing government of Japan are insuring a better future for their country than would be at all likely to result from a less gradual method of proceeding.'

Miss Bird plainly tells us that hers is not a 'Book on Japan,' but 'a narrative of travels in Japan, and an attempt to contribute something to the sum of knowledge of the present condition of the country;' and she adds, 'it was not till I travelled for some months in the interior of the main island and in Yezo that I decided that my materials were novel enough to render the contribution worth making. From Nikko northwards my route was altogether off the beaten track, and had never been traversed in its entirety by any European. I lived among the Japanese and saw their mode of living, in regions unaffected by European contact. As a lady travelling alone, and the first European lady who had been in several districts through which my route lay, my experiences differed more or less widely from that of preceding travellers.' Miss Bird went to Japan on account of her health, and in Japan, as in the Sandwich Islands, in the Rocky Mountains, or in Fiji, she approves herself the true traveller. She never loses temper, never fails to appreciate what is novel and strange, and lightly recovers herself amidst discomfort and unaccustomed ways. Had it not been so, we are doubtful if this book could ever have been written; certain it is, it would have been a very different book. It is delightful to see with what buoyant spirit Miss Bird goes along, finding something pleasant and profitable even amid the most adverse circumstances. Her book suffers under what we cannot help regarding as a great disadvantage. It is written in the form of

letters, which, in our judgment, is a form very ill suited for a work aiming at such exhaustiveness as Miss Bird assuredly aims at within the limits of such a design as that with which she set out. It tempts to indulgence in forms of speech which become somewhat tiresome, and we do really wish that she had taken the trouble to recast it. Miss Bird not only describes scenery and character well, she has a certain kind of dramatic power which enables her, so to say, to give impressions of the inner life and feelings of the people amongst whom she may move. This was noticeable in her former book, particularly in the 'Rocky Mountains,' and in the case of some of her companions in the risky journey described there—it is, we think, still more conspicuously present here. Letters xiii. and xiv of the first volume, and Letters vi. and vii. of the second volume seem to us specially to justify this. In saying what we have now said, we simply mean that in addition to rare faculties of observation, and a memory well exercised on the detail of travel, she has humour and a fine sense of the disparities and contrasts of life. This is a point in which Miss Bird shows far superior to Sir Edward Reed, who scarcely seems at any point to see the individual Japanese as a person at all. This is pre-eminently what Miss Bird does, and therefore her book will have its own work to do. The description of Kenaya's house and of Kenaya in Letter x. of Volume i. might itself suffice for proof of this; it is delightful. After all, a nation is made up of men and women, each with a mind and soul and heart, and the person who can in writing make us feel this must be taken to supplement well the philosophic writer and political economist. Miss Bird's account of the savage, or half-savage, peoples of the interior is, of course, the most valuable and interesting portion of her work. There, being entirely off the beaten track, she has the merit of really making revelations. It is a world into which it is not completely pleasant to look; but we recollect that we have our own savages at home—in Bucks or Dorsetshire, as well as in the slums of Seven Dials and Kent Street—and our exultation and sense of superiority are thus speedily modified. We sincerely trust that these most graphic pictures of the miserable condition of the poor people of the outlying Nakano districts, and of Yezo, may awaken such an interest as may lead to something being by and by done in their behoof. In her care to describe the actual details that she observed as she went along from point to point, Miss Bird does not miss broadly practical and political questions. She is at one with Sir Edward Reed about the earnestness of the government in judicial reforms; and throughout her book she sets down sentences which abundantly show that she knows something of politics and of political economy, and could philosophize and speculate a little if she liked. But her strength lies in another line, and she is wise to keep to it. From her book may be got a vivid idea of present-day Japan, in its low life as well as its high life, and everywhere a most refined and kindly spirit appears. She must have given to the out-of-the-way Japanese a very favourable idea of the English lady, and in this regard has perhaps done England a greater service than can at

present be estimated. We think of old Fletcher's words as we contrast in our minds these two: 'Let me make the songs, and who will may make the laws of a people;' and we lay them down gratefully together and repeat to ourselves these words.

Young Ireland: a Fragment of Irish History, 1840-1850. By Sir CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY, K.C.M.G. Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Co.

The history of the Young Ireland party is undoubtedly one of the most interesting episodes in the modern annals of the sister country; and no one is so competent to narrate this history as Sir C. Gavan Duffy. The present bulky volume of nearly eight hundred pages is, however, but an instalment of the work, bringing the narrative down to the autumn of 1845. Whether the story would not have gained by compression may be a matter of individual opinion; but certainly the author cannot be complained of for a want of fulness in expanding the events of but five years into a volume of such large dimensions. In its compilation he has had a twofold object in view: first, to show what the Young Ireland party aimed to do, and what they accomplished, with their actual motives and means of action—all of which, the writer thinks, would be found worthy of study by statesmen and publicists accustomed to meditate on the affairs of Ireland; and secondly, he desires to appeal to the conscience of the best class of Englishmen. 'If they should think proper to study with reasonable pains the brief period embraced in this narrative, they will have no difficulty, I am persuaded, in understanding a problem which has sometimes perplexed them—why Irishmen not deficient in public spirit or probity were eager to break away from the Union and from all connection with England. At present they see with amazement and dismay a whole people who profess to have no confidence in their equity, who proclaim that they do not expect fair play from them, and who fall into ecstasies of triumph over some disaster abroad or embarrassment at home which endangers or humiliates the empire; and they will not take the obvious means of comprehending this phenomenon.' Now many English statesmen and English citizens will demur to this statement of Sir C. G. Duffy as being incorrect with regard to the disaffection of 'a whole people,' and they will likewise naturally affirm that, so far from not having tried to understand the phenomenon, they have done nothing else scarcely but endeavour to arrive at a conscientious solution of the problem. Certainly the author has striven, as he claims, to be fair and temperate; but he again begs the question somewhat when he remarks that 'confusion and disaster will continue to mark the relation between the islands till Englishmen confront the facts courageously, and with a determination to discover the spring-head from which discord flows.' Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright have at least demonstrated that they are anxious to get at the roots of Irish grievances, and by every reasonable means in their power they have sought to effect an amelioration of these

wrongs. One more point in regard to Sir G. Gavan Duffy's intentions in this work deserves mention. 'The thoughtful reader,' he says, 'will not fail to note that the narrative at bottom is not the history of certain men, but essentially the history of certain principles. Controversy rather than meditation is the nursing mother of popular opinion; and to the controversies and conflicts which I have undertaken to record may be traced back, for the most part, the opinions which influence the public mind of Ireland at present, or promise to influence it, in any considerable degree, among the generation now entering on public life.' The ideal which the Young Ireland party set up was no doubt a high and a worthy one, and they were anxious to redeem the Irish character from many of those faults and excrescences which were sometimes justly, and at other times unjustly, attributed to it. By an earnest and voluminous literature they worked assiduously for this object, calling in a strong poetic element to their aid. Any one who wishes to see what was accomplished in this direction need only turn to the poems of Thomas Davis and others, published in 'The Nation.' The present volume is divided into three books. In the first, the author traces how the Repeal movement began; shows who were its first notable recruits; describes the awakening of the country, the policy of the Government, and Young Ireland at work, with finally the arrest of the leaders of the movement. The second book is devoted almost entirely to O'Connell, closing with a sketch of the Irish prisoners before the House of Lords, and their deliverance. This part of the story is told at very great length, and would certainly have borne curtailment with advantage. The third book is made up of a series of miscellaneous chapters, such as the Condition of Irish Parties after O'Connell's Deliverance, the Federal Controversy, Religious Intrigues, Peel's Concessions to Ireland, the Provincial Colleges, &c.—the whole closing with a chapter on the Death of Davis. Deservedly high this able and pure-minded man stood in the estimation of his countrymen. 'The Whig and Conservative press did him generous justice. They recognized in him a man unbiassed by personal ambition, and untainted by the rancour of faction, who loved but never flattered his countrymen, and who, still in the very prime of manhood, was regarded not only with affection and confidence, but with veneration, by his associates. The first proposal for a monument came from a Tory, and Whigs and Tories rivalled his political friends in carrying the project to completion.' Davis was pre-eminently one of those men who are the salt of any movement, preserving it from corruption and decay. We cannot linger at further length over Sir C. Gavan Duffy's narrative, which will no doubt be read with interest by men of almost every shade of politics. The volume—like all the works produced by the popular firm who are its publishers—is excellently got up; but in future editions it would be well to supplement it with a convenient index.

History of Modern Europe. By C. A. FYFFE. Vol. I. 1792-1814. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.

A history at once brief and comprehensive, which should embrace the entire political movement of the last ninety years, from the breaking up of feudalism in Western and Central Europe before the revolutionary impulse communicated by France, to the formation (still in progress) of mighty states on the basis of free and re-united nationalities, omitting no event of consequence, but studious above all things to assign to each event its true place and significance in the chain of causation, is even now a *desideratum*. The arena is so vast, the single events, or groups of events, so startling and momentous, the desire to follow throughout some particular personage or nationality so overpowering, that even the skilled historian is apt to lose in some degree the true sense of proportion, or at most to place in clear and truthful light the movements of some one locality or period. How difficult, for instance, is it to dwell long upon Trafalgar without feeling bound to dilate at equal length on the glories of the sun of Austerlitz; or while enumerating the French acquisitions of 1809 to keep well in mind the more real value of the seemingly smaller gains of the treaties of Campo Formio or Amiens. Yet while Austerlitz was but one victory out of many—though a very famous one—and was no impediment to a disastrous Aspern and a hard-won Wagram four years later, Trafalgar made every sea for the next generation a *mare clausum* to all but English ships; and while the conquests of Vienna were hardly worth the paper they were written on, those of the earlier campaigns marked limits from which France with ordinary care need never have been called on to recede. What difference again between the currents of opinion before and after the campaign of 1806. The movement which bore Napoleon to the height of power was born of a time when patriotism in Central Europe was a plant with few and feeble roots. West indeed of the Vistula, beyond which stream the mighty empire of the Czar had not yet emerged from the simple patriarchal stage of unmeasured faith and devotion to its head, few states, except Prussia, in Germany or Italy, either had or sought to have their foundations in the people. What mattered it to the citizen of Nassau or Hesse if his ruler were called Kaiser, Elector, or Empereur, so that his burdens were made a little lighter, his daily path less clogged with arbitrary barriers? And so the armies of revolutionary France were welcomed as deliverers with no sense of shame by the peasants of the Rhine valley or the *bourgeoisie* of the Italian towns. Nor was it till their mission had been completely changed, and Napoleon been disclosed in his true colours as a conqueror in the old bad sense, that aversion took the place of welcome, and the first echoes of defeats sustained or victories barely won, though against slight odds, by the supposed invincible soldiery of the Empire, thrilled with a sense of personal deliverance hearts that up to the very eve of Jena had beaten only in sympathy with their advance. The true nature of the struggle between France and Europe, in its earlier and in its later phases, and the real as distinguished

from the supposed loss or gain to either side, are well brought out in Mr. Fyffe's first volume. We shall look with pleasurable expectation for the continuation of a work which, notwithstanding its necessarily great condensation, is scarcely less interesting for general reading than it is valuable as a book of reference for the student.

An Anecdotal History of the British Parliament from the Earliest Periods to the Present Time. Compiled from Authentic Sources. By GEORGE HENRY JENNINGS. Horace Cox.

The title of a former book by the author and Mr. W. S. Johnstone, published in 1872—'A Book of Parliamentary Anecdote'—and from which much of the material of the present volume is derived, would have better described the latter. Of history there is no pretension, except the chronological arrangement of the anecdotes, although sixty-three pages are given to anecdotes illustrating the Rise and Progress of Parliamentary Institutions. These, however, are entirely miscellaneous, and attempt no connected development. The three hundred pages of Part II. are devoted to personal anecdotes, beginning with Sir Thomas More and ending with the Marquis of Hartington. A third part is entitled Miscellaneous Anecdotes concerning Elections, &c. The book is not so well put together as it might have been. It is apparently carefully compiled, but it would have been far more valuable had authorities been given, so as to have enabled reference. As a commonplace book of parliamentary anecdote, well indexed, it is both amusing and useful. In the history of assemblies like our Houses of Parliament rich exhibitions of wit and humour, of adventure and exciting incident, necessarily occur. A rich repertory of these will be found here, although some of the sentences quoted from the speeches of great men are scarcely worth the citation. More amusing reading can hardly be imagined; while to members of Parliament, and to writers in newspapers and elsewhere who comment on parliamentary proceedings, the volume will be a book of handy reference of very great value.

The Early History of Charles James Fox. By GEORGE ORTO TREVELYAN, M.P. Longmans and Co.

Mr. Trevelyan has here written an admirable book. He had great difficulties to contend with. First of all, his hero, though he figured effectively and picturesquely, has his repelling points, and these unfortunately force themselves most into prominence at the outset, when we have the paradox of a man receiving his training for public life in the school of personal indulgence, debauchery, and gambling. It may be that he thus sums up in himself more than would otherwise be the case the spirit of his period, when indeed patriotism could very plainly consort with bad morals; but if so, the period itself is interesting more by reason

of the contradictions it unfolds than for the direct lessons that it has for us nowadays, if we have in these matters improved as much as we generally pique ourselves upon having done. Then, secondly, Mr. Trevelyan's hero, though undoubtedly great, never completely attains a standing-ground for himself above his contemporaries on any ground of personal influence, so that Mr. Trevelyan has been compelled to make his biography one of episodes or digressions. He manages these on the whole cleverly; but, do what he will, he ceases now and then to be the biographer, and becomes a kind of nondescript historian. His great claim to our praise is that he is always readable. If he has not made Fox to appear of greater stature than he had heretofore appeared to us, that may be all the greater tribute to his individual genius. For though Mr. Trevelyan in the turn of his sentences now and then recalls the grand style of his uncle, Lord Macaulay, he does not proceed in his uncle's spirit. He does not allow the fervour of picturesque partizanship to cloud the power of discrimination, so that the reader feels as if he was constantly being called on 'to look on this picture and on that.' He is skilful in the use of anecdote, and knows how to make a point without obtrusively calling the reader's attention to it. He has read so well and widely in the literature of the time that he may be said to have carried one of its conversational tricks effectively into literature. If we do not have the 'purple patches' of Lord Macaulay, we have a mellow and graceful kind of allusiveness, which is particularly piquant and is generally rememberable. It is greatly to Mr. Trevelyan's credit that, though he has evidently studied the early and formative years of Fox with enthusiasm, he should have told with such reserve the process by which Fox was initiated into many of the arts in which he afterwards excelled. That father was surely not worthy of such a son, who, however, did his best to prove himself in much worthy of his father's teachings. If it had not been for Mr. Trevelyan's reserve and delicacy, much in this would, we fear, have been somewhat coarse and repulsive to readers of the present day. The somewhat long-drawn-out episode of John Wilkes is ably written, but we think divides the interest too much; and the essential points might have been quite shortly told, and in such a manner, we believe, as would have concentrated more successfully the interest of the reader on Fox himself. Mr. Trevelyan, of course, feels it his bounden duty to seek some relief from the otherwise inevitable reflection on his subject, by a somewhat elaborate picture of the period—certainly one of the most thorough and complete we remember to have read. But it is open to this somewhat casuistic criticism, that you do not render your central figure more effective in certain points of view by too persistently exhibiting him on a background of hues identical with his own complexion. The period was licentious, venal, corrupt to the heart. Fox had been trained in its very spirit by his father. We see his period summed up in him, and only by a very artistic grouping and setting can the desired effect be gained. Mr. Trevelyan's pictures of George II. and George III. are very powerful, and no doubt accurate; he knows how

to emphasize the detail that expresses the character in such cases, and certainly does so in that of both of these. He is, to our idea, more successful, however, with George III. than with George II., and the reason it might be very curious to try to trace out had we the space, which we have not. Fox's earlier efforts in Parliament are vigorously outlined, especially the share he took in the Wilkes affair; and certainly, for a young man of twenty, his great speech was a remarkable performance. Mr. Trevelyan rightly notes the numberless instances of offences against good taste and even ordinary propriety in these speeches, and rightly insists that 'he had already an eye for the point of a debate as sure as that of a heaven-born general for the key of an enemy's position,' and 'that he chose the ground with more skill than scruple,' which, we think, is an admirable characterization. That first great speech on Wilkes secured for Fox a position in politics and in society. He became Junior Lord of the Admiralty, and presents the spectacle of a 'loose liver,' who could secure at a single step and apparently without effort the position which it has often taken men of certainly no less brilliant parts a lifetime to gain. Afterwards, on the law of libel, he pitted himself against Burke, and bore himself in that trying arena in such a manner as only to add to his laurels. Mr. Trevelyan has done full justice to Fox's impassioned oratory. And, though in Fox there lay a deep-rooted strain of Toryism, which sometimes consorted but ill with the passion of his earlier speeches, he did some notable things for liberty, having been a strenuous advocate for the Dissenters Relief Bill of 1772. Mr. Trevelyan towards the end of the present volume does full justice to him in this particular, as he was in every way well fitted to do.

On the whole the book, though in its main features deeply interesting, fails in some respects from the artistic point of view. Some of the digressions are not absolutely necessary, and occasionally it would appear as though Mr. Trevelyan were more intent on showing the great extent of his knowledge than in exhibiting the outlines of his main subject with the perfect clearness that he might have attained. His further volumes, however, may do something in the direction of attaining this, though we presume he means this contribution to be judged in itself. We always admire, however, his point, his apt anecdote, his clear style, and his power of showing the main bearings of complicated questions.

Etienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance. A Biography.

By RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

Dolet was one of the group of scholars who prepared for the Reformation, and upon whom it powerfully recoiled. It was an uprising of intellectual life against the tyranny and superstition of the Church, running parallel with the uprising of the religious life. Erasmus was a representative of both, so in a less degree were the Scaligers. Dolet was unaffected by the religious impulse; his was purely an intellectual movement. He cared for neither the Romish Church nor the Reformation, save as the

latter coincided with the literary struggle for freedom. It was a moot question whether or not he was an atheist. Calvin thought he was. Mr. Christie thinks it necessary to adduce detailed evidence, and decides, we think rightly, in the negative. He was a type of our modern men of intellectual and scientific but unreligious freedom. The passion for learning rivalled the passion for religion, and among other forms took that of the Ciceronian revival. Etienne was one of the most ardent of the Ciceronians. Whether his literary greatness demanded such an elaborate biography as Mr. Christie has bestowed upon him, and especially the ten years' investigation of minute and trivial biographical and bibliographical incidents we doubt. We should decidedly think not, but for the full and careful picture of the Renaissance itself, of which he is made the central figure. Every personage with whom he came into contact is carefully studied and sketched, and almost every influence of the time is analysed and estimated. Mr. Christie is as ardent a disciple of the Renaissance as Dolet himself, and we owe to him by far the best representation of it with which we are acquainted. Dolet was a conceited, virulent man, who recklessly made enemies, and was a master of the vituperation which characterized his times. Thus he virulently assailed Erasmus for his Ciceronian heresies, and to this rather than to any other influence his death was probably owing. No doubt it was war to the knife between the Church of Rome and the literary revival, especially the great scholarly printers of the period. Probably it was to the books that he printed rather than to those he wrote, the chief of which was his '*Commentorium Linguae Latinae*'—a great philological work possible only to an accomplished and philosophical scholar, but not calculated from its own character to provoke martyrdom, its sarcastic sneers notwithstanding, save as Rome instinctively hated all learning. Even including this great work, Dolet wrote nothing to give him a permanent reputation, like that of Joseph Scaliger, for instance. None of his works have survived. We repeat, therefore, that Mr. Christie's work is valuable as a guide to the Renaissance itself, and a picture of its turbulent life and fierce passions rather than as a biography of Dolet himself, about whom personally none would care to know the incidents which with minute and patient care Mr. Christie has collected. Excepting its somewhat slovenly style, the book is a model of scholarly care and precision.

Dolet was born at Lyons, probably of respectable parentage, although his own allusions to this are somewhat mysterious. After four or five years spent in Paris, where he seems to have studied well, he went, a student of promise, to Padua, then illustrious for its learning, where he secured the friendship of Bembo and Sadolet—the former a pagan although made a cardinal, the latter a Christian. After three years he left with a high reputation, and a decided free-thinker; for a short time he was secretary to Jean de Langeac, the French ambassador to Venice; then he went, of all places in the world, to the University of Toulouse, the very focus of superstition and intolerance. Here he inevitably came

into conflict with the authorities, whom he defied and reviled in a famous oration; was imprisoned, and released through powerful intercession. He then went to Lyons, assailed Erasmus, made friends with Rabelais, became a printer, was many years in prison for his heresies, and at length was condemned to death in Paris by the infamous Liset and through the implacable hatred of the Sorbonne, and was executed in 1546 in the thirty-eighth year of his age in the Place Maubert, in one of the maddest of the spasms of persecuting passion that ever raged in France.

Mr. Christie loses no opportunity of evincing his sympathy with Dolet's free-thinking, which is a different thing from denunciation of his persecution, but his book is an admirable product of accomplished scholarship and patient research, and has been produced in a style of typographical excellence that is worthy of it.

Mrs. Grote : a Study. By Lady EASTLAKE. John Murray.

Not long ago we passed a few hours among the quaint graves in the churchyard of Shere, Surrey, and were particularly struck by the force of the scriptural words chosen for the tombstone of Mrs. Grote, the widow of the great historian. We wondered why no worthy literary memorial had been given of a woman of such strong intellect, rare character, and fine influence. We are glad that the want is now so far supplied by this little volume from the pen of Lady Eastlake. We regret that it is a sketch or study of character rather than a memoir. Lady Eastlake has indicated and has touched with affectionate grace and decision the leading characteristics of her subject, and she brings her out from amid her circumstances and describes to us what she was as she appeared to Lady Eastlake. She has done what she professed to do, and has done it with fine taste, respectful reserve, and no little literary skill. But we confess we are not wholly satisfied, and desiderate a fuller memorial, dealing more in detail with the facts of the life. This, we fear, there is no hope of our now having. The little we have here only whets our appetite for more, and we leave the book with a feeling of gratitude, qualified, however, with the feeling that, well done as it is, it might have been yet better, and would have served a higher purpose than this outline can possibly do beyond a limited circle.

Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish, D.D., Minister of St. George's Free Church, and Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. By WILLIAM WILSON, D.D., Minister (Emeritus) of St. Paul's Free Church, Dundee. With Concluding Chapter by ROBERT RAINY, D.D., Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. Adam and Charles Black.

It is unfortunate for Dr. Wilson that the story of the Scottish Disruption of 1843 has been so often and so brilliantly told, and that his version

of it is so cold and unrelieved. It is, perhaps, well that he has studied reserve and low tone of colouring, else he might have brought down upon himself awkward comparisons. It was inevitable that this story should form the central interest in a life of Dr. Candlish, without whose presence the impression of those stirring times would have been in many respects different. Dr. Wilson has sympathy, but it is of the abstract and wholly unavailable kind for the purposes of a biographer. It is diffused; it never gathers itself into a concentrated flame, so as to convey heat to the heart of the reader. Let him strive as he will, the question, the measure, the particular reform in view comes in between him and the man, and moves the man slowly away from us even as we read. Dr. Candlish's character and intellect were of such an order—so compacted of diverse and, what might have seemed, conflicting elements—that something very original and effective might, even at this late day, have been made of his memoir had the doing of it fallen into more imaginative and artistic hands. First of all, we have in him the union—more rare than might seem at first sight—of a keen and untiring analytic faculty along with great nervous sensibility, imagination, and restrained emotion. It was this combination that gave him his peculiar influence. One of the most impatient and, in one sense, excitable of men, he could yet completely restrain all his powers, and direct them into one channel, pursuing the most intricate arguments, stripping off all the superfluous adhesions, and showing them in their simplest principles; and, having done so, he could rise into a region of impassioned eloquence, which often gained, and only gained, in effect, from what might at first have been regarded as mere defects in view of oratory—defects of voice, personal appearance, gesture, expression. His great speeches in the long-maintained contest between the courts of the Church of Scotland and the civil courts, which finally issued in the Disruption, admirably illustrate this; and none of them more admirably than his first great speech on the Auchterarder case, of which Dr. Wilson has done well to give a pretty full report, with its most effective and wholly popular conclusion and appeal. One of the most attractive portions of the book is Dr. Wilson's account of Dr. Candlish's boyhood, when his mother (who had been included by Robert Burns among the six 'Mauchline belles'), on the death of her husband, a 'teacher of medicine' in Edinburgh, moved to Glasgow, and by dint of hard labour and the practise of the most rigid economies (even making the clothes for her sons after they had gone to college), managed to bring up her boys and to educate them in a most superior manner. It is surely suggestive and touching to read the account given of the elder brother's anxiety that Robert should have his clothes made by a tailor that he might be freed from the ridicule of fellow students, of which he had had all too harsh an experience in his time. It gives us a very high opinion of the mother's attainments when we read that Robert was never sent to school, partly because of the fees, and partly because of his weakly health; that he was taught at home by her, and that, on entering the university, from first to last his career was highly distinguished in Arts and in

Divinity. He had early to begin to teach, to help in maintaining himself; and before his course is finished we find him at Eton as a tutor to a young Scottish gentleman there—an experience which doubtless did something to widen his views. Very soon after getting licensed he became assistant minister, and by and by minister, of St. George's parish, in Edinburgh—perhaps the most important and influential parish in Scotland. He was in this position in 1848, and at that period he became pastor of Free St. George's, where his fame as a preacher attracted many strangers Sunday by Sunday to hear him. Dr. Candlish was distinctly a great preacher, though he was not a great orator. He triumphed by sheer force of intellect and elevation of character over such disadvantages as would have laid an insuperable obstacle in the path of most men; and his example remains as a model and an encouragement to men who have power, and feel a call to the ministry, in spite of physical drawbacks.

German Life and Literature. In a Series of Biographical Studies. By ALEXANDER HAY JAPP, LL.D. Marshall, Japp, and Co.

Although parts of this work have been published in another form—some portions in the pages of *THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*—taken as a whole, it may fairly claim to be regarded as independent and original. For it is only now that Dr. Japp has pieced together the several 'studies' of which the book is made up, in subordination to one main object. That object is to illustrate 'German Life and Literature' by means of character-studies of some of the men and authors who have most contributed to make these what they are. It may appear to some that after all that has been learned and written of late years about German literature—about Goethe and Schiller, Novalis and Tieck, Lessing and Herder, to say nothing of the philosophers from Kant to Hegel—another book dealing with the subject was scarcely needed. Have not Carlyle's apocalyptic revelations and denunciations and hero-worshipping laudations been familiar for nearly a generation now, having formed the very meat and drink of those who are now in their intellectual manhood? Has not Goethe been written about and idolized, and eulogized by Lewes and many more till most people begin to grow weary of the subject? And quite recently have we not seen a sort of Lessing revival, in obedience to the influence of which biographies and biographical essays have been much multiplied? It is indeed so, and yet, as seems to us, a book such as this of Dr. Japp's is rendered all the more necessary on these very accounts. For calm examination will not with many who once imbibed Carlyle's estimates as the very incarnation of wisdom now support the results then regarded as absolutely true. Discriminating students who have sought to see and know German literature and its great leaders at first hand are more and more apt to grow doubtful and dissatisfied with their earlier decisions. They feel that it is necessary to unlearn much they learned long ago, to correct many misapprehensions, to set right not a few

misinterpretations. Dr. Japp's book is the result of such a process honestly and thoroughly performed by one who was much in earnest about his subject, and who was resolute to entertain no results he had not been able to verify for himself after adequate research. The result has been that considerable re-writing and rectification is found to be required. It is mainly in regard to Goethe that this is the case; and the 'study'—or series of studies—devoted to the great poet is, in many respects, the most characteristic, as it is certainly the most vigorously polemical in the volume. For Dr. Japp has found it necessary, in revising his judgments of the great Germans, to dissent *toto cælo* from the views to which Carlyle and Lewes, with all the hero-worshipping fraternity, led men in regard to Goethe. And in regard to his influence on German life and literature, he has been forced to the opinion that it was by no means of the elevating and wholesome order that is mostly taken for granted. That German literature received much in impulse and formative influence from Goethe is, of course, what cannot be gainsaid or questioned by any one. But there was Goethe and Goethe. The later was not the same as the earlier, and the influence of the later was by no means always of the ennobling sort. So long and so far as Goethe poured forth the fruits of his spontaneous and uncorrupted genius he bestowed rich gifts, for which his countrymen and the world do well to be grateful. But it is the main object of Dr. Japp to prove that the time came when the great Goethe was corrupted by worldliness, by boundless selfishness and self-indulgence, and when his character was stunted and poisoned accordingly. So far as artistic genius goes he must be ever regarded as great; but there was a side of his nature which was neither great nor good; and the influence of that on German literature was, and could only be, hurtful. As Dr. Japp puts it, 'The German staunchness, manliness, and sweet domestic loyalty have nothing to gain from him. But these things are better worth pursuing and holding forth as great national inheritances than are feverish sensibility, weak indulgences, even though justified by artistic aspiration, and by artistic product, however finished and effective.' Even the art of Goethe was debased and corrupted by the degradation of character that went on within him. His best poetry is in his earlier and most honest and spontaneous writings, before he began to pose and coin his life and life-influences into materials for his 'art.' It has been too much the custom to excuse Goethe by learned talk about his Greek ideality, his paganism, and what not. When he bowed the knee to Napoleon, his abjuration of patriotism is cosmopolitanism, and when he ruthlessly sacrificed woman and woman's love to his 'art,' his genius is extolled as placing him above all moral law. This wretched cant, of which there has been very much, is indignantly exposed by Dr. Japp. He strips off all the disguises which under fine names hide crass selfishness, deep-grained, and forming the warp and woof of the whole man, and reveals it to us in all its native ugliness. The great Goethe is shown to us—in 'Wilhelm Meister' and elsewhere—in some very repugnant

lights, which however are, we cannot but acknowledge, disclosures of what he really was. Sometimes, indeed, we feel that Dr. Japp, in his honest wrath against the mischievous rubbish with which the worship of genius has been celebrated, goes too far. His denunciations become abusive in their virulence, and we feel that they must, for truth's sake, receive some qualification. But in the main his characterization of Goethe is both true and well-timed, and will do much good in counteraction of tendencies and judgments accepted by too many without even questioning what have come to be accepted as permanent elements and forces in the composition of German life and literature. His protest against sham hero-worship in the case of Goethe is therefore to be heartily endorsed as a necessary correction of misjudgments that must be revised if we are to know the truth in such matters.

We have dwelt thus on the Goethe study because it is central, and in a sense, dominant, and may be called the most characteristically independent portion of the work. The other studies are so far different from the one we have been considering that in regard to the objects of them the author is relieved from the burden of the duty of protest. Towards Lessing, Herder, Novalis, Winckelmann, he can occupy the attitude of appreciation and admiration. Lessing, as the first great founder of modern German literature, may, in some sense, be called the greatest of all. And Dr. Japp has evidently devoted much time and trouble to the author of 'Nathan the Wise.' His critical discernment as to Lessing's strong points is fine and sharp, though in our view he somewhat exaggerates in his estimate of Lessing's significance as a whole. It is true, and it is well to have it brought out clearly, that Lessing was great through sheer force of native nobility. He stamped himself on Germany by his grand character, and contributed formative influences to German literature which are and will continue enduring. In this he was the very opposite of Goethe, and the worship of both together is scarcely to be conceived as honestly possible. Dr. Japp has done admirable justice to the moral elements of Lessing's influences and power, and what he says on his philosophical position is, in our view, much more correct than the conclusions of some of his recent biographers. For Herder, admiration of the enthusiastic sort is almost more than it is for Lessing. It is doubtful if German thought and literature owe so much to any of their lights and leaders as to Herder—the thinker for thinkers. Dr. Japp shows us to what extent Goethe himself was indebted to Herder, though he characteristically ignored and denied his intellectual obligations. The fruits of Herder's genius have now become the common possession of men of culture, and are no longer monopolized by Germany. In addition to Lessing, Herder, and Goethe, Dr. Japp has given in this volume studies of Moses Mendelssohn, Winckelmann, Ludwig Tieck, and Novalis, and contemplates one on Heine. In the Introduction he sketches with a firm hand the leading features of the thought-life of Germany, and of the influences determining it; and, following the biographical essays, we have two studies of a different order—one on 'The

Romantic Element in German Literature,' and the other on 'German Philosophy and Political Life.'

Yet the subject in its totality is so large, and branches out in so many various ways, that the author himself would be the first to admit that he has done little more than break ground. It was impossible within the limits of even a tolerably big book both to give us a set of biographical studies and a clear sketch of the formative and moulding influences and elements of German thought and culture. The great philosophical revolutionists who have changed our intellectual standpoints are only touched, and they would need a volume to themselves. Dr. Japp has, however, made a worthy contribution to a great subject. His efforts will prove fruitful, as we believe, in correcting misjudgments and serious mis-estimates. And maybe there will be others following in his wake, who will make effective contribution to some of the branches he has had to leave almost untouched.

The Personal Life of David Livingstone, LL.D., D.C.L.
Chiefly from his Unpublished Journals and Correspondence in the Possession of his Family. By WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D. John Murray.

Dr. Livingstone's Journals of Travel necessarily reveal somewhat of the man; but combined with his strong self-confidence and enterprize, there were blended elements of simplicity, modesty, and spirituality that found in them but very partial expression. Simply intent upon his purpose, Livingstone utterly forgets himself, his unconsciousness of his own greatness of character being part of its true nobility. Few men have lived who combined with heroism of achievement and stubborn strength of will more perfect simplicity and tenderness of feeling, and deep sensitive religious spirituality. That he should die upon his knees is simply the parable of his entire life. His hold upon God was ever firm and inspiring. His spiritual yearnings and communings have a depth, and tenderness, and humility found only in rare natures such as Paul's, Augustine's, Luther's, and Bunyan's. So also the ethical elements of his character were simple inflexible right, trust, orderliness, and kindness. From earliest life he was simply incapable of either untruth or selfishness. One rises from the perusal of Dr. Blaikie's memoir with a feeling of moral heroism in the man, even greater than the physical heroism of the discoverer, and the former very largely the inspiration of the latter. In all his relations with the London Missionary Society, with the English public, and with the native populations, the same simple, straightforward, unselfish, kindly nature appears—simple concerning evil and wise to that which is good. The missionary was never permitted to merge in the discoverer. With a large conception of missionary character and work, he ever sought supremely the evangelizing ends of missionary enterprize. More than once he forbore magnanimously the assertion of his own personal rights against selfish, jealous, and far inferior brethren. He was ready to make

any sacrifice of property, money, even of his family, whom he sent to England, that he might for Christ's sake do missionary work. He set himself simply, uncompromisingly, and at every peril, to oppose alike the iniquitous oppressions of the Boers and the atrocities of the slave dealers. By sheer charm of simplicity, uprightness, and kindness, he won the confidence of even the most hostile natives, proved how needless force and bloodshedding are, and secured for himself a tradition of almost divine reverence, which Central Africa will cherish for many generations. All who knew him felt the great charm of his simplicity, as conspicuous when nobles competed for the honour of honouring him as when first a preparatory student for missionary service he resided with Mr. Cecil of Ongar, and preached to the villagers of the neighbourhood.

Without therefore repeating information already given to the world in Livingstone's own books, Dr. Blaikie has abundance of material, derived from private journals, correspondence, and reminiscences, to use in the exhibition of the man, as in himself, his family, and his social relations he was. 'The Story of Livingstone' has in many ways been told. Biographies giving the data and more public incidents of his life have been frequently written; we need not therefore cite these. But here we have a portraiture of the man, the Christian, and the missionary, which could not otherwise have been drawn, and which is full of absorbing interest and great inspiration. Many who achieve brilliant things are in character sadly incongruous with their fame; but in Livingstone not only are the moral elements in perfect harmony with the physical and the intellectual, they are the greatest praise of the man, and give him a noble place in the roll of God's saintly servants and heroes of faith. This book will give Livingstone a far higher place than he has hitherto had even in the esteem of those who knew him best; for it reveals to us certain qualities which could only be generally surmised, and shows that, so far from being the mere adventurous explorer, every step that Livingstone took was the result of large faith, humble prayer, and Christ-like purpose.

The Brothers Wiffen. Memoirs and Miscellanies. Edited by
SAMUEL ROWLES PATTISON. Hodder and Stoughton.

The brothers whose remarkable abilities are recorded in these two most interesting biographical sketches were sons of John Wiffen, a member of the Society of Friends, and an ironmonger in the little town of Woburn, Bedfordshire. Both were poets of considerable merit. The elder, Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, is best known by his graceful translation of Tasso. In 1812, in conjunction with James Baldwin Brown, of the Inner Temple, and the Rev. Thomas Raffles, of Liverpool, he published a volume entitled, 'Poems by Three Friends.' He set up a school at Woburn. His literary tastes and abilities attracted the attention of the then Duke of Bedford, and in 1821 he became librarian at Woburn Abbey. There he published his Tasso and compiled his 'Memoirs of the House of Russell.' He died in 1886, in his forty-third year. His brother, Benjamin

Barron Wiffen, was a man of still greater attainments and powers. He became one of the best Spanish scholars of his age, and in conjunction with Don Luis de Usóz y Rio, devoted himself to the works of the Spanish Reformers. He was unwearied in his quest of Spanish books and tracts, and greatly aided Don Luis in the publication of the important work which he edited—'Reformistas Antiguos Españoles,'—which extended to twenty volumes. Especially Mr. Wiffen devoted himself to the life and works of Juan de Valdés, many of which he discovered, and some of which (the well-known 'CX. Consideraciones' and the 'Commentaries') he translated. Some of our readers may be acquainted with his 'Life of Valdés,' which he published with the 'CX. Consideraciones' in 1866, and which was reviewed at the time in this journal with strong commendation. The two brothers were both remarkable men, and these memorials of them are very interesting. Half the volume consists of their poems.

Men Worth Remembering. A New Series of Popular Biographies. William Wilberforce. By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D. Henry Martyn. By the Rev. CHARLES D. BELL, D.D., Canon of Carlisle. Hodder and Stoughton.

Following in the wake of Messrs. Black's 'Foreign Classics,' and Messrs. Macmillan's 'Men of Letters,' Messrs. Hodder have projected this series of biographies. It has a distinct aim and occupies a distinct place. It purposes to record the lives of men eminent for religious character or service, of whom a dozen are named in the prospectus. The series is well begun by Dr. Stoughton's excellent memoir of Wilberforce, which is done with equal literary skill, sound judgment, and good taste. It is admirable in feeling, and from beginning to end full of interest. With great delicacy and firmness it corrects the misrepresentations of the very clerical biography of Wilberforce's two sons, and presents to us the Catholic-hearted man as he was—a true Churchman, and increasingly so as his two sons became prominent in the Church, but a lover of all good men. Canon Bell has not succeeded so well with Henry Martyn. Sergeant's memoir left less to be done. There is less of various interest to be told, and the literary power of the biographer is not very great. But he has with much pious sympathy told clearly the story of Martyn's beautifully devout and consecrated life. The series will be valued for household Sunday reading.

Men of 'Light and Leading.' Thomas Moore, Samuel Lover, W. C. Bryant. By ANDREW J. SYMINGTON, F.R.S. Blackie and Son.

Another venture in the present literary fashion of handbooks, with this peculiarity, that they are all written by one author. This is scarcely compatible with so high a degree of success as special studies and affinities would give, and must necessitate more or less of mere compilation. As

compilations the volumes are fairly well done, but they make no pretension to the critical biographies of Messrs. Macmillans' series. A large amount of interest lies in the illustrative extracts.

Cervantes. By MRS. OLIPHANT. (Foreign Classics.) William Blackwood and Son.

Mrs. Oliphant has here found a subject that seems to have met her sympathies. The kindly shrewd insight, the naïve satire, the dramatic decision of the author of 'Don Quixote,' no less than the mingled gaiety and pathos of his story, has moved her to a more decisive as well as a more tender touch than she has sometimes exhibited. Many of the defects noticeable in the sketch of Molière in the same series are not present here; while we have not a little of the picturesque grace and happy allusion to be found in some of her earlier sketches of the eighteenth century. We have read the book with great pleasure, and though we have noticed a few errors of fact, some misprints and misquotations, these are not of such a character as materially to lessen its real value.

Turkey, Old and New: Historical, Geographical, and Statistical.
By SUTHERLAND MENZIES, Author of 'Royal Favourites,'
&c. W. H. Allen and Co.

In this work, which is dedicated to the memory of 'the Great Eltchi,' Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Mr. Menzies endeavours to give a fairly exhaustive account of Turkey from three most important points of view. Doubtless, in the opinion of some, we are in danger of being surfeited with works upon the Ottoman Empire; but it must be remembered that many of these works are ephemeral, and when they have served their purpose, they will pass away and be forgotten. Mr. Menzies, on the contrary, has thrown so much labour into his book, that in all probability it will continue to have a permanent value. Certainly, it may well be drawn upon as a storehouse of facts by future historians. The Eastern Question, though dormant now, is by no means finally disposed of—'that were a consummation devoutly to be wished' by almost all European statesmen and peoples—and to 'thoroughly understand the facts now being accomplished from day to day, it is necessary to follow in its principal features, general results, and most important revolutions, the history of the formation, grandeur, and decadence of the Ottoman Empire.' In a clear and interesting manner, the author sets before us the institutions, manners, races, peoples, and religions of the Empire, composed of so many different elements. With regard to the statistical part of the work, Mr. Menzies states that his facts are drawn from the most trustworthy sources, and he has been especially indebted in this matter to the recent researches of M. Vladimir Jakschitz, Director of the Statistical Department of Servia, Mr. J. W. Redhouse, the well-known Turkish scholar, and Herren Behm and Wagner. The first volume is entirely

historical, bringing the chronicle of events down to the close of the seventeenth century. Over this part of the work we need not linger, beyond pointing out what is the keynote of Mr. Menzies' researches. As he remarks, the recent war between Russia and Turkey is only the latest episode in a great conflict of races which has lasted in Europe for more than five centuries, and the origin of which has to be traced back, through a good many more than a thousand years, into the obscurity of primitive and barbaric life in Central Asia. As in the far past the struggle in Asia was between the Mongols and Aryans, so the later feud in Europe is waged between their descendants the Tartars and Slavs, and it can only terminate with the utter overthrow of one or other of the races. In the second volume, the history of the Ottoman Empire is continued, and we have moreover an account of the provinces of the Archipelago and of the Adriatic Sea, of Turkey in Asia, Asia Minor, and Syria and Arabia. In fact, nothing seems to have been left undone to give the reader an understanding of the whole subject. As is often the case, the Appendix to the work is not the least valuable. In addition to a summary of the Berlin Treaty, and an account of the constitution and government of Bulgaria, and Eastern Roumelia, Mr. Menzies furnishes some important statistics respecting the Turkish army and other matters. According to a calculation made by a Prussian officer, there were at the end of 1879 some 150,000 to 160,000 men, under arms in Turkey and the various provinces. While well armed, the equipment of the men is miserable, though on all hands it is allowed that this has never interfered with their efficiency. With regard to the recent amicable settlement of one grave difficulty in the East, Mr. Menzies observes that 'the one question which interests the world at large in connection with Dulcigno is how far its cession removes the chances of an European War. The Hellenic question, of infinitely more gravity and consequences than the Montenegrin one, and which stands on a totally different footing, has yet to be grappled with.' We can only hope that this question may ultimately be settled without bloodshed, and settled in a manner that shall be satisfactory to the friends of Greece in this country. The present work is certainly one that from its information is well worthy of being kept at hand by those who are interested in the subjects of which it treats. Without being prolix, the author has managed to collect and put together in a readable and valuable way a mass of information respecting the Ottoman Empire and its dependencies.

A Visit to Wazan, the Sacred City of Morocco. By ROBERT SPENCE WATSON. Macmillan and Co.

Books of travel have multiplied of recent years with startling rapidity. It seems to us, however, that only two classes of such works are permissible, viz., those which derive their chief value and interest from the author's brilliant literary or descriptive style, and those which, while written in a pleasant manner, and with just sufficient literary merit, have

yet a *raison d'être* from the fact that they are plain, straightforward records of travel, and likely to be helpful from their facts to succeeding travellers over the same ground. To the latter class belongs the present volume, and as little is known of Morocco by the average Englishman, it cannot in any sense be called superfluous. As Mr. Watson says, it is possible that some of his professional brethren, who long to get all the fresh life they can in the brief rest from much brain-work which is allowed them by the exigencies of modern life, may be glad to know how near at hand complete change lies. Certainly few of us are aware of the accessibility of countries which we have taught ourselves to regard as lying far out of the reach of a tourist in the ordinary holiday which he can allow himself. Mr. Watson, for example, points out that one may be in Tangiers on the sixth day after leaving London. Nor is the country of Morocco an uninviting one. It is larger than France, and possesses much of historical interest, although it has now a somewhat evil traditional reputation. Mr. Watson remarks that 'if a man travels there as he would elsewhere, remembering that he is the stranger and that the people are at home; treating them as he would treat Europeans under similar circumstances, prepared to rough it at times and to abandon the privilege and duty of grumbling for a season, I do not doubt that he will find, as I did, the land a goodly land, the people an honest and kindly people, both alike suffering and wasting away under a miserable government.' The great Cherif of Wazan has a peculiar interest for Englishmen from the fact that he has married an English lady. Mohammedanism, as we know, is most exclusive; but as we have been brought into alliance with one of its leaders, we may hope, with our author, that this alliance, through the powerful influence of our fair countrywoman, will prove of mutual benefit to the land of her birth and that of her adoption. The climate of part of Morocco is delightful, the average winter temperature being about 56° Fahr., while the thermometer rarely rises above 88° in summer. We have to thank Mr. Watson for a very pleasant work, and one telling us much more about the country than we knew before. No portion of the narrative is tedious reading, and we may add that the volume is embellished with a map and illustrations.

My Journey Round the World. By Captain S. H. JONES-PARRY. Two Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

Although the feat of 'putting a girdle round the earth' is no longer the considerable achievement it was reputed to be some dozen years ago, when 'through' railway and steam-packet lines first made its execution possible within the limits of a summer holiday, and every 'globe-trotter' on returning home rushed into print with the elated confidence of one who has discovered a new world, it has not yet become so stale and common as to present no temptation to a lively writer. The places to be visited—the shrines of the strolling sight-seer—have been, it is true, described too often. The persons to be met with may still prove novel, and if not admirable, at

least amusing. Captain Jones-Parry writes about them with soldierly frankness and a keen eye for things which soldiers love. He makes no pretensions to instruct, but his contagious high spirits, and his constant readiness to amuse and be amused, make him a pleasant companion for an idle hour. The journey round the world, as now accomplished by scores of holiday-makers every year, may be performed in more directions than one—the chief difference being whether the traveller includes or not in his programme the *détour* to Australia and New Zealand. Captain Jones-Parry took the latter course, returning from the Antipodes by the comparatively unfrequented mail-route through the romantic scenery of Torres Straits to Singapore, and so homewards, after a brief stay in China and Japan, across the ‘five thousand miles of sea’ which separates Yokohama from the Pacific terminus of the railway connecting San Francisco with New York. Jottings of light and hasty wanderings like these cannot of course so much as invite comparison with the ample descriptions and wide experiences of residents in China, say, like Archdeacon Gray, or Japanese explorers like Miss Isabella Bird, albeit the military and masculine tourist yields to none in the ease with which he makes himself at home, from the water-lanes of the Canton river to the tea-houses of Japan. But though slight, they are by no means simple gossip, but often very realistic pictures of the ‘cities, where they treat of men and manners,’ which the writer leaves behind him; and not seldom the freshest and most amusing places are those from which the habitual reader of books of travel is apt to recoil as hackneyed beyond all endurance. Thus even at Utah Captain Jones finds something new to tell of the financial aspects of Mormonism, and the clever way in which converts are gradually bound hand and foot as debtors to the Church. New, too, to many will be the account of the funeral and grave of Brigham Young, and of the very general belief that the Prophet was ‘helped out of the world’ to avert the scandal which would have fallen on the church from his apprehended prosecution by the United States authorities for the part he took in the famous Mountain Meadow massacre. Altogether, if Captain Jones rarely tells us much of high importance, it is still more rarely that he allows us to yawn from the time we embark with him in the P. and O. for Suez, till we leave him studying the ‘Personal advertisement’ columns of the New York journals in the breakfast-room of his favourite ‘Windsor’ Hotel.

Holland. By EDMONDO DE AMICIS. Translated from the Italian by CAROLINE TILTON. W. H. Allen and Co.

This sprightly volume must not be compared too roughly with well-known standard works on Holland and the Dutch, or even with such minutely picturesque descriptions as those of the author of the ‘Dead Cities of the Zuyder Zee.’ Signor de Amicis writes for Italians in the first instance, and in the light vein of the practised *feuilletoniste*, with an ever active sense of the perpetual contrast which man and nature in this strange country, so slowly won and so hardly guarded from the sea, present at every step to his own

Italy. Nor does he seek to wander far and linger long in the remoter and less generally explored provinces where Holland melts gradually into Germany, though with no diminution up to the very frontier line of its true Dutch spirit and somewhat exclusive patriotism. The coast towns and their inhabitants are the chief objects of his investigations—Utrecht and Leyden, with their slumbrous universities and their historic associations, memorable even in this land of famous histories; the rival capitals of commerce on the Amstel and the Rotte; the flower gardens of Haarlem; the silent luxury of the Hague; the petty prettinesses of Broek and Zaandam. The reserved, austere, and enduring temperament of the people, relaxing only (in the case of the lower classes) in those wild revels of the *Kermesse* which Van Steen and Ostade loved to paint, are a constant wonder to the emotional Italian. Of the art of Holland, whether of the old or the more modern school, whether exhibited in the galleries of Amsterdam and Haarlem or in the *ateliers* of living artists, Signor de Amicis writes with the tact and discrimination of an accomplished *connoisseur*, albeit of one nursed in a widely different æsthetic atmosphere. Of the religious aspect of the country, with the incomplete apprehension with which the native of southern Europe usually approaches the cold, rigid, reserved Protestantism of the north; of economic and solid matters; of the placid virtues of domestic life in Holland; of the patient energy which has literally created a rich pastoral and commercial country out of chaos, and of the general culture even of the peasant classes, he speaks with generous and candid appreciation. The tourist in Holland might do much worse than slip into his travelling bag this little volume, despite a few shortcomings on the part of the author, and not a few verbal errors of the press on that of the translator.

The Land of Gilcad, with Excursions in the Lebanon. By
LAURENCE OLIPHANT. William Blackwood and Sons.

This is more than a mere book of travels—it is the report of a tour of inspection undertaken for a specific purpose, which Mr. Oliphant explains at length in his preface.

The Treaty of Berlin convinced him that the Turkish Empire was in greater peril than it had ever been before, and that it could be saved only by international administrative reforms, initiated by the Sultan himself, and beginning with the official system of Constantinople; or, as an alternative, by a reform beginning at the extremities, and by 'a process of decentralization which should more or less provide for the administrative autonomy of the provinces to be reformed. As the latter was not likely to be spontaneously adopted by the Sultan, it occurred to Mr. Oliphant, that if an experiment on a small scale could be made successful, and especially to increase the revenue of the Empire, and add to its population and resources, it might have the requisite suasive influence. Mr. Oliphant looked about therefore for a fitting field of colonization, the resources of which would be likely to prove remunerative, for fitting

colonists to introduce into it, and for the capital necessary for the experiment. He came to the conclusion that Palestine east of the Jordan—here designated the Land of Gilead, but including Moab and the Hauran—would furnish the requisite conditions; and that the only practicable colonists must be Jews—to be gathered from the European nations among whom they are scattered. He put himself into communication with Lord Beaconsfield's government, obtained necessary introductions and credentials, and went to the East with the twofold purpose of inspecting the country chosen and of favourably influencing the government at Constantinople. The latter, however, does not seem to have been very successful, although Mr. Oliphant spent twelve months at Constantinople; the former has produced, at any rate, this very interesting account of a district of Palestine about which we know but little.

It is not easy to distinguish at once between true political insight and political Quixotism. Many will pronounce this individual conception and enterprise to belong to the latter. There is, however, some truth in Mr. Oliphant's contention, that in the complicate problems of the East, any European nation that allied itself with Jewish restoration to Palestine would, in securing the influence of their financial, political, and commercial importance, obtain a valuable ally; and perhaps the uneasy position of the Jews just now in Germany and elsewhere may make that which looks so Quixotic possible and practicable. An experienced traveller himself, and accompanied by Captain Phibbs, who was familiar with the languages of the country, and reducing their baggage to the most modest dimensions, they started from Beyrout, along the coast to Sidon, thence south-east to Banias (Cæsarea Philippi), where they entered upon the country east of the Jordan, still proceeding in a south-easterly direction through the land of Uz, until the most easterly point was reached, then, turning due west, they came to Gadara on Gennesaret, whence they proceeded in a zigzag course into the land of Moab, through Jerash, Rabbath Ammon, where Uriah met his death, and Ramoth Gilead, the fatal field of Ahab, crossing the Jordan a little above the Dead Sea, and coming to Jerusalem, and thence north through Western Palestine to Beyrout, Damascus, and Baalbek. The entire route is rich in ruins, traditions, and associations, and picturesque in its mountainous beauty. Western Palestine is almost as familiar as Yorkshire—many people, indeed, know its topography far better. The novelty of the journey is in the country east of the Jordan. Its inhabitants, its ruins, its fertility and beauty—every point tempts quotation and comment. Mr. Oliphant is a practised traveller, a keen observer, well furnished with various information, and a picturesque describer. His book is full of fresh interest, and contributes much information that is new. Apart altogether from the project which prompted the journey, it is one of the most fascinating books of travel that have recently come into our hands.

The Ascent of the Matterhorn. By EDWARD WHYMPER. With Maps and Illustrations. John Murray.

Mr. Whymper has here reprinted that portion of his 'Scrambles amongst the Alps,' published in 1871, which relates to the Matterhorn and its ascents, condensing much of the collateral information and adding a little. The Matterhorn is worthy of its own epic; its conquest will ever stand out in the annals of mountain climbing, as one of the most sagacious, courageous, and remarkable of such achievements. And Mr. Whymper may well feel a proud satisfaction in being its hero, although his subsequent achievements in South America almost equal it. The illustrations of the former volume are reproduced in this, and on looking at them again we still think some of them exaggerated. But the volume is one of unique interest and beauty. We read it as we do the narrative of a great battle—with a throbbing excitement. It claims a high place among the gift books of the year.

The Countries of the World. Being a Popular Description of the Various Continents, Islands, Rivers, Seas, and Peoples of the Globe. By ROBERT BROWN, M.A. Vol. V. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.

Beginning with Siberia, Dr. Brown in this volume conducts us through the Chinese Empire, Burmah, Siam, India, Afghanistan, Turkestan, Russian Central Asia, and Persia. It has the characteristics of its predecessors. It is singular how newspapers, periodicals, and even classes of books gather an unmistakable individuality. The popular publications of Messrs. Cassell, written by half a hundred different persons, may be identified every way. Among *littérateurs* Dr. Brown holds an honourable place. Added to large general knowledge, his instinct for illustrative selection rarely fails him. As a result, these five volumes, to which another completing the work is to be added, are a unique cyclopædia of cosmic knowledge, giving an adequate account of all that general readers need to know about each country—its physical characteristics, products, inhabitants, and history, and put together with intelligence, skill, and vivacity; so that, open the volumes where we will, we find something to interest us. We have dipped here and there and everywhere, and have found Dr. Brown always the same. In these days of popularized knowledge, few things have been done better than this compendium of the world's characteristics and history.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Descriptive Sociology ; or, Groups of Sociological Facts. Classified and Arranged by HERBERT SPENCER. Hebrews and Phœnicians, Compiled and Abstracted by RICHARD SCHEPPIG, Ph.D. Williams and Norgate.

The great sociological work which is being completed under Mr. Spencer's superintendence is intended to provide students of sociology with a vast repertory of facts respecting races of men, their religions, laws, customs; thus enabling the study of comparative sociology, and scientific generalizations therefrom.

The three divisions of the work are, I. Uncivilized Societies, of which four parts, completing the division, have been published; II. Civilized Societies, Extinct or Decayed, of which the second part is before us; and III. Civilized Societies, Recent or still Flourishing, of which one part, treating of English civilization, has been published.

The present instalment on Hebrew and Phœnician civilization has been entrusted to Dr. Scheppig, who has availed himself of only the works of Movers and Kenrick concerning the latter. For the former a much more extended list of authorities is given, the records of the Bible being used 'with an occasional warning as to their unhistoric character.' Dr. Scheppig further tells us concerning the chronology of the Bible that 'the Elohist element cannot but belong to the exilic and post-exilic periods. Accordingly he made up his mind to adopt as the basis of his compilations the hypothesis called after the names of Dr. Graf and Professor Kuenen.' Accordingly we are perpetually referred to these writers for demonstrations of the untrustworthiness of the Old Testament history, Kuenen being the chief authority; authorities more or less orthodox—C. Engel, L. Herzfeld, Nöldeke, and Smith's Bible Dictionaries—being referred to with reserve. We are thus fairly and fully warned concerning the critical basis of the information given. This, of course, we cannot contest here. But notwithstanding the very serious damage which this ultra-sceptical theory of the Bible history does to the work, it is an important and valuable repertory of information.

The work consists of two parts. First a tabular summary of structural and functional characteristics, with some dozen columns under each, distinguishing political, ecclesiastical, and ceremonial elements under the former, and processes and products under the latter. These are arranged chronologically, so as to present at one glance the entire state of the people. The second, and by far the larger part of the work, extending to 120 pages, consists of illustrative extracts, with summaries arranged, first under topical heads, and then in chronological sequence. Thus, under the first head, 'Division of Labour,' we have quotations illustrating the pre-Egyptian period, the Egyptian period, the periods of the Judges and Kings, &c., the extracts being taken indiscriminately from writers ancient

and modern. This part of the work is full of interest, various information being made to converge on the illustration of the different topics.

We regret the critical canons of the compiler, his own satisfaction in them notwithstanding; and we think he scarcely appreciates the reaction against them that has strongly set in. Even the disciples of Ewald himself are revolting against the dogmatic scepticism of their master. But notwithstanding, we heartily welcome this Thesaurus of information concerning these ancient peoples.

The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon. By Sir J. PHEAR.
Macmillan and Co.

In the papers here collected into a single volume Sir J. Phear describes in minute detail those most interesting of social organizations, the primitive village communities of Bengal and Ceylon. Originally, beyond doubt, the common form which rude agricultural societies naturally assumed, among all the branches of the Indo-European races in Lower Bengal, the Aryan village is the same to-day in its essential characteristics that it was 8000 years ago. Passing westwards, we recognize the same features in the Slavonic *Mir*. Still further west we trace them chiefly in curious survivals of antique customs, or in those traditional conceptions of land rights, whose origin has so long passed out of sight that they are sometimes taken for newly invented theories. Of the three papers in the present volume, the first in date and in importance—a reprint from the 'Calcutta Review' for 1864—deal with the most perfect of existing types, the Aryan village of the Bengal plain. With a tenacity of life peculiar to the lower organisms, these simple communities have survived unhurt successive waves of foreign conquest. Not even the famous 'Permanent Settlement,' which converted the Zamindar—at first, in all probability, little more than a tax-collector for the Mogul governors—into a landlord, and so for the first time brought to bear on the old communistic system of land tenure the powerful solvent of individual rights, has thus far greatly changed their habits or their constitution. A quasi-feudal organization—the *Zamindar* and his official retinue at the top; the *ryot*, scarcely approachable by the stranger save through the medium of his *mandal*, or headman, at the bottom; the *mahajan*, or village capitalist (in the community, but not of it), at the side, to help the ryot to renew farm stock and implements, or to tide over the difficult times between one harvest and another—it still plods on in its uneventful, unimproving way, knowing few pleasures beyond the weekly market, the evening chat beneath the *pipal* trees, the occasional solemnity of some religious ceremony; ruffled by no disturbance except some outbreak of *dacoity*, or a faction fight between two unfriendly families; seeking no change until over-agglomeration of many joint-families about a single household compel at last the dispersion of the groups, from sheer inability to find any longer the scantiest subsistence. And, as in the alluvial plains of Bengal, so is it too—allowance made for slight variations in the terms of tenure and a greater

number of properties, brought into absolute ownership from what was originally forest land or waste—with similar communities in the Singhalese highlands, and among a race less purely Aryan by descent. As a finished sketch of daily village-life, and of the way in which the village communities grew up out of the nucleus of the joint-family, Sir J. Phear's volume is all that one could desire; while for those who require information even more minute, an interesting Appendix, drawn from native sources, on the various grades of ryots, from those who cultivate fifteen *bigas* (about five acres) to the far more numerous class who cannot cultivate more than four or five, will tell them to the last *anna* what each requires for farm stock, furniture, and general household assets.

Principles of Property in Land. By JOHN BOYD KINNEAR.
Smith, Elder, and Co.

The writer of this work is well known as a careful and thoughtful contributor to the elucidation of some of the important practical problems of present-day politics. It may be fairly said of him that while sometimes showing tendencies towards the adoption of remedies for proved abuses that are too thoroughgoing for many, he has not been overborne or carried away by mere abstract theories, but has shown the practical knowledge which experience alone can fully supply. Mr. Boyd Kinnear is therefore qualified to write on land, and the *Principles of Property in Land*—a subject which is attracting much attention now, and is likely to attract a good deal more in the next few years. The solution of the problem of Irish Land Reform will of course be on grounds and principles that are peculiar to Ireland, for the conditions are wholly different there from those holding good in Great Britain. Nevertheless, a due comprehension of the general principles on which private property in land rests will help to clearer views regarding the Irish Land Question, which is so soon to be discussed all over the country. The work before us is thus specially seasonable, and, if intelligently read, will help to dissipate many crude superstitions, and to impart much needed clearness of view. The author takes what seems to us to be the common-sense view, avoiding extremes on either side. While he shows the futility of the arguments by which a special sacredness is attributed to private property in land, making it plain that it rests on precisely the same foundations as property in anything else, he yet does not rush to the opposite extreme that there should be no individual appropriation, but that all land should be held by the State for the good of the community. In order to decide this question, it is necessary to examine the basis of right which serves as the foundation of the whole argument; and having established that, it is practicable then to deal with the arrangements that may be most expedient in view of the general well-being and of the rights of individuals. The reforms and innovations in the existing landed system which ought to be aimed at by legislation is the main object sought to be made clear. For it is plain that, as things are, land, and property in land, is in a most

unsatisfactory condition, and few people but the lawyers and those directly interested in the present system can desire their maintenance. Our land laws and customs are a compromise between the modern spirit of free contract and the old feudal incidents and consequences of class supremacy. Mr. Boyd Kinnear examines briefly, but sufficiently for his general purpose, the land laws of Great Britain, and the various plans and theories on the subject that have lately been under discussion; and in his last chapter he deals directly with the amendments which are seen to be required. While favourable to large changes in our existing system, Mr. Boyd Kinnear has no sympathy with impracticable suggestions like that of Mr. Mill for the appropriation of the unearned increment of land by the State. There is the same reason for the State pocketing the unearned increment of value of all other kinds of personal property as of land. But in truth it is impracticable; for it must always be impossible to distinguish what the unearned increment is. On the other hand, Mr. Kinnear shows that the law which has created private property in land is bound so far to interfere with it as to deliver it from the clogs and restrictions that have been bound round it by customs dating from the feudal times, or by the caprices of men in power. Not the restriction of individual rights, but their expansion is the true principle of reform. But the expansion must be limited to the owner's lifetime. The amplest powers of disposal of his property in life, and at death ought to be allowed him, but not after death. Consequently the law should prevent the locking up of land under conditions injurious to its productiveness or its accumulation, as a mere instrument of pride or oppression. More than that cannot be accomplished by the law; and if it tries to do more, it will fail. The attempt to prescribe any method of use, or to dictate invariable contracts will fall through or do mischief. 'Perfect freedom to buy, to sell, to use, to bequeath, and to lease land, is all that the widest reformers will ask or suffer.'

The Laws relating to Religious Liberty and Public Worship. By JOHN JENKINS, Esq. Hodder and Stoughton.

A very useful little book, containing, first, a sketch of the rise and progress of religious liberty in England, then a summary of existing laws, relating to public worship, and then references to ruling cases and judgments, with legal forms for trusts, &c. It is a handbook which should be on the shelves of every Nonconformist minister, deacon, and trustee. Its information would often prevent litigations and expense.

The Irrigation Works of India. By ROBERT B. BUCKLEY. W. H. Allen and Co.

At the present time, when India is attracting so much general attention, and when its financial position, and the development in the future of its immense resources are subjects of primary interest, a work like the one before us is well timed. The irrigation works of our great dependency

have loaded it with a heavy burden; but without them there would not have been the possibility of that growth in the trade of the country, and that advancement in its civilization, which may now be reasonably expected. Mr. Buckley seems to have brought to the execution of his task those necessary qualities of patience, research, and accuracy in detail, without which a book on such a subject cannot be of much value. His own training and experience as Executive Engineer of the Public Works Department of India must have stood him in good stead in what, after all, has been chiefly a work of compilation. The sources from which he has derived his information are, by acknowledgment, Government Reports and Parliamentary Papers, which have been supplemented by diligent personal inquiry among the officials of the India Office, who are brought by their daily labours into close and constant contact with such matters. It seems there has not hitherto been any book professing to offer a comprehensive account of Indian irrigation works. In his own experience in India, the author tells us, he often had great difficulty in obtaining information concerning any other irrigation works besides those on which he was employed; and the 'wildest statements' were often heard by him, from men presumably capable of giving an opinion as to the profits or losses accruing to the Government in irrigation works. In therefore preparing a brief and succinct account, derived from the best available sources, of the irrigation works of India, Mr. Buckley has rendered special service to his brother officers of the Irrigation Department, and, beyond them, to the increasing numbers who are more and more interesting themselves in Indian affairs.

Island Life. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE. Macmillan and Co.

The title of this book will scarcely convey to the popular mind an adequate idea of its varied and comprehensive character; for there is no important question within the domain of the naturalist which it does not touch. Indeed, one is struck with nothing more than the versatility of the author, and the fresh light which he is able to throw upon every part of his many-sided subject. At the same time one is conscious here and there of an inequality of treatment; and, generally speaking, we may say at the outset, that the second part is that which will probably be regarded as the more satisfactory. Here the subject treated is that of 'Insular Faunas and Floras,' with which Mr. Wallace can claim a more wide and profound acquaintance than almost any other living writer. Nevertheless, we feel instinctively drawn rather to the first part, because in it, although the author is on less firm ground, the questions discussed are so very interesting, not only to the naturalist, but to all students of science. Two points, especially, are handled with great ability, the 'Permanence of Continents,' and the 'Causes of Glacial Epochs.' Mr. Wallace has in several previous works pronounced strongly in favour of permanence, and here he may be said to have summed up all the evidence in order to a decisive re-statement of his opinions. The old, and still generally received, theory, that our present continents and our

present ocean have changed places, seems to him untenable on various grounds. For instance, the components of the stratified rocks which are in the heart of our continents, sandstone, shales, &c., are, the author believes, such as 'must have been deposited within a comparatively short distance of a sea-shore.' Again, there is the fact of the general occurrence of fossil remains of birds, insects, and mammals, in parts of the earth which, according to the received theory, must have been formerly in the depths of the sea. These and other considerations in favour of permanence are pressed home with much skill and force. We are bound to say, however, that there are still awkward objections to his theory which are constantly presenting themselves. Even while we write, we come across a reference in the 'Geological Magazine' to the fact that 'Professor Alexander Agassiz has described the dredging up from over one thousand fathoms, fifteen miles from land, in the Gulf of Mexico, of masses of leaves, pieces of bamboo, &c., which he says would, if found fossil in rocks, be taken by geologists to indicate a shallow estuary surrounded by forests. (Paper by Mr. M. Reade, 'Geological Magazine' for September.) Beyond and above such objection, there is also the wider one drawn from the continuity of life as seen in similar forms existing on either side of the sea.

Mr. Wallace devotes a large section of his book to the consideration of the Causes of Glacial Epochs. He gives a general assent to the theory of Dr. Croll, upon which, however, he makes several modifications; and here we note particularly the significant distinction between the influence upon climate of water, when in the form of rain, and its greater influence when in the form of snow, rain having a comparatively small modifying power. It would be impossible for us to state at length the views of Mr. Wallace upon this subject; enough to say that he finds in geographical causes the primary secret of climatic changes, while allowing also for modifications arising from astronomical causes. A brief chapter is devoted to the consideration of the 'the earth's age,' and here the author renders a signal service by showing the instability of the ground upon which the most extended theories are based. He shows the readiness with which present conditions of change, climatic and other, have been founded upon, whereas there is abundant reason for thinking that, in former ages, the processes of growth and decomposition were carried out much more speedily than now.

To the second portion we have incidentally referred. It is full of interest, apart even from its bearing on the theories of which we have spoken, because of the large body of important facts which it sets forth. The part which will demand most careful study is that which deals with the New Zealand Flora, and its relations to that of Australia. Mr. Wallace believes that at a former period Eastern and Western Australia were separate islands, and upon this view he bases some important conclusions with reference to the curious anomalies which are presented by a comparison of the forms of life, animal and vegetable, in New Zealand and Australia.

We can but further refer to the charming style in which the book is written: it is not indeed often that science is made so attractive as it is in these pages. The taste displayed in the binding of the volume must also be mentioned with exceptional commendation.

The Power of Sound. By EDMUND GURNEY. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The purpose of this large volume is to treat with fulness and, at the same time, with such simplicity of style as shall be comprehensible enough to the untechnical, the various questions which revolve around the idea of music. As to arrangement, the author's plan has been to begin at the centre, asking what music essentially is, and then to work his way outwards to the study of the science in its popular bearings. The book appears to us to err in containing too much; it is too big, and the author is too slow in breaking ground. Certainly it is very interesting to read, for instance, such able discourse as he gives concerning 'Abstract Form as addressed to the Eye;' but, writing for a popular constituency, it would have been wiser for Mr. Gurney merely in a general way to indicate the contrasts between 'Abstract Form' as applied to the ear and to the eye. The same objection may be made to such a complete study as we have here of the 'Elements of a Work of Art,' which is most elaborate, but the very elaboration of which in this place seems to us a mistake. So much complaint we think it necessary to make; for, in these busy times, the sooner a writer plunges in *medias res* the better.

As to the position which Mr. Gurney maintains with regard to music, it may be characterized as being the *modern* position, with some modifications; and we are bound to say that he maintains his faith with much skill and courage. One or two points in his book only we can indicate. First of all, what may be called the 'natural history' of music, is treated early in the volume under the head of 'Association, and still further, almost at the very end, in the chapter upon 'The Speech Theory.' There are, as is well known, two leading theories with regard to the origin of music—Mr. Darwin's and Mr. Herbert Spencer's. Mr. Darwin holds that it arose in animals in times of sexual excitement, and that 'musical notes and rhythm were first *acquired* by the male or female progenitors of mankind for the purpose of charming the opposite sex.' Mr. Herbert Spencer, on the other hand, holds 'that music has its essential source in the cadences of emotional speech, and that it reacts on speech by increasing the variety, complexity, and expressiveness of those cadences.' Of these two views, Mr. Gurney unhesitatingly chooses the former as carrying in it the greater probability. The 'cadence' theory, he thinks, fails in various ways; for example, in this, that emotional utterance follows no recognised rule, nor can its method be defined. He also lays considerable stress upon the fact that 'the most definite and assignable cadences' occur 'at the end of sentences and clauses, and of unemotional rather than emotional sentences.' Mr. Darwin's theory, on

the other hand, seems to him to satisfy the idea of music as '*fused and indescribable emotion*,' which is essential to the very conception of it. We think, however, that Mr. Gurney is more successful in showing the weak points of Mr. Spencer's argument than in establishing that of Mr. Darwin. Apart altogether from the hypothesis of development which underlies it, and which can be accepted only when it has some tangible evidence to support it, the latter is, we think, open to grave objections. It does not explain, for instance, the previous appreciation of melodic or rhythmic sound, which the use of music, at such seasons as those mentioned, argues; and, still further, it finds the beginnings of music somewhere within the social instinct, and fails altogether to account for purely subjective musical utterances. When Mr. Gurney turns, however, to another fundamental point, viz., '*Melodic Forms and the Ideal Motion*,' we find ourselves in substantial accord with him, and we can but commend the great ability with which he vindicates the place of rhythm in all music as against what we may call the transcendental views of Schopenhauer, Wagner, and also Schumann. An Englishman instinctively—and, we think, *rationaly* also—smiles at the talk of the latter school about the '*tyranny of measure in music*,' and the wild condemnation of rhythm as an '*intruder in the realm of absolute music*;' nor can we conceive of any music which does not take to itself a real—if haply very irregular—rhythmic form. Perhaps the German absolutism is, however, largely due to the utter debasement of rhythm which held sway in Germany up to the time of Hans Sachs; it is, indeed, impossible to study Wagner's opera of '*The Master Singers*' without feeling this.

We can only mention the very thoughtful and elaborate chapter upon Polyphony and Harmony, and that upon '*Music as Impressive and Music as Expressive*,' in which he enumerates with much analytical skill the various components of impressiveness and expression. The chapter entitled '*Music in Relation to the Public*' might well be pondered by even the most unmusical social reformer. Altogether this volume is a worthy and thoughtful, and withal independent, treatment of a noble subject.

History of Painting. From the German of the late Dr. ALFRED WOLTMANN and Dr. KARL WOERMANN. Edited by SIDNEY COLVIN, M.A. Vol. I. Ancient, Early Christian, and Mediæval Painting, C. Kegan Paul and Co.

This sumptuous volume is, in type, illustration, and '*get up*,' worthy of the learning, eloquence, and art-inspiration of its author; which is saying a good deal, for it justifies the claim put forth for it by the editor, that it is '*the most complete and trustworthy History of Painting yet written*.' Hitherto Kugler has been our greatest authority, and in its English translation has passed through several editions, and has been revised by highly competent editors. Woltmann's plan is more comprehensive, and includes the history of ancient painting in Egypt and Assyria, as well as in ancient

Greece and Rome. In the former he was assisted by Dr. Woermann, of Dusseldorf. He writes more fully up to the present state of art-knowledge and criticism, and with a special grace and eloquence which makes his work as pleasant for general reading as it is instructive and able.

It is a work that, in a short notice, hardly lends itself to detailed criticisms. It would be difficult to impugn its accuracy of detail, and its excellency consists in the truth and skill with which the development of art is traced from the most rudimentary conceptions of pictorial representation in the earliest outlines of Egyptian figures—before even any canon of numerical proportions guided the artist, and before perspective was thought of—to the wonderful development of Greece, and the decadence almost as wonderful which followed. The author conceives his history, generally, with true artistic instinct and with ample learning, and at every step of the development which he traces, principles and technical details are admirably applied.

Professor Woltmann has devoted special attention to the various European schools of miniature painting, missal painting, and mosaic, in the early Christian and Middle Ages. These have close and obvious relations to painting proper; and a knowledge of them is essential to a true theory of development, as exhibiting both the genius of the ages themselves, and the steps by which painting advanced from its rudiments to its highest forms in the Middle ages.

Professor Woltmann died in the early spring of this year; his coadjutor, Dr. Woermann, with the assistance of other able writers, will complete his great undertaking. Large as the volume is, we have been led on from section to section until we find ourselves having read the whole. If completed with the ability of this first volume, it will, in large conception, comprehensive details, and critical excellence, be the best authority on the history of painting that we possess.

The Poetry of Astronomy. A Series of Familiar Essays on the Heavenly Bodies. By RICHARD A. PROCTOR, Author of 'The Borderland of Science,' 'Our Place among Infinities,' &c. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Proctor opens a very wide question in his preface to this book. He is justifying the title he has chosen for it, and asserts that 'science does not need to be less exact though poetry underlie its teachings;' and he proceeds to say that imagination in the true scientific discoverer must have as true scope as in the poet. Here he lends his great reputation to the dissemination of looseness, and the obliteration of well-marked distinctions. If he had tried to define his terms more strictly, he would, we think, have found cause for qualification. The imagination of the poet is creative, and exists purely for its own ends, sufficient to itself; imagination (if it be not rather mere prescience of the reasoning faculties) which distinguishes the scientific discoverer is a means to an end

—a mere instrument that must at every point be held in suspense and mastered by exact experiment. In a word, in the field of science, imagination, as imagination, is pure hindrance, because it directly allies itself with imple emotion; and the emotional attitude even in contemplating Infinity as something essentially beyond the bounds of the human intellect is not scientific, if indeed the word itself, under any definition that would admit this imaginative element is strictly scientific. For popular purposes, of course, such terms are useful in an accommodating sense, but in this aspect alone; and herein we have one of the reasons why the strictly scientific mind so decisively objects to 'popular' writing, which seeks, by appeals to the imagination and the emotions, to impress ideas of infinity, of space and time. Mr. Proctor's essays themselves are far more rigidly scientific than his profession of 'poetizing' would lead one to expect. In his first paper he very ably criticises the theories and arguments of Lyell and Geikie and Croll about the age of the earth, and makes good points, though we do not think him always conclusive; and he exhibits an extensive command of figures, showing that the age of the earth must be arrived at in connection with the age of the sun. 'When the Sea was Young' is an admirably concise essay, in which a vast deal of astronomical and geological knowledge is brought to bear for the special purpose in view. 'Is the Moon Dead?' 'A Fiery World,' 'The Planet of War,' and 'A Ring of Worlds,' are all admirable specimens of Mr. Proctor's forcible and striking manner of bringing intricate scientific questions, which would be hard and dry in most hands, into the realm of popular comprehension. He arrays his facts and figures with great art, and shows a large amount of knowledge outside his special science, which often greatly helps him. We can vouch for his book as thoroughly well-written, interesting, and instructive.

Science for All. Edited by ROBERT BROWN, M.A., Ph.D.
Vol. III. Illustrated. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.

This volume contains some sixty papers on special subjects of scientific discovery, contributed by nearly as many writers. The first half-dozen are—Corals and their Polypes, by Professor P. M. Duncan, M.B.; Burnt-out Volcanoes, by Professor T. G. Binney, M.A.; Celestial Objects viewed with the Naked Eye, by W. Denning, F.R.A.S.; The Colour of the Sea, by John James Wild, Ph.D.; Flowering, by the Editor; Why the Clouds float, by Robert Jones Mann, M.D. Further down the list we get 'Why a Top spins,' 'The Philosophy of a Glance,' 'The Cessation of Life,' 'A Diseased Potato,' &c. To select for remark from such a miscellany, or to suggest any general characterization of the papers, were preposterous. The only remark that we can make is that the aim is to put into the simplest and most possible forms the latest discoveries in science—each done by a specialist—the whole being illustrated by drawings and diagrams. It is a book for the schoolboy, and instructive for the adult.

Cassell's Natural History. Edited by P. MARTIN DUNCAN, M.B., F.R.S. Vol. IV. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.

This volume is devoted to Birds and Reptiles, and, like the previous volumes, combines the scientific with the popular in a very effective way. The most eminent naturalists and the most graphic travellers have been laid under contribution. The illustrations are numerous and effective, and some of those of birds are very attractive pictures. We can scarcely exaggerate the value of these popular books of science.

The Magazine of Art. Illustrated. Vol. III. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.

Although 'The Magazine of Art' has its distinct specialty, it is difficult to characterize its miscellaneous contents. A dozen sketches of living artists, series of articles on the Pictures of the Year, on Sketching Grounds for the Artist, on Treasure Houses of Art, on art in its various applications, with papers on miscellaneous subjects connected with art, make up a repertory of art information and criticism, which must help to diffuse both the knowledge and the culture of art. The new volume begins an enlarged and improved series.

The International Portrait Gallery. Second Series. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.

Twenty more of the admirably rendered portraits of this series, each with an eight-page memoir. The volume begins with President Grévy and ends with John Russell Lowell. The King of Spain, Gustave Doré, Count Beust, M. de Lesseps are in the list. Five Englishmen—Sir Bartle Frere, Sir A. H. Gordon, Lord Augustus Loftus, Sir Hercules Robinson, and Sir G. F. Bowers—find places here. The biographies are done with fulness and fairness. There is a striking portrait of Père Hyacinthe, and a good memoir. The author places him first among modern preachers.

Men of Mark. A Gallery of Contemporary Portraits. Fifth Series. Sampson Low and Co.

Lord Beaconsfield comes first and Sir Theodore Martin last in this volume. Thirty-six portraits of representative men of all classes of society form another very attractive table-book. The likenesses are, without exception, admirable, and the artistic character of the photographs is of the highest quality. They are, however, finished a little too much. The faces are too smooth. Both the artistic and the natural effects would be better if the 'warts and' all were left on. In pose, expression, and tone they otherwise leave nothing to be desired.

Tasty Dishes; made from Tested Receipts. James Clarke and Co.

A table book for modest homes—and for breakfast and supper as well as dinner. A selection of practicable and excellent recipes, which the compiler professes to have personally tested. Books of this class are as valuable for economy as they are for luxury.

Angels' Tears. Coloured Carbon Print from the Picture by J. V. THOMSON. Marion and Co.

Mr. Thomson has been very successful in pictures embodying the kind of sentiment of which this is a type. 'Angels' Tears' represents two angels standing upon a field of battle weeping over the dead. The battle has apparently been some time fought, for only a dead body here and there remains. The immediate object of their sorrow is a dead knight lying in armour with calm face and broken spear. The angels are singularly linked together so as to form almost one figure. The general conception of the picture is good and it is well rendered, enhancement being given to it by the grey of the early morning. It appeals effectively to a human sentiment which, touched by Christian morality, will 'make wars to cease to the end of the earth.'

BELLES LETTRES, POETRY, AND FICTION.

The Ingenious Knight Don Quixote de la Mancha. Composed by MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA. A New Translation from the Originals of 1605 and 1608. By ALEXANDER JAMES DUFFIELD, with some of the Notes of the Rev. JOHN BOWLE, A.M., JUAN ANTONIO PELLICER, DON DIEGO CLEMENCIN, and other Commentators. Three Vols. C. Kegan Paul & Co.

Cervantes has fared badly at the hands of his English translators. It has long been a source of regret that his work has been corrupted by coarseness and indecencies which not only have no warrant from the original, but are flagrantly at variance with the purpose and principles of its author. It is a great satisfaction that at length justice is done to the high-minded and clean-hearted author, and that at the same time the *chef d'œuvre* of his great genius can, without misgiving, be put into the hands of our boys and girls. The discredit and infamy of this interpolation has chiefly been laid to the charge of Matteaux, who did a similar unsavoury service for Rabelais, adding to it some filthy verses in praise of the Pantagrueian philosophy. Matteaux, no doubt, was deeply guilty, and Lockhart did an infinite wrong to Cervantes and to English literature in republishing his version; thereby it came to be accepted as the standard

English translation. Of all the translations of Don Quixote, says Mr. Ford, "that of Matteaux is the worst." But the chief offender was John Philips, Milton's reprobate nephew, who, in 1687, published a translation in folio. "It is to the hateful filthiness of this most foul production," says Mr. Duffield, "that an impression got abroad that the Don Quixote was an impure book."

The first and best English translation, perhaps the best translation in any language, was by Thomas Skelton, in 1612. It was limited, however, to Part I. Mr. Duffield shows that Part II., often printed as Skelton's, is clearly not his. Philips simply introduced into Skelton's translation his own ribaldry and the filthy jests of his day. Matteaux's translation was a paraphrase, after the manner of Philips, to whose work he was largely indebted. Another translation, by Jarvis, appeared in 1742, also largely indebted to Skelton. In 1775, Smollett's translation followed that of Jarvis. He avowedly tried "to retain the spirit and ideas without servilely adhering to the literal expression of the original." He adds much of his own. The translation, says Mr. Duffield, "is as much of a paraphrase as that of Matteaux, and is only redeemed from the weakness of plagiarism by the occasional use of choice and special words, to which all future translators must stand indebted. But nothing can redeem it from its wilful impurity." It is a curious question how the lofty purpose of this splendid satire should have been in this way besmired by at least three of its English translators. Is it because to some natures there is no distinction between fun and foulness?

In other respects the history of the work is curious. The purpose of the author, according to Mr. Duffield, was not only to discredit the intellectual folly of the old chivalry; it was also to purge out the vileness which had so large a place in tales of chivalry; and, in doing this, the author had uncompromisingly to assail corrupt Churchmen. The effect of this was that the work was put into the Roman Index, and its sale in most Catholic countries was almost destroyed. Mr. Duffield tells us that he has spent more than twenty years over his work. He tells us that he has collected a vast body of illustrative notes, and intended to publish a selection from them, but he found that even the selection would fill "six formidable folio volumes."

Mr. Duffield gives us a general and sufficient account of Cervantes; and for those who wish for more information, Mrs. Oliphant's admirable monograph on Cervantes, just published, is accessible. The bibliographical information, too, is adequate, although Mr. Duffield, in his slightly over-conscious and pedantic preface, hints at accumulated materials to be published at a future time. His translation reads smoothly; but only a lengthened familiarity can enable us to judge whether it fulfils its high claim to be an accurate rendering of the edition of 1605; for the original MS. of Don Quixote is irrevocably lost. Meanwhile, we thank him very heartily for purifying this Christian and high-purposed author from the infamous uncleannesses which have been fathered upon his great genius and noble name.

Pictures from the German Fatherland. Drawn with Pen and Pencil. By the Rev. SAMUEL G. GREEN, D.D. The Religious Tract Society.

The mantle of Dr. Manning seems, for a while, to have been transferred to Dr. Green, who adds to his volume of 'French Pictures' this of 'Pictures of Germany.' It is, he tells us, the memorial of several journeys. Perhaps it does not quite equal in brilliancy of description and aptness of quotation the volumes of Dr. Manning—of the latter, indeed, there is but little; but Dr. Green's qualifications as a traveller are of a high order. He is well informed, careful, and genial. He is a traveller of broad sympathies, and knows how to describe what he sees. A quiet tone of religious feeling pervades his descriptions of the scenes connected with Luther and religious history. The author saw the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play, and estimates it sensibly and sympathetically. The volume, which is profusely illustrated, is worthy its predecessors.

Literary Frivolities. By WILLIAM T. DOBSON. Chatto and Windus.

This is a new volume of the popular 'Mayfair Library,' and it well deserves its place. In such a book selection and arrangement are everything. Anybody can, in the course of years, make a decent commonplace book, with collectanea of alliterations, parodies, lipograms, macaronics, poems in prose, shaped poems, echo poems, and so on; but the result will not necessarily be a book. Mr. Dobson really knows what to choose and what to reject; he also has a feeling for good arrangement, and has made a most attractive volume. In macaronics he might have referred to De Quincey's efforts, too little known as yet; and in lipograms and echo verses he might have found a rich store in the Italian writers of the Renaissance. Even Cavalcanti and Bembo did not deem it beneath them to condescend to such diversion; and the leading spirits of the poetic circles in those days wrote echo rhymes with effect and taste. But everything cannot be included in one such collection, and doubtless Mr. Dobson will be encouraged to persevere. For an odd half-hour or for a long journey we could hardly imagine anything better, and we trust the book may find the encouragement it so well deserves.

Journals and Journalism: with Guide for Literary Beginners. By JOHN OLDCASTLE. Field and Tuer.

Mr. John Oldcastle comes before us in quaint and beautiful guise of antique binding; and, though he does not pretend much, he has not a few useful words for a large and increasing class. He gives us a series of brief, bright essays on such subjects as 'Literary Amateurs,' 'Introductions to Editors,' 'How to begin,' '*Declined with Thanks*,' 'Pounds, Shillings, and Pence,' 'Journalism as a Career,' discussed respectively both on 'the fair side' and 'the seamy side,' 'In an Editor's Chair,' 'Literary Copyright,' 'How to Correct Proofs,' and 'The Amateur's

Directory,' which is, perhaps, the most needed chapter of the whole. Mr. Oldcastle, it is clear, has had long experience; he does not look at the matter through coloured glasses, but is judicious as well as encouraging, impressing caution as well as boldness, and giving good hints as to the proper channels and the practical ways of access to them. The book is fitted to become a *vade mecum* for the literary aspirant; and if it is refined and tasteful rather than striking in style, that should also be in its favour, as befitting better the subject in hand. We can cordially recommend it to the expert for relief, if not for amusement and awakening of associations; and to the beginner for real and timely aid.

Shorter Works in English Prose. Selected, Edited, and Arranged by HENRY MORLEY. With Illustrations. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.

The new volume of the Library of English Literature is, perhaps, more interesting and satisfying than its predecessors, inasmuch as it enables the quotation of entire papers as—for example, from the 'Tatler,' 'Spectator,' 'Guardian,' Bacon's Essays, &c. The first period, before the use of printing, begins with Mandeville's Travels in 1382 and following years, the English version of the History dating from 1356. Might not Mr. Morley have given us a little more information about the MSS. of this period, and of their history until printed? He has in a note given us such an account of the Paston Letters, 1422–1509, from which he next cites. Caxton's first printed book, 'The Game and Play of Chess,' bears date 1474. Each of the twelve periods into which he has divided our Literary History is illustrated by curious and rich quotations. Many will be sent by their excellence to the sources whence they are taken, and will, for the first time, have tasted of the qualities of writers who hitherto have been only names to them. Mr. Morley's paragraphs of introductory information and connecting history are concise and sufficient. An amusing cento of old Proverbs, Conceits, Jokes, dated 1689, is given on p. 180. These ancients stole many of our ideas. The volume is as informing as it is amusing; it has beguiled us far beyond our thought. It is especially rich in letters. One lengthy specimen of twenty pages is Mrs. Behn's entire novel of 'Oroonoko,' the earliest blow at slavery.

Peasant Life. By FRANCIS GEORGE HEATH. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Heath has so substantially added to this book that it may almost be considered a new work. His picturesque power, his fine sympathy with the peasant, and his desire to improve the condition of these strugglers, together with his mild poetic enthusiasm for nature everywhere appear. He writes with zest; there is an open-air feeling about his pages, and that is exactly what is wanted in these days to attract people to find in nature some subject of joy, that may make the sordid life in towns

tolerable. Mr. Heath thus aims at bringing great classes nearer to each other, in sympathy at least, and by the bonds of nature-love uniting the workers of the town and the workers of the country, while improving the material condition of both; and he deserves in such a work all success and praise.

Pictures from Ireland. By TERENCE McGRATH. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

Mr. McGrath gives us a series of character sketches. The Agitator, the Home Ruler, the Absentee's Agent, the Parish Priest &c. They are drawn with graphic skill, and yet with solicitous fairness. Large knowledge and keen perception inform the book, which is a vivid presentation of the good and evil forces which make Ireland the melancholy spectacle that it is.

The Complete Works of Bret Harte. Collected and Revised by the Author. Vols. III. and IV. Chatto and Windus.

Vol. III. contains Tales of the Argonauts and Eastern Sketches; and Vol. IV. The Novel of Gabriel Conroy, a story of the Rocky Mountains, and of life among miners racy of the soil. Admirers of Bret Harte will value this admirable edition, which is elegant and portable.

Ballads: and other Poems. By ALFRED TENNYSON. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

Mr. Tennyson has not studied unity of impression in this volume nearly so much as he has lately done. It is the most miscellaneous he has published since the era of his earlier volumes. We are moved from one atmosphere to another, occasionally with a slight sense of shock. But to not a few variety will be found to compensate; and to them the book will perhaps be more acceptable than if it had been more strictly homogeneous. It contains three poems in dialect—in themselves contrasts to each other, and each exhibiting a special and peculiar range of powers. First comes 'The First Quarrel,' a love-story, with a dash of strong, coarse feeling, and of tragedy in it, softened by the lengthened vista of retrospect through which the events are viewed by the heroine. Then, passing over one poem of a slightly different class, we come to the 'Northern Cobbler,' assuredly one of the very finest efforts of Mr. Tennyson in that style of strong dramatic portraiture. This poem will inevitably recall 'The Northern Farmer,' and be contrasted with it. In our idea, one element, and an important one, bears in favour of the superiority of the later poem. Without sacrificing the sense of reality, Mr. Tennyson has drawn interest from the moral and spiritual side. The cobbler, seeing the effect of his drunken passion on his wife and child, takes a resolution not again to drink; and, being braced up to self-respect by the words of his wife, becomes an abstainer and a methodist; and not content with that, must show his complete victory by buying a bottle of gin, and keeping it day by day before his eyes as he works. The methodistic piety aids him

to triumph, but intensifies the realistic character of the man, even while it is mellowed by it. The last lines are admirable :

‘An’ once I said to the Missis, ‘My lass, when I cooms to die,
Smash the bottle to smithers, the divil’s in him,’ said I.
But arter I chaänged my mind, an’ if Sally be left aloän,
I’ll hev ’im a-buried wi’mma, an’ taäke ’im afoor the Throän.’

‘The Village Wife; or, the Entail,’—the third of the dialect poems—is less tragic in foundation than the other two; but it has a realistic humour peculiar to itself, and is very complete and sustained. The ballads proper consist of ‘The Revenge: a Ballad of the Fleet,’ and ‘The Defence of Lucknow’ (which most readers will remember as having already appeared in a monthly review). The metres of both poems are perhaps a shade too artificial and elaborate for easy success in this form of composition. ‘In the Children’s Hospital’ is very pure, very pathetic, and sweetly told; Mr. Tennyson has never treated such a subject with more unaffected strength, which is due in this case to simplicity, sincerity, and a definite, artistic self-denial. ‘The Voyage of Maeldune,’ which has some admirable and sterling verses seems to fail as a whole. Then there are four poems in Mr. Tennyson’s favoured idyllic blank verse; and it strikes us that to all of the themes it is not equally well suited. ‘Columbus’ shows knowledge as extensive and minute as is the remarkable power of rendering and casting it into dramatic moulds, though here and there the verse is too Tennysonian—if we may be allowed the term—and facilely fluent. ‘Sir John Oldcastle’—a well-worn theme—is treated with not a little freshness and vigour; whilst ‘The Sisters’ shows once more what unexpected resources Mr. Tennyson commands in telling a story in this fashion. Ease, grace, and colloquial freedom join hands here to the attainment of a fair result—which is full of detail without losing suggestiveness, and clear and fair in portraits and in pictures as is ‘The Gardener’s Daughter,’ and yet is in nowise without deeper under-currents than lie in a simple love-story. We have not referred to ‘Rizpah,’ a poem dealing with a weirdly subtle subject in a weirdly subtle way: a mother whose son has been hanged for robbing the mail, to which he was led, in part, at any rate, by the taunts of companions, and his body exposed in chains at the seaside, stealthily gathers the bones and buries them; and under the stress of a ‘mind diseased’ by her trouble, tells the story in a style that here and there suggests Mr. Browning. We could almost have wished that some of the smaller poems had not been reprinted, more especially the two or three more metaphysical ones, which really strike us as being in parts almost unintelligible. But, of course, every line that Mr. Tennyson writes is of value, and many may enjoy where we have failed to find the meaning.

Faust : a Tragedy by Goethe. Translated into English Verse, with Notes and Preliminary Remarks, by JOHN STUART BLACKIE, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. Second Edition. Carefully revised and largely re-written. Macmillan and Co.

Professor Blackie has worked entirely in the Goethean spirit in the production of this second edition of his translation of the 'Faust.' It was said of Goethe that he left nothing unfinished, and after the long lapse of years would take up again and patiently elaborate what he had dropped or laid aside as inefficient or unsatisfactory. Professor Blackie has justified fully his recurrence to his early version of 'Faust' in this manner; and has now made it one of the most robust and reliable of versions, if not the most refined and finished. He is not equal to Theodore Martin in these respects; for literary resource and tact he is sometimes behind Bayard Taylor. But he is always distinctly individual, and not seldom by the use of a most unexpected colloquial phrase gets very near to the meaning of Goethe. In his preface he explains the process he has pursued, and in the preliminary essay imparts a deal of information about the 'Faust' which will be welcome and useful to the student. The introductory verses, and the 'Quires of Angels and of Women' are, to our thinking, most successfully rendered, but hardly so some of the songs, which demand a nicer and softer touch than Professor Blackie seems naturally to command. We think, too, that the couplet—

'The hand that plies the busy broom on Monday,
Caressed her love the sweetest on the Sunday,'

would better read—

'The hand that plies the busy broom on Monday,
Most sweetly can caress her love on Sunday.'

But in spite of some little faults like this, the book is a valuable and instructive addition to our library of translations from the German, and as such will doubtless be welcomed and prized by many. The publishers have certainly made it a beautiful book.

Riquet of the Tuft. A Love Drama. Macmillan and Co.

There is great delicacy as well as vividness of conception in this piece. Here and there it may be that the blank verse is too much framed on models to which one could easily point; but it is varied and full of fine point—musical and clear and expressive always. And the author knows how to relieve the effect of blank verse by the use of prose and by the introduction of lyrics, some of which are remarkably sweet—notably that at page 61, beginning, 'Woods are lovely in the spring,' and again, at page 88, 'Prince, the months will quickly flow.' The pathetic suggestions inseparable from Prince Riquet, with his peculiar malformation, are

emphasized by the sweetness which the dramatist has so efficiently made to express itself through his every word and act. It is very pleasant to read—very fascinating we had almost said; but it is to be remembered that it is strictly only a chamber drama, and does not submit itself to any criticism from a stage point of view. Many of the speeches are in themselves little poems, full of graceful and expressive figures, original, and mostly fitly placed also. There are many lovers of poetry in this country who will surely be delighted with this in every way beautiful volume.

The Bacchæ of Euripides. With Critical and Explanatory Notes, and Illustrations from Ancient Art. By JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, M.A., Public Orator in the University of Cambridge. University Press.

The idea successfully worked out in this elegant and interesting volume is somewhat new—the combining introduction, notes critical and explanatory (separated), the text of a Greek tragedy, and illustrations from ancient gems, vases, and sculptures interspersed through the volume. More attention is now directed to ancient art, and somewhat less, perhaps, to those verbal and grammatical minutæ in which Porson and his school delighted and excelled. But Mr. Sandys, brought up in this school of accurate linguistic knowledge, is thereby able to deal with questions of the higher textual criticism as well as to expatiate on the aspects which the Bacchic worship presented to the excitable and enthusiastic Greeks of Macedonia four centuries before our era. It was a strange mixed worship, wholly eastern in its orgiastic character—partly a pantheistic *cultus* of Sun and Moon as visitants of heaven and of the regions below, partly prayer and praise of the wine-god, partly a wild unreasoning devotion to the unknown powers presiding over generation, mental inspiration, and prophetic frenzy, and partly an initiation in certain ‘mysteries’ which have been thought to prefigure the Christian sacraments, as they have supplied the name, *mysteria*. Euripides had seen this worship in Macedonia, and in his old age composed at the court of the king, Archelaus, a play upon it, *the Bacchantes*, which he did not live to bring on the stage. Mr. Sandys has well chosen this tragedy, so remarkable at once for its picturesque beauty and for giving us a curious view of the latest developments of the rationalizing and generally incredulous mind of the poet.

One of the strangest features of this wild worship was the outbreak of the perhaps primeval tendency of man to bloodshed and even cannibalism. Euripides describes with extraordinary power the attack made by a party of frantic bacchanalian women on a herd of cattle quietly grazing in their pasture; these they rend limb from limb, and toss in quivering and gory fragments around them. The plot turns on one of the female leaders, Agave, tearing to pieces, under a mental delusion, her own son Pentheus, who had rejected the worship of the god. He had gone forth as a spy to watch their proceedings, had been descried seated on a fir-tree, and massacred by the enraged women surrounding the tree and tearing it up

by the roots. It was a celebrated story of antiquity, and more than one of the illustrations represent the act in all its horrors.

The great difficulty has always been to understand the real object of the poet in composing such a play. Mr. Sandys (Introd. p. lxxvii.) inclines to the opinion that the author in his old age had felt that 'the philosophy which attacks religion is but a poor philosophy,' and that in his later years his sceptical and inquiring mind had settled down into a 'calmer wisdom' of acquiescing, at least in part, in what he was unable to explain.

We have not space to go into any critical discussions on the notes, which are clear, sensible, to the point, and never tedious. The Introduction, perhaps, extending to 140 pages, is a little too long; but Mr. Sandys has much to say on the artistic aspects of the play, and on the illustrations he has collected from many sources. These vary considerably in merit; the best, we think, are those in pp. ix., xlii. (terra-cotta mask-heads), lxxii. (bust of faun?), 26, 42, 55 (horned Dionysus, from the Vatican), 85, 122 (very good, from a Florentine gem, a dancing bacchant with leopard-skin and *narthex*). The engravings in pp. 1, 34, 58, 61, 73, 86, 143, 238, 251, appear to us somewhat lower art, while the sleeping Bacchante with the serpent in p. 41, though not very good in the treatment of the drapery, is curious and important from its distinctly 'phallic' and symbolic character.

As a rule, Mr. Sandys adheres closely to the best MSS., and his text is therefore free from any wild and merely possible emendations. We think he might have retained the old reading in v. 1067, where a curious process is described of turning a wheel on its axis while a peg is held from a tight string to the circumference to test the accuracy of the circle. Here a conjecture of Reiske's is admitted, which, while it gives an ugly verse in a metrical point of view, assigns the somewhat doubtful epithet *ἐλκεδρόμος* to the periphery of the wheel. The MSS. reading gives a very simple sense: 'the wheel moves round while its circular form is being tested by the peg and string'—an old-fashioned representative of our *lathe*.

T. Macci Plauti Captivi. With Introduction and Notes. By E. A. SONNENSCHN, M.A., late Scholar of University College, Oxford. W. S. Sonnenschein and Allen.

The editor rightly remarks that 'there is probably no play of Plautus or Terence so suitable for school-reading as the "Captivi."' The present work is compiled principally from the edition of Dr. Julius Brix; but it contains a new collation of the 'Codex Britannicus' of the eleventh or twelfth century (a facsimile of which is given as a frontispiece), and also an Appendix, containing unpublished notes and emendations by Dr. Richard Bentley. The Introduction also contains a brief but good explanation of the Plautine Prosody, which depended, unlike that of the hexameter and other later forms of verse, not on fixed syllabic quantity, but on pronunciation, and that rather of the popular than of the educated

dialect. The clipping, dropping, or shortening of syllables enabled words to be slurred over so as to fall into a metrical beat for which they were not properly adapted. The Plautine verse, therefore, in principle resembles the English hexameter of Longfellow rather than the Virgilian. The final *s* and *m* were often wholly elided, and even dentals and liquids were so completely absorbed that the syllable containing them could be made short before a following consonant. Thus 'in words or combinations of words having the accent on the third syllable, and the second syllable long, the latter was shortened if the first syllable was short, because in the rapid pronunciation of such words the voice naturally hurried on to the accented syllable, and, while bringing it out with emphasis, neglected to give the preceding long but unaccented syllable its due weight.' Thus, for instance, *volūntate* and *juvĕntute* had the second syllable shortened because the breath was reserved, as it were, for an emphasis or *ictus* on the third. Many dissyllabic words, as *istuc*, *quidem*, *nempe*, *illic*, were more monosyllables in the Plautine verse, which must be scanned more on the principle of vocal stress or accent than on fixed metrical quantity.

The text of this edition is very carefully edited, with accents indicating the scansion, and various readings at the foot of each page. The notes extend to the moderate length of about fifty pages, and they are both useful and judiciously condensed. Good English editions of the more readable plays of Plautus are still wanted, and this volume supplies an excellent model for such an undertaking.

NOVELS OF THE QUARTER.

A Life's Atonement. By DAVID CHRISTIE MURRAY. (Griffith and Farran.) There is great promise in this novel, and considerable dramatic power. The story is not, perhaps, so well kept in hand as it might be, and the reader is too quickly hurried from one scene to another, with a corresponding change of the *dramatis personæ*. But when all deductions have been made, the novel is far above the average. We get strongly interested in the outset in the career of the clever young artist, Frank Fairholt, and we can scarcely forgive the author for making his career one long and painful tragedy: and yet he might reply with truth that as such things constantly occur in real life, a writer is fully justified in dealing with them as he has done. Poor Fairholt, falling into habits of extravagance, does as so many thousands have done before him, viz., commits himself to the money-lenders, and it is his evil fate to offend one of the Hebrew fraternity who live upon such as he. The consequences are terribly disastrous. Old Tasker, the usurer, gets him into his power, and poor Fairholt quits his friends for ever, as well as the lovely girl who has given him her affections, and who hopelessly sorrows for him after he has suddenly disappeared from her side. The book is full of life and individuality. There is a philanthropic doctor who is admirably drawn, and the same may be said of the vulgar millionaire, Benjamin Hartley

It is a satisfaction, too, to find that whilst the author has drunk deeply at the springs of other writers, he is no servile imitator, but has his own clear course marked out straight before him. The majesty and the saving power of duty is the chief lesson taught by this striking novel, and if for nothing else but this it would be deserving of warm commendation. Mr. Murray writes vigorously and well, and with an amount of strong self-reliance which augurs well for the future. Such faults as he has are easily cured by experience and carefulness in workmanship.—*Little Pansy*. By Mrs. RANDOLPH, Author of 'Gentianella,' &c. (Hurst and Blackett.) Mrs. Randolph will shortly be known as the 'horticultural' novelist. She has published some half-a-dozen stories, all of whose titles, so far as we remember, have been drawn from the floral world. However, it is a matter of little consequence, provided the stories themselves are good. The latest of them, the novel before us, we have found very interesting reading, and it is not without traces of power. The author is especially good in the development of character, and particularly so as regards heroines like 'Little Pansy.' This fascinating little creature, who is French on her father's side, and English on her mother's, is thus described: 'The young girl was very like her grandmother; she had the same slight, *petite*, upright figure, the same oval face and delicate features, the same bright, brown eyes; but Pensée's were larger and softer than those of the elder lady, and her clear brunette complexion had a lovely rose flush on the cheeks. Her wavy hair was turned up from her brow over a low cushion, and plaited in long loops at the back, intermingled with one or two careless curls on her neck.' When the men fall in love with her, her less fortunate young lady relatives are astonished; but it is the peculiarity of many of the sex that they are not able to see what is attractive in each other. So 'Little Pansy,' who is really an artless, sweet, and unassuming girl, is set down as forward and designing. The Misses Deveron, whose serious business in life seems to be looking out for husbands, are capitally drawn, and the same may be said of an old marquise; indeed, these characters give real life to the story. It does not close precisely as the reader will expect, but it is none the less interesting for that—perhaps rather the more so. In her own line, though we cannot say that this is a very lofty, or a very profound one, Mrs Randolph is certainly a clever and entertaining writer; and her last novel will not be less a favourite than any of its predecessors.—*Geraldine and her Suitors*. By Mrs. SIMPSON, Author of 'Winnie's History,' &c. (Hurst and Blackett.) We cannot conscientiously say that we think highly of this novel from any point of view. The style did not seem to us good, and it is not enlivened by either touches of humour or valuable reflection. It is the kind of thing that when once a writer, labouring under the *cacoethes scribendi*, gets pen in hand, he or she may go on writing as long as the mood lasts. Just as there was no serious reason for beginning, so there is no valid reason for ending. So far as the matter is concerned, we find ourselves asking, why not six volumes as well as three?—and then we are

thankful, of course, that the author has more mercy upon us than this. But the plot, too, of Mrs. Simpson's novel does not seem satisfactory to us. Geraldine, the heroine, refuses an offer of marriage from a certain major, and there the affair should naturally come to an end; but the major becomes somewhat violent, and extracts from Geraldine (who is not drawn by any means as a weak, puny woman,) a promise that she will never marry any one else. There is no earthly reason why she should make this promise, except for the purposes of the novel, which requires that she should get into trouble and much self-reproach afterwards. Of course, we are perfectly certain at the time she is making the promise that the time will come for repenting of it, and accordingly she is not long before falling desperately in love with Arthur Wyvern. The defeated major acts the part of a villain, and supposes he has murdered his more fortunate rival. Here, too, it is equally obvious what is coming. The happy lover is not dead, but turns up at a later period, in order that there may be general felicity all round, and true, if startling, repentance on the part of the naughty major. We wish that we could have spoken more favourably of this work, but it really belongs to that enormous class of novels which we could very well do without.

Johnny Ludlow. Second Series. By Mrs. HENRY WOOD, Author of 'East Lynne.' (Richard Bentley and Son.) Mrs. Henry Wood here shows precisely the same qualities as in the former series—simple realism, humour, pathos, and clear, direct rendering of character. She has now openly avowed the authorship of these stories, and certainly she was well justified in doing so. We are astonished at the dramatic power with which the image of Johnny Ludlow is held before us, while we are also kept in communication with a very large circle of Johnny's friends, who are so presented to us as to give fine effect and relief to each other. We recognize the difficulty of maintaining this double *vraisemblance*, if we may call it so. Some of the smaller sketches, we daresay, would cause Mrs. Wood little trouble save as respects truth to the medium through which she professedly speaks, but there are a few of these sketches in the second series which show great invention as well as insight into character and humour. Special amongst these is that entitled, 'A Tale of Sin,' which is full of power and suggestiveness, besides possessing many of the elements which so excite curiosity in the reading of the ordinary novels of Mrs. Wood. 'Anne,' too, we have read with pleasure, as well as 'Seen in the Moonlight,' and 'Rose Lodge.' Altogether the book is fresh, natural, full of fine and unexpected points; Mrs. Wood's art being particularly seen in the way in which she makes her inventive machinery fit in with her imagined *alter ego*. We recommend the book cordially as a capital alternative to a course of ordinary novels.—*Matrimony.* By W. E. NORRIS, Author of 'Mademoiselle de Mersac.' (Smith, Elder, and Co.) Though we cannot say that this novel is so full of originality as the former one, it is every way smart and readable. It is clear that Mr. Norris knows 'life,' that he has travelled and observed, and can imaginatively reproduce what he has seen and heard. The only criticism we

are inclined to pronounce on the work is that it runs rather too much into episodes; but many readers like this, and art must yield to necessity. Mr. Norris has much to say, and says it well, about criticism, theatres, past times of Paris, Nice, &c., and he has found in Freddy a good exponent of such matters, to maintain better the playful vein he delights to indulge. Mr. Hirsch is every way a 'noble' villain, paradoxically speaking; we could wish to meet with him again. Mr. Flem and Mrs. Flemyng are capital characters. Genevieve Gervis, is also admirable; as for Mr. Gervis, it is quite true that nothing could exceed his cheerfulness and amiability. Though this is by no means a great novel, dealing in a semi-cynical way with characters generally which are far from heroic, it has the merit, we believe, of mirroring very faithfully the society it professedly depicts. It is, however, at once finished in style and amusing; and that is much more than can be said of the bulk of novels of the class which now pour week by week from the press.—*A Confidential Agent*. By JAMES PAYN, Author of 'By Proxy,' &c. (Chatto and Windus.) This is one of the best stories Mr. Payn has yet written. It is constructed with great care, yet the writing bears no trace of labour or effort; and it is throughout free from the faults of slang, &c., which we met with in some of his earlier stories. And this is the more worthy of praise in that Mr. Payn contrives to bring into close association (by processes some points in which have recalled little passages in one of Mr. Wilkie Collins's novels, though there is no token of conscious influence) various grades of society. We have middle-class suburban life with Mr. Helston, something very different with Major Lovell and his friends, and glimpses of doubtful associations with the detectives, with Dick Dartmoor and the people in the Mews. On the whole, Mr. Payn is at home with all, and has the power to interpret them to us without respect of persons. This novel is not only clever, but is full of kindly insight and faithful representation. We can recommend it as a lively, sparkling picture, or rather series of pictures, of London life on various levels. Lady Pargiter, the daughter of the money-lender, is right well portrayed. She has ambitions, and has her own ways of gratifying them; and her husband, Sir Charles, is a good type of his class; for 'he hated the country till the grouse-shooting began, while she hated it at all times.' If this cannot be called a great novel, it is in all ways a clever and an entertaining one.—*The Rebel of the Family*. By E. LYNN LINTON, Author of 'Patricia Kemball,' &c. In Three Vols. (Chatto and Windus.) Though this novel does not show the sustained strength of Mrs. Lynn Linton's first novel, or the 'Atonement of Leam Dundas,' it is in several respects an advance on her last one, 'Under which Lord.' This story is well constructed; and if it does not aim high, it realizes pretty well that at which it aims; and it goes without saying that it is full of Mrs. Lynn Linton's satiric reference and reflection, which sometimes imparts piquancy and is sometimes wearisome and a little harsh. In this respect she does not always observe the French rule of not too much. The 'Rebel of the Family' is Perdita, the daughter of Mrs. Winstanley

'the widow of a major who had nothing but his pay, and the daughter of a bishop who had died as poor as if he had been an archaic fisherman.' Mrs. Winstanley's great aim in life is to move in good society and not to acknowledge her struggles and poverty, and she has brought up her daughters to regard working for a living as entirely beneath them. The effect on this family may be imagined when Perdita—honest, awkward Perdita, the plain one of the family, who makes herself a bugbear through inattention to punctilios of dress, &c.—declares her resolution to compete for a clerkship in the post-office, and secures the approbation and help of Mr. Brocklebank, a rich iron merchant, on whom Mrs. Winstanley has set eyes for one or other of her daughters—even Perdita, if nothing else will do. Perdita succeeds, and finally leaves home, and, to the regret of the reader, offends Mr. Brocklebank, who washes his hands of her (to the reader's disappointment) and marries one of the fine-lady daughters, to Mrs. Winstanley's delight. Perdita finds her haven at last, too, but the reader must in fairness find that out, if he so wishes, from the book itself. Mrs. or rather Bell Blount, the women's rights heroine, with whom Perdita comes into contact, is admirably done; and the various personages whose society Mrs. Winstanley seeks lead us sufficiently into 'high life' to allow Mrs. Lynn Linton room for the play of her cynical turn. On the whole, the story is clever, readable, and reveals some tendency to study pressing present-day social questions, and to play with them rather than to treat them seriously.—*The Trumpet-Major*. A Tale. By THOMAS HARDY. In Three Volumes. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) This story cannot be considered by any means the most successful of Mr. Hardy's novels. It is full of observation, knowledge of human nature, and a kind of subdued satire, which here and there comes near to cynicism, but relieves itself through a vein of genial humour. Were it not for this, Mr. Hardy's writing would sometimes seem hard. None of the characters rise above the level on which this strange mixture of humour and semi-cynicism so strangely plays; so that we really have a novel without a hero, and, in fact, without a heroine; for, if Mr. Hardy, as it really appears, does not care to encourage high ideals of manhood, he almost seems to aim at robbing us of the little ideal of womankind that may be left to us. All his women here are very weak and silly—he is constantly sniggering at them himself—and surely they do not show their best sides to us. The miller himself, honest and plain, and yet with a characteristic vein of canniness, is by far the best character. The Trumpet-major is weak, and Bob is a soft-headed fellow for a sailor, though really he does well the almost impossible escape from the press-gang. The cross-purposes about that very doubtful 'actress'—who carries sensation twice to the quiet Loveday Mill—is a little *mal-a-propos*, to our mind; but she serves as a foil of one kind, Anne Garland being able to resent even the fascinations of the fine yeoman, Festus Derriman, who finally falls into the 'actress's' trap. 'Uncle Benjy' is well done: Mr. Hardy must have met with and studied this exact type of miser. Indeed, he must have carefully studied the Cripplestraws, and Burdens, and Tullidges; and he has certainly succeeded in reviving to us the excitement

and the turmoil of those days when Napoleon's name was everywhere a terror to Englishmen. In this respect the picture doubtless has its real and historical side, and may have a value of its own. The story is admirably planned; the author seems to have completely realized what he intended; which is, in one respect, a drawback, since, as we have seen, he proscribes ideals to a considerable extent, and from one point of view, does not aim high. So far is he from this, indeed, that we can anticipate a peculiar taste left in the mouths of many readers of a certain type, who naturally expect in a novel what he is not likely to give them. Though, then, we have read and admired much in the story—its keen but somewhat restricted insight, its satire, its humour, its oddity and fun—we have missed something in it, such as, we think, we had a right to expect—a lack of elevation, a prosaic and almost self-assertive realism, and a dislike to look high in the field of motive-elements from which the loftiest workers in the creative field have always drawn the materials for their best and most influential effects. Even as to dramatic picture there is nothing to equal the wonderful scene in the malt-house, which most readers will remember.—*Lord Brackenbury*. A Novel. By AMELIA B. EDWARDS. Three Vols. (Hurst and Blackett.) The story of 'Lord Brackenbury' is well wrought out, and is made to develop a somewhat Quixotic feeling of self-sacrifice. In a prefatory note, Miss Edwards intimates that she has simply sifted multitudinous scraps of family papers, newspapers, reports, &c., concerning the 'Mysterious Case of Lord Brackenbury,' with which, some years ago, all England and Europe rang. So that we are given to understand the strange story is founded on fact. However this may be, it is romantic enough, cleverly constructed, vigorously written, and its portraiture in admirable keeping. To hint the course of the story when so much of the interest turns upon it were unpardonable. Truth is oftener stranger than fiction. We will only, therefore, instance Miss Edwards's remarkable power of graphic and vivid description. By, what she tells us is, an anachronism, she introduces the great eruption of Vesuvius of 1872, and gives us a very fine word-picture of its phenomena. The novel is a clever one, and may be heartily commended.—*Strictly Tied Up*. A Novel. Three Vols. (Hurst and Blackett.) It would be interesting to know the conception and aim of the writer of a novel like this. One is tempted to think that instead of such, she had sat down to write hoping that something would come. It is a chronicle, not a story. Nothing comes out of anything else. Three or four situations are sketched: the marriage and disappointment of a pinchbeck earl and his wife, the marriage of his disreputable brother, the marriage of the daughter of the latter by an old reprobate fortune-hunting baronet, and the marriage of the son of this baronet to the mother of his wife. The three volumes are episodes without any causative connection. While page after page is spun out with dreary dribblings of trifles, as if the writer, like certain speakers, were spinning sentences until some idea should turn up. Altogether it is one of the most empty and inconsequential novels that for a long time we have read.—*Dimplethorpe*.

By the Author of 'St. Olave's.' Three Vols. (Hurst and Blackett.) Dimplethorpe is a novel that in its charming touches, delicate discriminations, and subtle evolution of motives and feelings, only a woman could have written. It is an idyl of English country life, in which character is much more prominent than incident. And yet it works its spell upon the reader with remarkable power. Dimplethorpe is a decayed little town about twenty miles from London, which the old coaches have forsaken and the railway has missed, after a futile attempt to hit it. The *dramatis personæ* are a quiet, thoughtful, dreamy Independent minister, somewhat out of harmony with his surroundings, and his broadly contrasted wife and her three daughters; Audley, the heroine, however, inheriting from her father rather than from her mother, and developing into a very finely conceived character, full of womanly grace and dignity. The hero, Phil Hathaway, is the grandson of an old basket-maker, whom the minister discovers to have artistic gifts. These he developes, and then obtains for him an art-training. The love of Phil for Audley grows unconsciously from childhood: the interest of the story lies in his development. Always true and worthy, he yet indulges a little conceit of superiority, and comes under the influence of Mrs. Haythorne, wife of a major, a returned Indian coquette, who working upon his weaknesses makes mischief, out of which, however, he comes at length humbled enough. The fine delineation of his character, of Mrs. Haythorne's coquetry, and of Audley's true womanliness, is the great charm of the story: it is done with consummate literary art—changes are wrought as subtly as by an atmosphere, and scarcely a false note is to be detected. Altogether the story is, we think, the best that this very charming writer has written yet.—*Ellice Quentin, and other Stories*. By JULIAN HAWTHORNE. Two Volumes. (Chatto and Windus.) Mr. Julian Hawthorne excites the expectation of greatness more than any writer of modern fiction. He attains to a large degree of success, but somehow leaves his readers with a feeling of shortcoming and disappointment. Every one of these stories is powerfully written; all, perhaps, a little too dramatically constructed. They are intended to be tragic, and are somewhat sensational; the story which gives its title to the volume perhaps the most so. Ellice Quentin rejects Geoffrey Herne for subtle reasons; marries another man, whom she learns to hate; meets her old lover, who is about to be married to another lady; gets the two together, persuades them to take wine—one of the three glasses is poisoned, it falls to her own lot, and so she dies. Well as this is told, is it worth the telling? The best story of the five is Kildhurms Oak, in which a weird story of destiny is fulfilled by successive generations. Mr. Hawthorne can write tersely and graphically, his characters are vividly conceived and well developed; but should he not try to combine lofty purpose and noble structure in his stories with this cleverness of writing? Accepting these as parlour dramas of great cleverness and ability, we may fairly look for larger and better work from his pen.—*Mehalah: a Story of the Salt Marshes*. Two Vols. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) This is a story of remarkable power. Tragically conceived and wrought out, it is,

both in dialogue, character, drawing, and *motif*, the product, if of a new writer, then of one of whom we shall hear more. It is a psychological drama, wrought out in passion and crime on the one hand, and in strenuous but helpless struggling against destiny on the other. Mehalah, a girl of great strength and nobleness of character, is strangely loved by Elijah Rebow, a very incarnation of the genius of brutal romantic passion—a man of iron will and unscrupulous purpose, and of weird intellectual power. At the very outset he vows to rule her hate, make her his wife, and compel her love, and this to accomplish an inevitable destiny which he affirms with great subtlety, passion, and power. With great and subtle skill the story develops the working out of this issue. Rebow is a kind of Æschylean fate which, do what she will, Mehalah cannot escape. He hesitates at no means to accomplish his purpose—he works upon her filial affection, steals her sheep, burns her house, shoots at her lover, and carries him off, boldly telling her all the while that he is her fate, and that she cannot escape him, and he effectually ensnares her in his toils. The fate is fulfilled in a way as romantic and tragic and pitiless as a play of Æschylus. The story is written with great force of language and strength of thought. The writer is as philosophical and sententious as George Meredith, and as rich in humour, aphorism, and cynical apothegm as Mrs. Poyser. From almost every page rich sentences, piercing deeply into human life and motive, might be cited. The dialogue is perhaps not always congruous with the characters. We can form no guess as to the authorship. If a first work, it is more full of promise than any novel that has recently come into our hands.—*The Leaden Casket*. By Mrs. ALFRED W. HUNT, Author of 'Thornicroft's Model,' &c. (Chatto and Windus.) This is by far the best piece of work we have yet had from Mrs. Hunt's hand. Here, in addition to a well-worked plot, circling round the perjury of a certain person in regard to the first wife of Chesterfield Brooke, who is wrongfully divorced and condemned to languish in a madhouse, we have some admirable studies of character, which are conceived originally, and with not a little boldness and independence. Olive Brooke, the premature child, who would seem unnaturally precocious were it not for the union of a peculiar nature with peculiar circumstances, is, as the young lady, opposed effectively to the second Lady Brooke. We recognize the power that could sustain the individuality of Olive so well over that long period. The studies of Morrison, the artist, and Ardrossan, the philanthropist, are excellent, and do much to heighten the interest. In a word, for careful writing, for high motive, for skill in delineation, and for the mixed interests of refined picturesque description, well-drawn characters, and a good plot, we have not recently read anything that has given us more pleasure.—*Half-hours with Foreign Novelists*. By H. and A. ZIMMERN. (Remington and Co.) The Misses Zimmermann have hit upon and have here carried out with not a little skill, a very good idea. It is to give, in short compass, a fair impression of the most distinguished and accessible of foreign novelists, by means of translations from their works. In most instances they have succeeded admirably, showing not only extensive

knowledge, but rare art and ready tact in their work. When we say that France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Galicia, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Spain, Switzerland, and Russia are represented, some faint idea may be formed of the value of the work for the general public; though only a careful and critical survey and comparison would avail to exhibit the skill in selection, the delicacy and the tact which have gone to produce the volume.—*Prince Fortune and Prince Fatal.* By Mrs. GARRINGTON. (Sampson Low and Co.) Mrs. Carrington has shown not a little ingenuity and power of contrasting characters in this novel; and though not always so strong in point of plot as in other things, she is generally interesting. She has extensive knowledge, and occasionally uses it effectively. The heroine of this novel, Lady Laura, an earl's daughter, is painted with all the care that the author can bestow, and in her dealings with her two lovers, who are great contrasts to each other, and yet have points of likeness, she is gradually brought before us with not a little effect. We feel as if we had met her. The one lover is shallow, heartless, strong-headed, and yet frivolous; the other is wayward and proud. We think the only error in the novel is in the way it ends, and in the reward which seems to us to be given to the less worthy; but Mrs. Carrington, perhaps, would answer, 'Such is life!'—*Queen Cophetua.* By R. E. FRANCES. Three Vols. (Chatto and Windus.) Truth is stranger than fiction, else we should pronounce impossible the elaborate combinations upon which this story turns. A Quixotic American, hunting after ancestral estates and discovering his delusion, the coincident death of their owner, the opportune testimony of a rogue, the mother's preposterous idea for making a man of her son, and the uninquiring acceptance by the son of what he is told, and no accidental light breaking in anywhere upon the precarious delusion; the further combination of chivalrous magnanimity in the American, calculating villainy in his companion, and superlative heroics in Alan—all together make a much greater demand than usual upon the reader's credulity, as upon the ingenuity of the author. Poor Helen, too, ought to have been saved from the fate to which such a tissue of improbabilities consigned her. For the rest, the story is well and vigorously written. But why should good writing clothe such extravagant incident? Surely the art of plot-making need not sin so greatly against probability. The feeling of rebellion against gratuitous and unlikely circumstance is with the reader throughout.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

We have received from JOHN F. SHAW AND CO.

Marian Scatterthwaite. By MAGGIE SYMINGTON. A clever, interesting, and wholesome story of a young girl who in artistic work finds the corrective of disappointment and trouble. Poetical justice, however, is, as it should be, done at last.—*Ida Vane.* A Tale of the Restoration. By REV. ANDREW REED, B.A. Encouraged by the success of 'Alice the

Bridge,' Mr. Reed gives us another story of early Protestant times, taking for his hero the Rev. Thomas Vincent, a Nonconformist minister of London, who, when the clergy by hundreds fled from the plague, consecrated himself to the suffering and dying, and of course showed a like heroic faith under his own cruel persecution. The interest of the story is very great. Among other personages, Andrew Marvell, Pepys, Dr. Busby, and John Bunyan are introduced; and of course the great Fire of London is a prominent incident. Mr. Reed has arranged his materials well, and has cleverly interwoven with fiction historical facts. He has thrown a new interest into familiar incidents.—*Elisie Gordon*, by EMILY BRODIE, is a story of difficulties, and of the strength and faith by which they may be overcome. It is tender and touching.—*Nobody's Lad*. By LESLIE KEITH. A story of a City Arab, and of the need and rewards of philanthropy in seeking out and wisely helping such.—*In the Sunlight and Out of It*. A Year of my Life-story. By CATHERINE SHAW. A young girl of fifteen prints her diary for a year, and tells us her thoughts and feelings. It is fairly well written, but not very natural.—*In the City*. A Story of Old Paris. By the Author of 'The Spanish Brothers.' A picture of Paris in the eighteenth century, and of faithful witness for God in the midst of its infidelity and sin.—*In the Desert*. Same Author. A story of the martyr age of French Protestantism, and of the sufferings of the Cevennes. Full of religious interest and romance.—*Wilfred*. By A. T. WINTHROP. A story of a castaway French boy in London in whom a gentleman interests himself, and who proves to be a well-born lad. It is well told.—*Earl Hubert's Daughter*. By EMILY SARAH HOLT. A well told story of the nineteenth century, and of the religious life of England therein. Miss Holt's series of stories illustrating early English life are carefully studied and well written.—*Greek Hero Stories*. By BARTHOLDY GEORG NIEBUHR. Translated by BENJAMIN HOPPEN. Greek legends written by the great historian for his son Marcus. While strictly children's stories, they have a value beyond this, as embodying the historian's conceptions of the beginnings of Greek history. It is an exceptionally interesting book.—*Jack*. A Chapter in a Boy's Life. By YOTTY OSBORN.—*The Chevalier's Daughter*. By LUCY ELLEN GUERNSEY.—*A Six Years' Darling; or, Trix in Town*. By ISMAY THORN.

FROM THE SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

The Boy who Sailed with Blake, and the Orphans. By W. H. G. KINGSTON. The last story of this prince of writers for boys, the character of which is sufficiently indicated by its title.—*Caught in the Toils*. A story of a convent school. By EMMA LESLIE. An anti-Ritualistic story, the moral of which is only too much needed. It is told with commendable fairness of representation.

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Beatrice Morton's Discipline. By MAUDE JEANNE FANE. A religious tale of Australian Life. Beatrice, a clergyman's daughter, left fatherless, takes three children, whose mother had been intemperate, to educate in

her own mother's house, and out of this charge and her relations to the father her discipline comes. It ends as such things generally end in novels. The story is a little too 'goody,' and needlessly sombre.—*Jack and Gill*. By LOUISA M. ALCOTT. Miss Allcott's stories need no commendation to English readers. This is a pleasant and wholesome picture of child-life in an American village, and interesting as indicating the precocity of American children. The children get thrown from a snow sledge, and are both seriously injured—Jack broke his leg, and Gill injured her spine, and they are kept together for some months. The development of character constitutes the interest. We hope, however, English children will not be captivated by their American English.

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The Family Circle Picture Book. Containing One Hundred and Eighty Illustrations. A nursery miscellany of fun, wit, and wisdom. The illustrations are effective, and some of them very comical, although not of a very high class of art. Some instructive papers are interspersed with the rhymes and facetiæ. Some of the pieces seem of American origin, and will be new to English readers.

FROM MESSRS. NISBET AND CO.

The Lonely Island; or, The Refuge of the Mutineers. By R. M. BALLANTYNE. A re-telling of the story of the Mutineers of the *Bounty* and their settlement on Pitcairn Island, which, often as it has been told in prose and poetry, never loses the charm of its romance. Mr. Ballantyne has adhered closely to facts.—*Philosopher Jack.* By R. M. BALLANTYNE. A capital story of the South Seas.—*Heather and Harebells,* by EMILY MARSHALL, is a tale for children of two boys of contrasted characters, and of the home influences by which the good in them was nurtured, and the evil counteracted.—*Roger Willoughby.* By W. H. E. KINGSTON. A story of sea-fights under old Benbow, and of the rebellion under Monmouth; a chapter of English history to be learnt as Shakespeare and Scott have taught it, under the guise of fiction. It is needless to say of one of Mr. Kingston's books that it is well done. The preface is very touching.

FROM MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO.

The Necklace of Princess Fiorimonde, and other Stories. By MARY DE MORGAN, Author of 'On a Pincushion.' With Illustrations by WALTER CRANE. There is a quaint simplicity, fine fancy, and, above all, an obtaining unity in these stories, which profess nothing more than to be imaginatively true and self-consistent. Miss de Morgan realizes her purpose clearly, and advances to it apparently without effort, with an easy grace and freedom which bespeaks the gracious instinct. But we really do not think that she has put her best foot foremost. 'Princess Fiorimonde,' in these respects, does not so highly please us as 'The Wanderings of Arasmen,' which follows, and which is touched with a fine ideal glow from first to last; and the concluding story we should rank next to it. Others, however, may judge differently. It is, at all events, a book over which both young and old may have much pleasure, for it has rich lessons wrapt up in its light fancies and fantasies. The drawings, quaint and pure in outline, admirably match the text, and the book is beautiful.—*Pansie's Flour-bin.* By the Author of 'St. Olave's.' A fancy story, after the manner of 'Alice in Wonderland,' full of odd conceits, quaint sayings, and gentle wisdom. Pansie herself is the most charming of the fairies. We bespeak for it a special welcome.—*The White Rat, and some other Stories.* By LADY BARKER. Few writers of children's stories are more successful than Lady Barker. This pretty little volume contains seven or eight stories, which may be as strongly commended as they will be eagerly read.

FROM THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

Friendly Greetings. Illustrated Readings for the People. A series of eight-page sketches and miscellanies, profusely illustrated, popularly and healthily written. Admirable for young people or cottage reading.—*My Own Picture Book.* Full of single-page subjects. The letterpress descriptive of some really excellent engravings.—*Illustrated Letters to My Children from the Holy Land.* By HENRY A. HARPER. A very charming

ing book for children. The descriptions of selected incidents are simple and graphic, the illustrations truthful and well executed.—*The Last First*. By ALEX. MACLEOD SYMINGTON, B.A. The title is intended to indicate the adjustment of moral honours. Under it are sketched some of the less noted characters of Scripture history, such as Onesimus, Onesiphorus, &c.—*Children's Daily Bread: a Picture, Text, and Verse for every Day in the Year*. A day book for children, sufficiently indicated in its character by its title.—*Vignettes of the Great Revival of the Eighteenth Century*. By EDWIN PAXTON HOOD. Under this modest title Mr. Hood has contributed some vivid and able studies of the Evangelical movement originated by Whitefield and Wesley. They are the result of extensive reading and long familiarity, and are full of acute characterizations and interesting anecdotes.

FROM MESSRS. CHATTO AND WINDUS.

The Wooing of the Waterwitch: a Northern Oddity. By J. MAYER SMITH. We are a little puzzled with this enigmatical book. Is it parody on old Norse Sagas? Is it satire? Is it allegory? Is it modern politics in Runic form? Is it Lord Beaconsfield who looks at us in the features of Gringab, and who fights with Vingolf (Mr. Gladstone), who also kills the giant Kamarachandhu, and marries the sea nymph? Who is Balder-daesh? Who is Suckard? Who is Æverfayre? We must leave it for private interpretation, or for simple enjoyment of the story, and of its very effective illustrations.

FROM MESSRS. ISBISTER AND CO.

Andrew Harvey's Wife. By L. T. MEADE. Andrew Harvey is the son of a baronet; marries beneath him; and his wife, the nobler character, is faithful to her people. A good deal of the interest of the story lies in her efforts to be true to them in very difficult circumstances of sin and guilt on the part of her father. Miss Meade writes admirably, but the rescue at the last is a superfluous bit of sensationalism.—*Stepping-stones: a Story of our Inner Life*. By SARAH DOUDNEY. Miss Doudney seeks in the characters of her story to develop each into a higher excellence, and her incidents are the 'stepping-stones' by which this is achieved. We wish we could think that this was true of any given circle of life. But Miss Doudney always writes well.—*A Dweller in Tents*. By L. T. MEADE. A kind of parable of human life, not very probable in its incidents, and somewhat below Miss Meade's level of thoughtful and discriminating excellence.

FROM MESSRS. HODDER AND STOUGHTON.

The Twa Miss Dawsons. By the Author of 'The Bairns,' &c. We gladly welcome a new book by the author of 'The Bairns.' That charming Canadian story opened a new field for readers of fiction. The present story is limited to Eastern Scotland. It is a family picture and chronicle, settling down chiefly to the experiences of a charming old maiden aunt—a most admirable delineation, and an equally charming niece. It is, as

we have said, a chronicle rather than a plot, and it is touched throughout with a fine discriminating hand and a gentle goodness that are both interesting and wholesome. Miss Alcott might have written it had she known Scotland well enough.—*Songs for Little Singers in the Sunday School and House*. Composed by HENRY KING LEWIS. Forty hymn tunes set to as many hymns—some selected, some original—for children. They are for the most part congruous in conception and melodious in feeling, and they sing well. A distinct addition to juvenile sacred song.—*Our Daughters: their Lives Here and Hereafter*. By Mrs. G. S. REANEY. Wise counsels concerning the virtues and the foibles of girl-life—Dress, Flirting, Religious Doubts, Salvation, Christian Work, Ministries of Life, Recreation, Wifehood, &c. A graceful and attractive handbook that mothers will do well to put into the hands of their children,

FROM MESSRS. CASSELL, PETTER, GALPIN, AND CO.

Adventures of Working Men. From the Note-book of a Working Surgeon. By G. MANVILLE FENN. A score of stories about working men. Mr. Fenn forms a high estimate of the British artisan. His stories justify it and are admirably told.—*The Chip Boy, and other Stories*. A reprint of eight stories from 'Little Folks' and 'The Quiver.' *Deepdale Vicarage*. By the Author of 'Mark Warren.' A story of the development of a stiff, pedantic young vicar, who is compelled to shelter a lady falsely accused of a crime. He becomes humanized and marries her. The story involves the fortunes of an Irish countess and her family. It is fairly constructed and written.

MESSRS. GRIFFITH AND FARRAN have issued a new and cheaper edition of Robert Bloomfield's '*The Bird and Insect Post-Office*.' They have also provided for the very little ones a dozen each of pictorial booklets, entitled respectively, '*Our Boys' Little Library*' and '*Our Girls' Little Library*.' also '*Seven Stories about Old Folks and Young Ones*.' By A. R. HOPE.

YEARLY VOLUMES.

For the most part these run in pairs—one volume of general reading and another of more religious reading for Sundays. It is almost impossible to speak distinctively of eight or ten thick volumes of miscellanies, and yet each magazine has a decided character or tone of its own.

We are disposed to place at the head of all magazines of their class *Good Words* and *The Sunday Magazine* (Isbister and Co.) The chief attractions of 'Good Words' for 1880 are Mr. Thomas Hardy's 'Trumpet Major,' a vivid and realistic picture of the time of the great war with Napoleon—of which we have spoken elsewhere—and Jean Ingelow's 'Sarah de Berenger.' Two stories like these in a seven-and-sixpenny volume are worth its cost. In addition we have papers on 'Health at Home,' by Dr. W. B. Richardson; 'Art in Daily Life,' by J. B. Atkinson; a new series of 'Sermons out of Church,' by the author

of 'John Halifax;' and papers on travel, biography, science, &c., by eminent writers.

The stories in 'The Sunday Magazine' are 'Andrew Harvey's Wife,' by L. P. Meade; 'Thy Heart's Desire,' by Sarah Doudney; 'Corliestanes,' by Mrs. Garnett; short stories by Hesba Stretton and others, and popular papers by Dr. Butler, Dr. Hugh Macmillan, and a dozen other writers. The spirit, variety, and excellence of the magazines are admirably sustained, and the promise of the new year seems even better still.

Cassell's Family Magazine and *The Quiver* come next. Each contains a little of everything. In addition to three capital stories—'Horace Maclean;' 'Hidden Gold,' by Frank Barrett; and 'How Vickerscraft was Won,' by the author of 'But for Ilion'—the Magazine is enriched by a dozen songs set to music, all original, with one exception by Franz Abt. These will be a welcome addition to the repertory of home music. The 'Quiver' admirably caters for the Sunday reading of households, and tries to redeem 'good' reading from its proverbial dulness; while the Magazine caters for a wholesome supply of fiction, history, biography, anecdote, and *facetiæ*. The lists of contributors are a sufficient assurance of able work and of the unrelenting enterprise of the publishers. The stories in 'The Quiver' are, 'A Heroine of Home;' our 'New Neighbour;' 'Our Nell.' An attractive feature of 'The Quiver,' also, is an original hymn-tune each month by some of our best living composers. Sermons and religious papers are of exceptional excellence. The volume does much to realize Arnold's wish to have religious reading made attractive.

The Leisure Hour for 1880. (Religious Tract Society.) As full as ever of popular papers of great variety in prose and verse, making a huge volume of 830 pages. There are three stories—'Nine-tenths of the Law,' by Mr. Millington; 'Idonea,' by Annie Beale; 'The Troubles of a Chinaman,' by Jules Verne, and a dozen illustrations on toned paper. *The Sunday at Home* for 1880. (Religious Tract Society.) The Sunday pendant to 'The Leisure Hour,' and of the same bulk. Compiled and edited with the same instinct for ordinary household reading. The stories are 'Anna Cavaye,' by Sarah Doudney; 'Old Mrs. Barron,' by the author of 'Christie Redfern's Troubles;' 'Cousin Mabel's Experiences,' by E. J. Whately, and a miscellany of papers on all sorts of subjects, impossible to describe; also a dozen beautifully coloured whole-page engravings.

The Union Jack. Tales for British Boys. (Griffith and Farran.) Consists entirely of stories of war, travel, adventures, hair-breadth escapes, and tragedies of all kinds. The objection is that the sensational not only predominates, but pervades the whole, especially in the war stories, tending to create both tastes and habits of mind not very desirable for boys. Peace has its victories and romances as well as war, and should certainly be presented as more attractive. The first editor, Mr. Kingston, the present editor, Mr. Henty, Jules Verne, and other popular writers contribute the stories, which are illustrated in a spirited way.

Little Folks, Vol. XII. (Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.), not only

holds its own against an increasing host of competitors, but, in our judgment, is as yet unapproached in its excellences as *the* magazine for the nursery. There are here, too, half-a-dozen songs with music. It caters for children with an unerring instinct.

Excelsior. Helps to Progress in Action and Thought. Vol. II. (Sunday School Union.) A miscellany for young folk; bright, instructive, varied, and sympathetic. Good without being 'goody.'

The Expositor. Edited by the Rev. SAMUEL COX. Vol. XII. (Hodder and Stoughton.) This volume, which completes the first series, contains the conclusion of Dr. Fairbairn's 'Studies in the Life of Christ' and of the editor's 'Exposition of the Book of Job.' There are also papers by the Dean of Peterborough, Professor A. B. Davidson, Canon Farrar, Drs. Matthews, Morrison, Plumptre, Sanday, &c. For the new series the editor work is an promises us contributions from Mr. R. H. Hutton and Mr. Wace. The work is an invaluable repertory of high Biblical scholarship.

The American Art Review. A Journal devoted to the Practice, Theory, History, and Archæology of Art. (Boston: Estes and Lauriat. London: Sampson Low and Co.) This new journal marks a decided step in advance in the art culture of the United States. It is superior to any similar publication in this country. No cost or pains seems to be spared to make the engravings and the letterpress as good as they can be made. By a review of art throughout its entire history and in all countries it seeks specially to instruct and develop American art. A list of fifty contributors is given, mostly, of course, American, but among them are Castellani of Rome, Mr. Stillman of Florence, Dr. Falke of Vienna, Mr. Pinches of London. In addition to a series of original etchings by American artists, engravings of classical and modern works are given, articles on various topics connected with art, and in each number there is a department of art information, American and foreign. The whole is very able. We most heartily wish it success.

The South Kensington Museum. (Sampson Low and Co.) A periodical of which the first six numbers have reached us, which has for its purpose the exposition of works of art in the South Kensington Museum. It is marvellously cheap, each monthly part containing eight pages of illustrations with accompanying descriptions. The plates are etchings, with one woodcut in each number, and are well executed on Japanese tinted paper. The publication is under the sanction of the Science and Art Department.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOSOPHY.

Studies in the Life of Christ. By the Rev. A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

It scarcely needs be said that these studies from Dr. Fairbairn's pen are full of spiritual penetration, profound philosophy of moral life, and literary

beauty: Devout in feeling, and evangelical in theological view, they are yet characterized by great freedom and independence of thought. They touch everywhere great questions of modern controversy, and establish their evangelical positions on the broad basis of historical evidence and true religious philosophy. We do not know where to look, save perhaps in Pressensé's 'Jesus Christ,' for a like combination of reverent belief and broad independent thinking. Dr. Fairbairn entitles his chapters 'Studies.' Originally sermons, they have appeared in 'The Expositor' as essays, and from it are now reprinted. They do not claim, that is, to be a complete biography of our Lord, but only to treat the salient points of his history. Dr. Fairbairn promises a return to these studies in a more critical and comprehensive spirit. No man is better qualified. Even amid the multitudinous works on this great theme, a study in the spirit and manner of these sketches would be an important contribution to theological thought and devout exposition.

Jesus Christ; His Life and His Work. By the Rev. F. A. MALLESON, M.A. Ward, Lock, and Co.

Mr. Malleson thinks that there is room for a connected life of Christ, which, eschewing all sceptical difficulties, and even critical exegesis, and assuming 'the full and plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures,' shall on the basis of faith present a continuous history. The volume, therefore, does not touch existing controversies, but is devout, interesting, and edifying reading. It will be valued by many simple, religious hearts.

The Church of the Future. By ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, Archbishop of Canterbury. Macmillan and Co.

The cordial appreciation of the Archbishop of Canterbury's charge by Nonconformists should vindicate them from the lack of 'sweet reasonableness' wherewith they are often charged. Let but a man speak as man to men, forego unseemly and unwarrantable assumptions, appeal to reason and conscience, show respect for the opinions of others, while firmly maintaining his own, and he will find no men more disposed to do him justice than, from principle and training, Nonconformists are. They at once recognized these qualities in Dr. Tait's charge, and they have accorded to him an unstinted praise. The volume, for a volume it is, is in many ways remarkable. Its broad conceptions of the Church of Christ, its spiritual sympathies, its candid dealing with rejecters of Christianity, and its reasonable tone of contention against other forms of Church life, are notable. If these do not constitute a new point of departure in Church controversy, they ought to do so. Certainly such courtesy of judgment and manner towards those who differ will command a like tone in opponents.

The Manifold Witness for Christ. Part I. Christianity and Natural Theology. Part II. The Positive Evidences of Christianity. Being the Boyle Lectures for 1877 and 1878. By ALFRED BARRY, D.D., D.C.L., Principal of King's College, London. John Murray.

It is marvellous what freshness of thought can be imparted to the subject of the Christian evidences in the hands of a really competent thinker, and the fact that there is no diminution of that interest, however often the kaleidoscope has been turned in the last 200 years or more, is itself a distinct proof of the Divine character of the thing to be proved. Nothing is everlasting but the true and the Divine. We thank the accomplished writer of this book for the decisive evidence he has furnished that the theme given him to handle is not even yet threadbare, nor is likely ever to fail in yielding rich supplies of instruction and benefit to those who love to dig in God's field of truth. In this volume we have a masterly performance by a mind of the highest culture and the broadest grasp. The argument throughout is conducted with an elevation of tone and a dignity of manner worthy of the long line of literary *patres conscripti* to whom we owe the Boyle series. Every topic which he touches he irradiates with a new beauty, his conceptions having such fulness of meaning and exactness of proportions as to impart a charm of novelty to whatever he delineates. He writes especially for those disciplined minds that are accustomed to move in the higher latitudes of thought on this subject; and those who look for a work of classical refinement, with purity and elegance of diction, will not be disappointed.

Possibly some may feel that a slight shadow of obscurity is cast on the argument at the outset, from the apparent want of symmetry in the line of proof—the first half of the book consisting of inferential evidence, and the latter half of that which is more direct. An important point is undoubtedly made when it is proved that the conclusions of natural theology are verified and added to by the light which Christianity sheds on them; but it is not according to classical rule to put that department of proof in the same line with the positive evidences, except in the sense of being preliminary and clearing the way. Following in the wake of Butler and, we might say, Hooker, the author has struck on an important vein in taking up the position that Christianity as supernatural is not preternatural; and he has conclusively shown that so far is Christianity from being in conflict with the knowledge of God we have from the natural constitution of things, and from our own constitution, that it exhibits that same knowledge in the most perfect form; that, in fact, it is the crown and perfection of the natural. The danger to be avoided here is not to regard Christianity as *merely natural*, though in the highest sense it is so. It is in itself essentially supernatural, though in harmony with the natural, and it comes in, not to complete the natural system of things, but to meet a special emergency which has occurred. He traces

the intimations of Christianity in the various sections of Scripture history, in the Messianic idea, and in the mediation of Christ, and shows how these support the conclusions of natural theology regarding the personality of God and the spirituality of man. He also discusses at length the positive evidences, showing that what we want at this period is not so much miracles and prophecy—these were more suited to the early ages; and what is now wanted specially is history and the living power of Christianity. Why not say we need all these? We regard his volume as another noble contribution to the long line of defences of our common Christianity.

The New Truth and the Old Faith. By a SCIENTIFIC LAYMAN.
C. Kegan Paul and Co.

This book is the production of an able thinker, a ripe scholar, and an accomplished scientist. The author is evidently abreast of the higher scientific knowledge of the day, and seems to be familiar with the companionship of those distinguished explorers who have scaled the heavens and ransacked the earth to find out the secrets which nature has locked up in so many cabinets, the keys of which are so hard to find. This work is superior to most of its class, as the cedar rises above the moss or the fern.

We wish we could pronounce with equal satisfaction on the manner in which the author accomplishes his task. He felt the air to be full of scepticism, and realized for himself the void of a soul that was robbed of its creed. Hence he wished to become the exponent of the doubts of the time, and if possible to furnish the antidote. In this book he presents a detail of many points on which materialistic men of science are in hard conflict with the doctrines of Revealed Truth, and compares the new *Truth*, as he terms it, with the Old Faith. It would be more accurate to say the new *theories* or speculations, for it is a large assumption to call that an established truth which is little else than an ingenious conjecture, and for which there is certainly no conclusive evidence.

In a style marked by lucidity of thought and felicity of diction, he carries forward his argument on the lines of the two great principles of science which have been called its latest conquests, and, perhaps, for that reason, its favourite doctrines, namely Evolution and the Conservation of Energy. But it is quite too soon to speak of conquests while the roll of battle continues, and in the swaying to and fro the tendencies are rather to defeat than victory. Without committing himself to the theory of evolution, he sets forth its points in full detail, beginning with a description of the nebular theory, and going on to the vast geological periods, and the gradual development of life, from the inorganic stage to the vital, the sentient, and in due time the rational. The pedigree of man is traced as first a bleb of living jelly; then by slow degrees a worm; from the worm comes a fish; from the fish an ape; later on the ape loses his tail, then his hair, and his brain-pan enlarges, until at some happy moment he leaves

off his howling, and becomes a talking reasonable man. And so the manipulation ends! The interesting questions about the origin and progress of life through the protracted geological periods are discussed, and much ingenious speculation is thrown around them. But it is disappointing to find no correspondingly careful representation given of the scriptural side of the question. In fact, Scripture is scarcely allowed to speak unless in so far as it echoes the utterances of science. It is forgotten that the Old and New Testament Scriptures have an independent evidence of their own, even stronger than science can plead for its later affirmations, and it is a violation of all fairness of dealing to leave this fact out of the account.

He regards the account given in the first chapter of Genesis as a cosmogony to be interpreted by scientific rules, overlooking the well-known fact that revelation never intends to touch the province of science at all, but professes only to give an account of man's dwelling-place, and that in the language of every-day life, suited to the conceptions of those who draw their knowledge from common observation, and not according to the laws of science. It is quite beside the mark to speak of Moses as being silent on the earlier formations of life, the simple moneras and flowerless plants of the Palæozoic age, and to attribute this silence to his ignorance of the elementary organisms which have only been discovered by modern science. He also regards the Mosaic account as giving a childish view of works of awful grandeur, in saying that the 'great lights' were set merely to rule the day and the night, not reflecting that the writer is speaking of the fitting up of man's world for his particular use, and is silent on other points. The position of Moses is really loftier than that of our scientific discoverers. They tell about the nails and the fastenings of the platform, while he begins the story of what was done upon it.

We regret that the author should allow so much shadow to rest of the peculiar truth of revelation, out of deference to the arrogant attitude of the advocates of positive science, especially on the Incarnation and Miracles. And the crucial question of human guilt is all but passed over, man being assumed to be still in his normal state. But the fact of all facts, which Christianity cannot leave out in any basis of reconciliation between it and science, is that of the God-man hanging on a cross in testimony of the gravity of this question of guilt, and the depth of the Divine compassion for the guilty. Harmony will at no distant date be established between Christianity and science properly so called, but it cannot be by asking the former to surrender that in which its real glory consists—the supernatural element.

A Talmudic Miscellany ; or, One Thousand and One Extracts from the Talmud, the Midrashim, and the Kabbaleh. Compiled and Translated by PAUL ISAAC HERSHON. With Introductory Preface by the Rev. F. M. FARRAR, D.D., Canon of Westminster. With Notes and Copious Indexes. Trübner and Co.

This is a new volume of the Oriental series, and its peculiar and popular character will make it attractive to general readers. The Talmud fills twelve large folio volumes and represents the main literature of the Jewish people for several hundred years. Dr. Deutsch, by his celebrated article in 'The Quarterly Review' filled with citations from it, excited an enthusiasm kindred to his own. People thought that the bricks were specimens of the house, and that in glowing wisdom and noble morality the literature of the Talmud stood next to the Bible. Canon Farrar enters a caveat against this conclusion—'I venture to say that it would be impossible to find less wisdom, less eloquence, and less high morality, imbedded in a vaster bulk of what is utterly valueless to mankind—to say nothing of those parts of it which are indelicate and obscene—in any other national literature of the world. Most that is excellent has been anticipated in the scriptures.'

The Talmud has never yet been translated in its entirety, although there is now promise of a French translation. If accomplished, Canon Farrar thinks that it will disenchant intelligent and thoughtful Jews, and that it will afford many side-lights for the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments.

Mr. Hershon is a very competent scholar. He thinks, however, that if the translation of the whole were made into English 'not one in a thousand would have patience to read consecutively the first twelve pages.'

The present selection contains samples of the good, bad, and indifferent, and especially extracts that throw light upon the scriptures. The extracts have been all derived word for word and made at first hand, and references are carefully given. They are made according to the prominence in them of particular numbers. The introduction gives bibliographical information. The extracts are curious and interesting and will speak for themselves.

Canonicity. A Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canonical Books of the New Testament, based on Kirchhofer's 'Quellensammlung.' By A. H. CHARTERIS, D.D., University of Edinburgh. W. Blackwood and Sons.

This goodly volume is more than a collection of documents. The useful work of Kirchofer has long been out of print. These Collectanea are more numerous and abundant than those of the German prototype. Dr. Charteris has devoted nearly 200 pages to a succinct and scholarly sketch

of the documents and sources from which our ideas of a New Testament Canon are derived. These range from the Epistle of Barnabas to the writings of Origen, including a sketch of the special evidence for the Fourth Gospel. The documents which follow range from the earliest mention of a canon, and the earliest list of sacred books, down to Roman, Greek, Lutheran, and Reformed Confessions on this subject. Our author then furnishes the student with all the documents he needs to determine the authorship of every book in the New Testament. The testimony of heretics is given separately, and so is all the evidence that exists to prove the character and date of the canonical Gospels. Useful literary notes are appended to the quotations. The volume will be a useful companion to any student who wishes to test for himself the ambitious theories which have been in vogue for some years on these themes. It will also help him to estimate the comparative value of the apostolic writings and the apocryphal literature with which they have been most perversely mixed up. As far as we have yet been able to test the workmanship, it is scholarly and sound, and is abreast of the latest literature of the subject.

The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel. External Evidences.

By EZRA ABBOTT, D.D., LL.D., Harvard University.

Trübner and Co.

We are not aware that Dr. Abbott has added anything to our knowledge of the external evidences for the existence and authorship of the Fourth Gospel, but he has summed up the present state of the controversy with conspicuous fairness and personal research. One of his best points is the crushing refutation of the inferences drawn by the author of 'Supernatural Religion' from the inaccuracy of the supposed quotations from the Gospels made by Justin Martyr. He takes every deviation from the acknowledged text, and brings ample and abundant proof, from every period down to the present day, of identically inaccurate quotation of the very same passages by Christian writers, who were without doubt intending to quote the Gospel of John. Considerable space is given to those quotations made by Hippolytus from Basileides, which include that heresiarch's mention and use of the Fourth Gospel. There is much humour and ingenuity manifested in Dr. Abbott's reply to the objections of certain opponents that, even granting Justin's quotation from the Gospel, he ought, if he believed it to have been apostolic, to have quoted more than he did. Dr. Abbott is clearly master of the whole controversy and assault upon the Fourth Gospel, and this lecture has the character of a judicial summing up of the case dead against the plaintiff by an historical critic and learned judge.

Suggestive Thoughts on Religious Subjects. A Dictionary of Quotations and Selected Passages from the best Writers Ancient and Modern. By HENRY SOUTHGATE. Charles Griffin and Co.

Treasure-Book of Consolation for all in Sorrow and Suffering.

Compiled and Edited by BENJAMIN ORME, M.A. Marshall and Japp.

The Cup of Consolation. By an INVALID. With an Introduction by G. R. Macduff, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

Out of the Deep: Words for the Sorrowful. From the Writings of CHARLES KINGSLEY. Macmillan and Co.

Four volumes of quotations similar in purpose. Mr. Southgate's, as it is the largest and most costly book of the three, so its range is larger and more miscellaneous. Under an alphabetical arrangement he classifies quotations from writers of almost every age and school.

Mr. Orme provides specifically for the sorrowful, and brings together under general heads an admirably selected volume of passages on suffering and its consolations. It is not only beautifully catholic—for suffering is no sectarian experience—but the selections are made with a fine literary instinct and spiritual insight, so that the book is much more than a compilation of passages, it is a selection as well. The volume which Dr. Macduff edits is a diary of consolation—a scripture text for every day in the year, with an illustrative quotation in prose or poetry from some religious author. Here the selection is more restricted to one school, and to favourite authors; but it is a charming little companion for the sick-room.

'Out of the Deep' consists of extracts entirely from Charles Kingsley's writings. There are many deeps out of which human souls cry—deeps of Sorrow, of Sin, of Fear, of Loneliness, of Darkness, of Death. Under these heads the compiler of this little volume has arranged passages from Mr. Kingsley's writings. Out of the sensitiveness of his own impassioned nature, and the sorrowful experiences of conflict and suffering of his own life, Mr. Kingsley speaks with instinctive appreciation and tender sympathy. He was a man of true heart and strong faith, and every word therefore goes down to men in the depths. It is a *vade mecum* of great beauty and tenderness for sufferers.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. By English and American Scholars of Various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. In Four Vols. Vol. II.: The Gospel of St. John and the Acts of the Apostles. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

The Gospel of John has been done by Professor Milligan, of Aberdeen, and Professor William F. Moulton, of Cambridge; the Acts of the Apostles by Dean Howson and Canon Spence. The entire volume, therefore, is by English scholars, whose names will abundantly guarantee their work. In the able introduction to John's Gospel, at the authorship of which, as also of that to the Acts, we are left to guess, the writer

wisely proceeds in a positive and affirmative rather than in a defensive way. Recent apologetics have, it appears to us, conceded too much in standing mainly on the defensive, even though they have turned the battle upon the assailants. The Gospels do not need defending as if their very existence was at stake. Much of the adverse criticism directed against them falls away of its own incoherence and baselessness. We are glad, therefore, to see the affirmative position here taken so strongly and successfully. It is scarcely too much to say that the attack upon John's Gospel—like that upon the Divine Christ led by Strauss forty years ago—has finally failed. Its foes may fight, skirmishing, but they are palpably retreating with the usual result—of having, by testing the defences, left the gospel more assured and established in reasonable historic and religious faith than it was before.

The notes are, of course, fully abreast of the latest critical scholarship. Thus, the narrative of the woman taken in adultery is relegated to the end of the gospel, as being, according to the almost unanimous conclusion of modern scholars, wanting in the oldest and most authoritative MSS., and as having other marks of spuriousness. It is, however, regarded as in itself a true incident, and in circulation from the earliest times. For thoroughness, fulness, and explicitness the annotations leave nothing to be desired.

The characteristics of 'The Acts' are well discriminated in the Introduction. The authorship by Luke under the guidance of Paul, during the long imprisonment at Cæsarea, is maintained. Its record of the laying of the foundation-stones of the Gentile churches is its chief purpose. We think that, in however affirmative a way, the theories of men like Baur and Zeller should have had some notice.

Among the popular commentaries which are so characteristic of our day this may fairly claim a high and equal place. For ordinary readers, teachers, and preachers its scholarship, exegetical acumen, and thoroughness are a sufficient and satisfactory provision.

The Pulpit Commentary. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A. and the Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL. 1 *Samuel*. Expositions by Very Rev. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D.; Homiletics by Rev. Prof. C. CHAPMAN, M.A.; Homilies by Various Authors—Rev. D. FRASER, D.D., Rev. B. DALE, M.A. *Genesis*. Introductions by Rev. Canon F. W. FARRAR, D.D., Right Rev. H. COTTERILL, D.D., Rev. T. WHITELOW, M.A. Exposition and Homiletics by Rev. T. WHITELOW, M.A. Homilies by Various Authors. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

The Dean of Canterbury's monograph on Samuel and his times is very ably done. Its scholarship is what we might have anticipated from the Dean's learning, but its breadth and humanity, its vigorous grasp of the

period of Samuel and of his mission in it, and his liberal construction of the questions involved, are as unexpected as they are welcome. The Dean is quite abreast of the criticism of the day, and deals with the questions that it raises in a thorough scholarly and unprejudiced way. Only good can come of such honest and fearless literary criticism as applied to the historical books of the Old Testament—all the more weighty in this instance as coming from a writer whose evangelical orthodoxy and devoutness are beyond all praise. He thinks that the books of Samuel are so called not because written by him, but because they describe his work for Israel. He thinks the reign of Jehoshaphat a probable date for their authorship. The chief interest of the Introduction, however, centres in its vigorous conception of the mission and work of Samuel in Israel, as developing the idea of the prophet and the idea of the king.

Professor Chapman sums up homiletically the characteristics of each section, and Dr. Donald Fraser and Mr. Bryan Dale supply homilies on the principal ideas and verses. Those of Mr. Dale especially are happy and vigorous, and will be very useful to preachers. The work so far worthily justifies its title.

The Introductions of the volume on Genesis are specially able and complete. Canon Farrar contributes a General Introduction to the Old Testament—setting forth the way in which for homiletical purposes it is to be interpreted and used—full of scholarly and common-sense canons and suggestions; Bishop Cotterill an elaborate dissertation on the development of the idea of law, from its beginning in human consciousness to its culmination in the revelation of God; Mr. Whitelaw a defence of the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch, dealing in detail with objections. Mr. Whitelaw is also the author of the Exposition of Genesis and of its Homiletics. The Homilies are by Dr. Montgomery, Professor Redford, Rev. W. Roberts, and Rev. F. Hastings. The volume is throughout a very able and important exposition of this first and seminal book of the Bible.

Commentary on the Poetical Books of the Old Testament.

Vol. I.: The Psalms. By the Late Dr. G. HEINRICH A. V. EWALD. Translated by the Rev. E. JOHNSON, M.A. Williams and Norgate.

The Book of Psalms, with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary. By G. H. S. JOHNSON, M.A., Dean of Wells; G. J. ELLICOTT, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christchurch, Oxford; F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter. New and Revised Edition. John Murray.

The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews. Translated and Critically Examined by MICHAEL HEILPRIN. Vol. II. New York: Appleton and Co.

Ewald is the glory and the despair of exegesis. His insight is as profound as his dogmatism is rash. His *ipse dixit* is the supreme reason of

his conclusions. If his penetration were not so remarkable, his exegetical edifice would tumble like a house of cards, as it is, nothing but infallibility could establish it; and as he is not infallible, it is for students, as they may, to discriminate between his dicta—accept such as commend themselves to a reasonable judgment, and discard such as are sublimely regardless of facts. Some of his best work, and some of his most untenable positions, are found in his treatment of the Psalms. He undertakes to pronounce upon the authorship, age, *motif*, and inner consciousness of each Psalm. With amazing self-sufficiency, he is never doubtful, never inquiring. His conclusions are imperative. His Davidic Psalms are dogmatically discriminated; with, it must be said, a larger and more fervent eulogy on David, as poet and pious man, than is common to his school. There is a vast amount of keen and suggestive criticism and characterization, of spiritual insight, of historical sagacity, and of human sympathy, which make his work absolutely indispensable to every student of Hebrew poetry.

Perhaps the Commentary on the Book of Psalms is about the very best work in the Speaker's Commentary. It has met with so much commendation that the publisher has been induced to print it in a separate volume. This will be a welcome boon to many. As a distinct contribution to the increasing literature of the Psalms, we spoke of it with commendation when published as part of the commentary, we need not, therefore, speak of it here.

We have already informed our readers that Mr. Heilprin is a rationalistic interpreter of the extremest school, going beyond not only Ewald but Kuenen. In this volume, which deals with the Song of Solomon, and the Minor Prophets, Micah, Amos, and Hosea, but which is without Preface or Index, the author gives us a new translation, and a critical historical setting. Concerning the former we can scarcely speak in a short notice like this; and concerning the latter we can only indicate what we must think its superficial and dogmatic character. Jewish literature is mystical until the time of the Prophet Samuel. The author deals with perfect freedom and ease with the records, judging them historical or mythical, adjusting their chronology and modifying their statements, as his critical instinct may prompt. They are, he thinks, greatly corrupted, not merely by transmission, but through pious frauds. Probably David did not write one of the Psalms, nor did Moses write the one attributed to him, or much of the five books that bear his name. Miracle is an absurdity; the Old Testament is simply a literary expression of the imaginations of its authors. Serious dealing with work of this character is impossible. It is constructed not from outward facts but from the writer's inner consciousness. Evidence is not attempted, it cannot therefore be accepted. Critical insight is all, and its results here seem to us as preposterous and impossible as they are regardless of facts.

A Commentary on the Book of Job. With a Translation. By
SAMUEL COX, Editor of the Expositor. C. Kegan Paul
and Co.

This work has long been appearing in separate parts in 'The Expositor,' and the author has done well to present it to the general public in a complete form. We hail it as a welcome accession to the too small list of select guides we have to help us to thread our way through the intricacies of a somewhat perplexing book of Old Testament scripture. The author entered on his task in the best possible way. He found at a happy moment that the subject had a charm for him; and having once plunged into the stream of the argument, he was fairly carried away by it. For fourteen years it has been more or less looming before his mind, and the greater part of it has been many times under the file, so that now we have a production wrought out under the influence of a strong enthusiasm, and corrected by oft-repeated exercises of judgment in different moods of thought. It is no easy matter to throw a fascination round a book of such an inflexible cast of thought as the Book of Job undoubtedly is; yet to Mr. Cox this merit certainly belongs. The writing is eminently fresh, and the themes are handled in a lively way. There is warmth both in the current of thought and in the colours of the description; nor does the vital heat cool down at the end. This constitutes a great excellence of the performance. The author sets himself to redeem the work of Job from being practically a book written in cypher, and to make it a readable and even an enjoyable book, by entering into the spirit of its great argument and making it glow on the page in a life-like way.

He gives a new translation, with annotations on the text, and he articulates the process of thought. But we are not presented with an exhaustive criticism, nor with the usual treasury of Biblical literature connected with the Exposition. The work is however marked by adequate scholarship, and is specially valuable for its suggestiveness. Where the author does not lead his reader to form settled convictions, he surrounds the subject with an interesting environment, and sets him a thinking it out for himself. Perhaps his enthusiastic endeavour to invest his subject with novelty somewhat tends to disturb the needle of the judgment, and to prevent it from pointing with exact accuracy to the pole of truth. The reliable character of the commentary is somewhat lessened by the fanciful nature of some of the suggestions thrown out; as when he regards Satan to have a right to sit in the celestial cabinet, and when he supposes the hint to be given to him to consider Job's case, with a view to reconsidering his own ways, if there might after all be repentance. The crucial text in chap. xix. 25-27, notwithstanding his interesting discussion of it, still seems to read best by supposing Goel to mean Vindicator, who would appear at last to undo what Satan had done—the body so corrupted would be raised up again from its state of dust, and in that same organized body he would see God, though now his reins were consumed, &c. We cannot unhesitatingly endorse some of the author's suggestions, such as his supposing that the

date of the book belonged to the time of Solomon, and that the real author was a poet of that period. This is pure conjecture. There is, we think, greater reason for assigning it to some point of pre-Abrahamic history. We also decidedly object to the view he gives of the problem to be solved by this remarkable book. It was not to settle any question of universalism about man as man, or what Job was as a specimen of the race, but to show that in the case of some men, at least, there is such a thing as genuine piety, in opposition to Satan's lie and the world's sarcastic judgment, that all profession of religion is a mockery: also that the miseries of human life are to be interpreted not as meaning that they are needed as a discipline, though that is true also, but that God's ways are incomprehensible to us, and that it is not for man to sit in judgment on God, but to trust that all things are being ordered in wisdom and righteousness and love.

Spinoza : his Life and Philosophy. By FREDERICK POLLOCK.
C. Kegan Paul and Co.

The subscription instituted in England a few years ago, on the initiative of the author of 'The Secret of Hegel,' for a statue to Spinoza, doubtless had the effect of attracting attention anew to the works of that great thinker. It has been Spinoza's fate since his death, as it was during his life, to be utterly neglected for long periods of time, so that two centuries passed after he departed this life before there was any memorial of him in his native country. He has been peculiarly unfortunate in this country in his biographers; for although abundantly attacked and contradicted, and sometimes extravagantly eulogized, there has not hitherto been any independent English account of him and his philosophical writings which was worthy of the subject and the man. Mr. Pollock has therefore supplied a decided blank in the philosophical literature of his country; and he may be accounted happy in having had the opportunity of doing so. He has come to his work imbued with plentiful enthusiasm for both the man and the thinker, but he has not depended upon enthusiasm alone in producing the volume before us. He has been mindful of the necessity there always is for 'taking trouble' in literary labour, and in none so much as in philosophy. To Mr. Pollock must be awarded the credit of having dug very deep in the mine of Spinozean literature. He has not spared research in any direction, and he has the happy faculty of putting what he has to say in a clear and direct style. The literary faculty is not by any means so common among philosophers that its possession and exercise is to be regarded as a matter of course; and it is doubly gratifying therefore to find it gracefully illustrated when so hard a nut as Spinoza and his philosophy has to be cracked. But though Mr. Pollock has showed himself a master of form, he is not, on that account, less versed in the subject-matter of his studies. He has read much before venturing to write, and, what is still better, he has thought deeply and clearly while and after was reading. The outcome of all labour, research, and cogitation is this

he volume, which (as we have said, for we know no higher praise) is worthy of Spinoza. It is thoroughly well done throughout. In the Introduction we have an exhaustive account of the various sources of information regarding, and the diverse authorities upon, the philosopher and his writings and career. Then follows an admirably written life, after which we have an interesting chapter on Spinoza's correspondence. This ends the purely biographical part. The sources of Spinoza's philosophy are next considered, and the next eight chapters are devoted to the philosophy itself. This is the most important part of the work, and the same stamp of thoroughness is here as elsewhere in the book. The subject is opened by a careful discussion of 'The Doctrine of Method,' and then we plunge into 'The Nature of Things,' 'Body and Mind,' 'The Nature of Man,' 'The Burden of Man,' 'The Deliverance of Man,' in which the successive phases of Spinozism are tracked out. In a chapter on 'The Citizen and the State' we have the philosophy in its political bearings and issues, and this is followed by a chapter on 'Spinoza and Theology,' and the volume is fitly brought to a close by a thoughtful and able discussion of the relations of Spinoza and his main lines of philosophical thought to, and their influence upon, 'Modern Thought.'

Even from this necessarily meagre outline of Mr. Pollock's plan, it will be seen with what methodical thoroughness and earnestness he has done the work he undertook. We cannot, in the limits at our disposal, attempt to discuss even one phase or aspect of Spinozism as here presented to us. But after the fullest testimony we can bear to Mr. Pollock's conscientious and zealous labours, and in spite of what we acknowledge as to his many merits, we are forced to dispute his claim to be regarded as either an adequate or an accurate interpreter of Spinoza's philosophy. He has in this book been guilty of the too prevalent fault—to which men of his philosophical tendencies seem specially prone—of reading his own peculiar views into the writer whom he chiefly admires. What these views (in the region of metaphysics) are may best be suggested by recalling the adhesion given elsewhere by Mr. Pollock to the views of the late Professor Clifford, to the memory of whom, by the way, this work on Spinoza is dedicated. Clifford, as is known, got rid of 'God Freedom, and Immortality,' and by a strange agglomeration of materialism and idealism, suggested that the universe may have been developed through infinite time from what he called 'mind-stuff.' This strange fancy, which made an Absolute out of the union of subject and object, in what was nevertheless, contrary to all canons of thought, posited as pure object, evidently attracts Mr. Pollock, who tries hard to make out that Spinoza came very near to holding something like it philosophically. The attempt to read Cliffordism into Spinoza is as absurd as Mr. Sime's attempt to make out that Lessing was an agnostic. Mr. Pollock holds that the identity of knowing and being—the position that *esse* is *percipi*, has been 'conclusively established' by Berkeley; and that this position is 'implicitly contained in Spinoza's definitions.' 'I think there can hardly be a reasonable doubt' (he says, p. 163), 'that for

Spinoza to exist and to be intelligible were all one.' The Spinozistic 'substance' was, therefore, no unknown and unthinkable *Ding an sich*. We know this substance under attributes, the attributes of extension and thought, which are neither forms of substance nor forms imposed on substance by the human mind, but '*aspects*.' But extension and thought are equally real, so that Spinoza was neither a materialist nor a purely subjective idealist; 'who turns the universe into a phantom.' 'Reduced,' by analysis, 'to its simplest terms,' Spinoza's doctrine 'is that nothing exists but thought and its modifications;' and all the attributes except thought are superfluous. But thought itself is by analysis reduced to feeling, which remains 'the only unit and measure of reality,' and the ultimate elements of thought, or feelings, are the very elements of things themselves. The only Noumenon—if we must have a support for our phenomenal experiences—is of the nature of mind, and may be defined in the words of Kant (here quoted with approval) as 'the same thing which as an outward phenomenon is extended,' and 'is inwardly or in itself the subject.' But this same 'thing' is not a monad or single point, but a multitude of points, the inward and outward parts corresponding together, because they are really not two, but one and the same world under different aspects. And thus, though Mr. Pollock does not say so in as many words, we arrive at the Cliffordian hypothesis of 'mind-stuff.'

All which, if most ingenious, is as far as possible from Spinozism as ordinary people, or as all other philosophers, have heretofore understood him. In 'stripping' away the 'brilliant but dangerous ornaments,' Mr. Pollock has got rid of the substance as well as the attributes, and left only feeling, in union with an unintelligible object that must for ever remain inconceivable, and which in the attempt to construe it to thought 'explodes in contradictories.' Fichte's subjective idealism we can understand, and Hegel's objective idealism is not unintelligible to us; but this curious compound of the two—with the thought which is their essence left out, and clumps of protoplasm substituted for it—seems to us to be the veriest phantom of a diseased imagination, an incogitability, and a contradiction both to thought and the conditions of possible existence. Pity that the attempt to Cliffordize Spinoza should have led to such a tragic result! But the attempt was hopeless from the first. Spinoza, historically, and in the line of genetic philosophical thought, was prior to the idealism of the transcendental school, and to try to bring him within its borders in any way whatever ends only in hopeless muddle.

Wish and Will: an Introduction to the Psychology of Desire and Volition. By GEORGE LYON TURNER, M.A. Longmans, Green, and Co.

We cannot attempt in our limited space a discussion of the contents of this thoughtful volume, in which the author handles many of the greatest problems of psychology, and indicates the bearing of his solution of them

upon some of the most serious questions of theology. Suffice it to say that Professor Turner lays a good foundation for his speculation in a careful analysis of mental phenomena. The most original portion of the work is the contrast that he institutes between wish and will. He vindicates by a thorough-going induction a distinct place for 'desire' between 'feeling' and 'volition,' and shows with much acuteness that desire does not necessarily or immediately and uniformly issue in volition. He makes a good use of his philosophical analysis in vindicating the Biblical doctrine of human responsibility for personal tastes and bias, as well as for cherished desires. We think he might have made more use of his whole doctrine of 'desire' when dealing subsequently with the thorny and tangled subjects of the autonomy of the will. He discusses very ably the relation of the 'volitions' to law in its various senses, and discriminates those senses, showing how the laws of life differ from the laws of nature in their scientific interpretation, by introducing the element of 'ought' and of 'individuality.' He shows much originality in his discussion of two kinds of individuality which conscious agents possess—the one objective, by which they are akin to all individual things which have special notes or marks by which they may be distinguished from other things—and the other subjective, a vast realm of phenomena, or rather Noumena, treated, as he shows, unfairly by the school of Bain, Mill, and Spencer. The relations of individuality to law, to motives and to character, lead our author on to the great controversy as to the freedom or necessity of the will, in which with considerable force and close concatenation of argument, he takes his stand with the opponents of Edwards, Mill, and Bain, and maintains that the essence of freedom and the special mark of volition is alternativity. He admits the inadequacy and confusion of thought involved in the phrase 'freedom of will,' and substitutes for it the 'Ego in willing is shut up to no one course by the limitations of Law.' 'I can will in any one of many different ways; I can issue any one of many different volitions in precisely the same circumstances.' He urges what we believe is profoundly true, that the idea of 'cause' is acquired in the exercise of our voluntary processes and not from observation of antecedents and consequences. This philosophy enables him to posit very clearly the fundamental credibility of miracle, and to meet many though not all the difficulties arising out of the foreknowledge and forewilling of God. The treatise bears throughout the marks of prolonged and patient thought and acquaintance with the principal modern English literature of the subject. The style is adapted to the lecture-room, and often condescends—we had almost said descends—to the necessity of retaining attention by colloquialism and illustrations drawn from very unphilosophical regions. In this doubtless he has only followed great exemplars. We trust we may meet him again in the arena where philosophy and theology blend. The old problems are handled with fine temper, with conspicuous fairness, and with considerable teaching power.

The Emotions. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., &c. Macmillan and Co.

Professor McCosh has been long known as a careful thinker of the Scottish school of philosophy, and his patient analysis of psychological facts shows that he has inherited some of the spirit of Reid and Stewart. His works have won considerable favour among students, and he has signalized himself by not a few skilful and effective arguments against the agnostic and Positivist thinkers of our age. In the volume now before us he is wholly psychological. He has not been satisfied with the account given in our books of mental science of the feelings and emotions. Emotion, he maintains, begins with a mental act, and is throughout essentially an operation of the mind. It is to be viewed in a fourfold aspect—as an affection or appetite; as derived from an idea that stirs the appetite; as associated with, or giving rise to, a conscious feeling; and, lastly, as conjoined with, or resulting in, an organic affection. Dr. McCosh is of opinion that while each of these aspects has been noticed in works written in both ancient and modern times—by Aristotle, by the Scottish school, and by modern physiologists—there has been no attempt to exhibit them in their combination and mutual relations. This is the work he has endeavoured to accomplish. Accordingly, in the first book we have an analysis of the four elements alluded to. In the second he passes on to a classification and description of emotions; while a third book is devoted to what he calls complex emotions. It would take us too far afield to enter upon a detailed criticism of this psychological essay. We may, however, remark that the analysis of elements by Dr. McCosh does not seem to us to be very felicitous. To say that in all feeling there is thought or mental action is as old as Plato, and takes us a very little way in an inquiry into such a subject. But this would seem to be the cardinal principle on which the author justifies his claim to give the world a new book on Emotion. Those whom it is designed to controvert—for it is written in an obviously anti-materialist interest—will of course deny the starting-point from which Dr. McCosh sets out. Assuming that the conscious soul is the unit, he develops his views in subordination to that truth. It is, as we believe, a vital truth; but it is a questionable procedure to start with it as an assumption, and to have the assumption running through the volume. Apart from this, we fail to find much that is new in the results arrived at. While the author's facility of writing often leads him to expand over fields of what we fear must be called commonplaces, he rarely inspires us with happy thoughts such as in philosophy are suggested by the original thinker. He is careful, plodding, industrious; and has produced a book that is altogether respectable as a literary performance; but we do not feel that either philosophy or psychology is greatly enriched by the gift.

Evolution and Involution. By GEORGE THOMSON, Author of
'The World of Being,' &c. Trübner and Co.

Mr. Thomson is hard to understand. We have no doubt we shall provoke his pity, and possibly his contempt, by saying so, but we confess we have found it impossible to follow him. We might have attributed the fault to ourselves had we not remembered Mr. Thomson's earlier work, 'The World of Being,' which was equally hard to understand, and which seemed to affirm things contradictory. We think he has hold of a true idea in his 'Evolution and Involution,' but we are not sure, because we may have mistaken him. If we read him aright, however, the place of any being in the scale of existence depends, in his view, upon its power of involving by taking up into itself—in ideal representation—the things that are external to it. Anything that is absolutely without that power—as a stone—is not only on the lowest ground of existence, but has no capacity of evolution or development. All higher being, then, depends in some measure upon consciousness, or the power of taking in what is outward, and to the highest being existence and consciousness—knowing and being—must be one. As a corrective to onesided theories the truth to which Mr. Thomson thus bears testimony is of the highest moment; but why could he not express himself more simply? All through this little volume he goes on groping, hammering, refining, and piling up epithets until we get utterly bewildered, yet when we try to arrive at the substance of what he really means, we can find nothing beyond the doctrine of the necessity of the subjective factor in all knowledge, and therefore its necessity in existence. Perhaps Mr. Thomson's words have distinct meanings to himself; but what ordinary reader will apprehend the following sentence, and there are hundreds like it: 'It (the universe) is the mode in which we see God; but if we were absolute and complete personalities, we would be as God and would not be God; and yet would be God; and the universe, in its actuality and potentiality, in accordance with the principles of the Law of Evolution and Involution, would be ourselves, and we would be the universe.' This may be profound philosophy, but it reads very much like sheer nonsense. The unity of contradictories in the philosophy of Hegel be sad enough, but it is nothing to Mr. George Thomson's assertions and denials of absolute opposites in relation to the same subjects. Mr. Thomson is great on personality, which he regards—rightly we think—as the only explanation of reality; but we are utterly baffled by this: 'Personality is the substratum wherein the idea of existence and being *originates*, and of necessity *terminates* if in keeping with reason; for man's idea of existence and being, when fully matured, and when in keeping with reason, *has its bounds* in personality; that is, existence and being originate in personality, and are of necessity contained in personality, either latently or fully exposed to view in their reality and totality.' We give it up. Mr. Thomson must write more plainly or he will never find readers. Either he talks nonsense and does not understand himself, or by living long among his own abstractions he has

grown to regard them as realities, and has lost the key by which he might have translated them into common thought and plain language.

The Story of Philosophy. By ASTON LEIGH. Trübner and Co.

This is a brilliantly written book, and tells the 'Story of Philosophy' after a thoroughly picturesque and attractive fashion. We presume the author means to continue it in other volumes; for this one only takes us down to the brightest period of Greek philosophy. Commencing with Thales, the successors of that first thinker and father of philosophers are made to pass before us, more effort being expended upon the men themselves, and in trying to make clear before us their character, and probable appearance than in analyzing their lines of thought. Dealing in this way with Socrates, we have pages that are almost as captivating as the pages of a refined romance. The treatment is possible when we have as many details about the personality of the philosopher as we are able to get out of Plato and Xenophon in regard to Socrates. It is different with Pythagoras and the thinkers who are little better to us than names. But the great object of the writer is to evoke interest and excite sympathy, and he has succeeded in producing a book that will do both. Therefore, although it contains little that is new or instructive in regard to the philosophies, we accord to the book a hearty welcome for the pleasant and graceful way in which it makes us familiar with the philosophers of ancient Greece. We hope the author will perform a like office for modern philosophers by and by.

Ancient Philosophers for Modern Readers. Stoicism. By REV.

W. W. CAPES. *Epicureanism.* By William Wallace, M.A.
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Diocesan Histories. Canterbury. By ROBERT C. JENKINS, M.A.,
Canon of Canterbury. Same Publishers.

We cannot speak too highly of the course pursued by this society in its various series of manuals. Scholarly men are employed to prepare hand-books which are at once both popular, instructive, and reliable. Instead of writing down to the level of general readers—which is much higher than is sometimes supposed—they write so as to lift them still higher. These two manuals are of the higher class of such works; they are admirably adapted to give general readers information concerning the philosophical systems that they treat. They are excellently arranged and very clearly written.

Equal praise is due to the series of Diocesan Histories. 'Canterbury,' by Robert C. Jenkins, M.A., is written with much antiquarian and scholarly care, which in Canterbury finds a rich field, and yet with admirable lucidity. The history of the See is traced from the Roman period to the present day.

The Academics of Cicero. Translated by JAMES S. REID, Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Caius College, Cambridge, &c. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Reid's well-known reputation as an eminent Latinist, the editor of the '*Academica*' and other classical works, is in itself a guaranty that this work, a sequel to the Latin text with notes, is carefully and thoughtfully executed. The author's wish is that his translation should be useful to students of philosophy rather than of classics. 'The vast historical importance,' he says, 'of the post-Aristotelian systems entitles them to more attention than they have hitherto received.' 'The struggle between philosophic scepticism and philosophic dogmatism,' he adds, 'still exists, and holds a still larger share in modern than it did in ancient thought.'

Cicero himself, as a follower of the New Academy, was a sceptic or anti-dogmatist by the very tenets of his profession. A voluminous writer on the contemporary schools of thought, he 'never professed to perform any other function but that of an *interpreter* to Roman readers of the Greek systems with which he deals.' As an expositor of Greek doctrine, Mr. Reid 'does not hesitate to say that he has had great injustice done to him in this matter,' viz., in respect of his trustworthiness as such.

Cicero's object in writing the '*Academica*,' of which rather more than a quarter is now lost, was 'to justify the sceptical criticism of the New Academy.' The impossibility of arriving at any certain knowledge had been affirmed by Plato, the founder of the Old Academy. The *senses*, he argued, which the earlier thinkers regarded as the sole test of *is* or *is not*, often mislead us; and the question, whether abstract truth is attainable by any process of dialectics, was touched upon, but not finally determined, by him in the '*Philebus*' and '*Theatetus*.' What is known as 'Pyrrhonism' took its origin about B.C. 300, and was a definite assertion, practically, that the attainment of any positive and uniform truth is impossible.

Experience proves that human intellect, in its feeble phase, inclines to dogmatism; in its more powerful development, to scepticism. This is why sceptics are generally clever and original men, and this is why *scepticism* (which merely means consideration and inquiry) has unjustly got such a bad name. Men are impatient of a process in others which they are unable or unwilling to prosecute of themselves; they had rather believe on trust than investigate the grounds of their belief.

The great difference, says Mr. Reid, between ancient and modern scepticism lies in the fact that the ancients never went the length of denying the permanence and reality of the external world. All the disputants were convinced that 'things in themselves' do exist; the question was, how far our faculties can comprehend things external to it. The Stoics, who undoubtedly prepared the pagan world for the reception of Christianity, divided sensations into fallible and infallible; the sceptics tried to show that the mere *conviction* of infallibility was worthless.

Mr. Reid's translation has all the grace and accuracy of refined scholarship. There is, on the one hand, no effort after Saxon purism, and on

the other, an absence of all pedantry of style. The subject-matter throughout is anything but light reading; it is aided, however, by a few pages of learned and judicious notes at the end of the volume.

An Outline of Rede-craft (Logic) with English Wording. By
WILLIAM BARNES, B.D. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

This small volume is an attempt to establish, for the expression of the processes of reasoning, old English (Saxon) phraseology instead of the scientific terms which have now obtained universal acceptance, as derived from the classical languages. The author has a hope, he says, that some 'homely men' who have not had a learned education 'may seek an insight into rede-craft outshewn in English with English lore-words (terms of science).' However ingenious and novel is this new application of the early forms of our mother-tongue, one thing is absolutely certain, that the suggestion to return to it will not be adopted. Language, we know, follows an inexorable law of progress; it is in a perpetual state of flux, but it no more goes backwards than a river can flow up from the sea.

Saxon is a very interesting old language, and well deserving of much more general study. Some neat and simple compounds might well be used, e.g., gold-hord for *treasury*, bec-lar (book-lore) for *learning*, læce-craeft (leech-craft) for *medicine*, &c. But such terms as *unma/chsome-ness*, *foreclearenings*, and *forsunderings*, will never come into vogue. *Overthwartings* is not so neat as *opposites*, nor *two-horned redeship* so convenient as *dilemma*. The mere trouble of writing or pronouncing such words as *withstandsomeness of thought-puttings*, or *underthwartsome*, is alone fatal to their general acceptance. Greek, as the language of thought, is able to render in a much better way all the 'outcomings' of reasoning on abstractions, and the vocabulary of logic is now too securely in possession to be easily ejected through the claims of a semi-barbarous rival.

The author has a note on *Superstition* in pp. 46-1. Like *Religion*, this is a word of obscure etymology. The latter was most probably a term adopted by the Roman augurs, a *religendo*, from the frequent consulting of their sacred books, and not a *religando*, from binding. The former belongs, we believe, to the same class of words; it denoted the awe with which people *stood over* and viewed some sacred object or relic which was exposed to their gaze. Such objects were supposed to be hidden under *putealia* in the Roman Fora. This feeling is well expressed by a verse of Propertius—

'Cum tremere patrio pendula turba sacro.'

Mr. Barnes, however, says, very thoughtfully, that 'it is not very easy to gather the primary meaning of *superstition* from the Latin name of it.' He thinks it may mean a 'standing on scruples,' or little points of conscience. We are rather sorry to read in page 48 that 'a traveller of a Christian land has *laughed* at the so-taken superstition of some Moham-

medans in their prayers to God in a storm at sea.' We can only say, 'We hope not.' And the context seems to show that the author is one with us in this.

SERMONS.

Some volumes of Sermons of more than ordinary interest are upon our table. First, a posthumous volume—*The Way to the City, and other Sermons*. By ALEXANDER RALEIGH, D.D. (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.) Edited, with a tender and touching Prefatory Note, by his widow, the sermons are selected from Dr. Raleigh's MSS., but in accordance with a wish expressed by him on the last day of his life. They have not therefore been prepared for the press by their author. While this may have deprived some of them, or some parts of them, of that almost fastidious literary finish which Dr. Raleigh bestowed upon everything that he printed, they have other characteristics which are better. Even as literary productions, they have that essential freshness of thought, beauty of form, and felicity of words which were an instinct of Dr. Raleigh, and which characterized almost every sentence that he wrote. The gain is in the freedom and colloquial force and directness of the preacher's speech. Here and there they suggest openings left for spontaneous words in the pulpit. They have a unique charm. Dr. Raleigh can scarcely be compared with any eminent preacher of our day. His characteristics were distinctively his own—a quiet meditateness; a restful realization of the life in Christ; a tender spirituality suffusing the thought of the preacher, and almost unconsciously imbuing the estimates and feelings of his hearers; a directness and practicalness of religious purpose which touched common life at all points; a distinct individuality and freshness of thinking—not strikingly original, but sufficiently so for the satisfaction of the most intellectual, entirely unconventional, and, in virtue of its simplicity, laying hold of the least cultured as well as of the most—an oratory not highly wrought, climacteric, or rhetorical, not having any of the rush or logical compulsion or brilliancy of some preachers, but instinct with beauty, suaveness, and penetrating power; a teaching rather than an impetuous declamation; a broad humanity, too, that had sympathies with manifold forms of human life and thought, error and sin and sorrow—these were the salient characteristics of a preaching that, on the whole, approached the very best preaching of this generation; if, that is, preaching be, as we think it is, the practical application of Christian theology to human life. In reading this volume we feel the charm, the fascination of the preacher's moral earnestness, spiritual penetration, and literary beauty. There is always hazard to a preacher's reputation in the posthumous publication of his sermons; but the successive volumes of Robertson's sermons show how valuable even fragmentary notes may be. Dr. Raleigh must have left MSS. more than sufficient for another volume like this, and we earnestly hope that Mrs. Raleigh may be induced to select from them again. Both for devo-

tional reading and for ministerial study such a volume as this is too precious for contentment, if others be possible.

The Evangelical Revival, and other Sermons. By R. W. DALE, Birmingham. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Of quite another order as a preacher, and yet equally eminent, is Mr. Dale. As lucid as Dr. Raleigh, and as instinct with nervous simplicity and practical force, he yet moves in quite another domain of pulpit thought. Great movements and developments of theological thought have a special fascination for him. All his teaching is conceived in a theological form; its practical religious urgencies are developed out of exact ideas, and are the precise application of them. We see in some preachers an illogical practicalness, a strength of instinctive religious sympathy, a spiritual sensibility that is but little affected by scientific thought. We cannot conceive of Mr. Dale preaching out of the line of exact perceptions and convictions—haziness of thought would to him make preaching impossible; error of thought would express itself in every word he uttered. We intend this for very high praise; only preaching of this kind can ultimately hold its own in a critical age. The instinct of religion does much, but that instinct, well instructed in the revelation of God, does more. The bulk of this volume is an insistence upon the ethical side of the Christian life. Mr. Dale thinks that the Evangelical Revival failed somewhat in this, and that defective morals have been its characteristic tradition. There is some truth in this, but we think not quite so much as Mr. Dale assumes. Whitefield and Wesley were necessarily intent on producing spiritual life, and they wisely confided in that life for all practical religious fruits. We think they were not only necessitated to do this, but that it is the surest guarantee and almost the sufficient guide of ethical life. 'Make the tree good, and its fruit will be good.' Certainly whatever Antinomianism there has been in the Church, it has not characterized the followers of Whitefield and Wesley. If the aim of the Evangelical Revival had been anything but spiritual life, we should have said that the ethical inculcation of its preaching was formally defective. Nor do the practical ethical shortcomings of religious men necessarily or probably flow from defective ethical preaching, but from imperfect religious life and impulse. Perhaps, more distinctively than anything else, 'perfect sanctification' has been the practical striving of the disciples of the Evangelical Revival. At the same time there is abundant need of the noble vindication of practical holiness which Mr. Dale gives us in this volume. In the spirit of his sermons on the Decalogue, it is an uncompromising insistence on lofty morality—the loftiest in every domain of the Christian life—all the more powerful because a tender spirituality, a tendency to that kind of apprehension of God and communion with God, which in exaggeration we know as mysticism, underlies these intense practical urgencies. No man combines more strikingly the highest spirituality with the most practical religiousness. Mr. Dale's ecclesiastical polemics are as deeply imbued with intense spiritual feeling as his loftiest preaching. He realizes thus what we think to be well-nigh the ideal of Christian

life, and carries religious principle, duty, and feeling into the entire range of human things. These sermons are full of robust strength. Mr. Dale does not seem to ask whether any part of truth or any form of it be fitting for any particular audience. He simply sets it forth, clearly conceived, logically presented, popularly illustrated, and in a style of admirable lucidity and beauty. He speaks out of the fulness of his own convictions—a man to men—and proves the fitness of his method by his great popular success. Supremely reverent of truth, strong in his grasp of God's immutable and eternal laws, passionate in his tender and holy love for God and Christ, steadfast in his large convictions of God's yearning love for men, his preaching is a great power, and this volume is a noble record of it.

The Human Race, and other Sermons. Preached at Cheltenham, Oxford, and Brighton. By the late Rev. FREDERICK W. ROBERTSON, M.A. (C. Kegan Paul and Co.) It is quite superfluous to say anything about the characteristics of Mr. Robertson's sermons. Throughout the English-speaking world they are familiar, and have established for him the reputation of the greatest English preacher of this generation—in the combination, that is, of lofty, fearless, penetrating thought, and forcible and cultured expression. Mr. Robertson was one of the pioneers of the more human and religious theology, which is now characteristic of the best pulpit teaching. His 'heresies' are almost the conservative orthodoxy of the present day. The marvel is that such a preacher should have been left to posthumous fame. These sermons have been compiled from various sources by his son. To a couple of the sermons there is prefixed an intimation that they are taken from 'Autograph MSS. ;' some others are from 'Autograph Notes ;' while several are without any such indications ; but 'Is not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?' The volume is as fresh and striking and suggestive as any of its predecessors. For unconventional and spiritual conceptions of Bible teachings ; for unexpected, penetrating, and practical applications of them, and for general spiritual truth and force, these sermons and notes of sermons are as noble as their predecessors.

Ephphatha ; or, the Amelioration of the World. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. (Macmillan and Co.) Canon Farrar's rich, rhetorical style lends itself specially to preaching, and he justly takes his place among the foremost of the preachers of the day. His breadth of theological view, and of human sympathy too, are qualifications for the pulpit which enable the preacher to touch human nature at many of its points. Whether or not we agree with the specific conclusions which he reaches, a preacher of this order of mind and heart is specially to be welcomed. Broad charities are more than narrow orthodoxy, although there is no need for orthodoxy to be narrow. Seven of these sermons are on Christian Service to the Sinful and Sorrowful, and on the Methods and Spirit of Service—suggested by our Lord's healing of the blind man (Mark vii.) They are long, eloquent, practical, and urgent. To these

two sermons are added 'Legislative Duties,' and 'Statesmanship,' preached in St. Margaret's, Westminster—the church of the House of Commons—at the opening of the Parliaments of 1879 and 1880. Both are broadly conceived; principles of righteousness are uncompromisingly asserted; and the application of religion to the practical things of the life of nations is insisted upon. The sermons are as noble in sentiment as they are eloquent in expression.

The Incarnation of God and other Sermons. By the Rev. HENRY BATCHELOR. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Mr. Batchelor's sermons are acute, vigorous, and practical, and combine often in a very happy way the textual and topical methods of preaching. While the textual exposition is close—sometimes unnecessarily minute—the sermons consist of a series of observations, suggested by it and growing out of it. In this, these discourses seem to us to be happier and better than most of the sermons that come into our hands. This, however, gives them a character sometimes a little mechanical, and deprives them of that feeling of growth and free life which is a great charm in preaching. They adhere somewhat too closely to the conventional sermon plan of the last generation, and produce a feeling of things collected and put together in paragraphs; occasionally, too, they lack precision in the congruities of metaphor and the choice of epithets. But they have a very distinct individuality, and impress one as the work of a strong man who thinks for himself. As examples of the defects to which the methods leads we may instance the first, on the Incarnation, and the fourth, on the Three Crosses. As the former scarcely touches the doctrine of the Incarnation, but consists of practical remarks about it, so the latter does not enter upon the Atonement, which the central cross symbolizes, and is, we think, illogical in placing it last. As examples of very successful treatment, we may mention the sermons on Vanity in Life, Life in Christ, and Beginnings and Ends. These are very fine sermons. We get, too, passages now and then of fine descriptive eloquence. It need not be added that Mr. Batchelor is distinctively Evangelical. We thank him very heartily for a volume of vigorous and useful sermons.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Several of the following have been received too late for review in this number.

- History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland. By Donald Gregory. Second Edition. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.
- Sacred Books of the East. Translated by several Oriental Scholars, and Edited by F. Max Müller. Vols. VI. and IX. The Qur'an. Translated by E. H. Palmer. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.
- New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail. By A. A. Hayes, Jun., A.M. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Genoa. How the Republic Rose and Fell. By J. Theodore Bent, B.A. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields. By Toru Dutt. New Edition. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity. By Paul Stapfer. Translated from the French by Emily J. Carey. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

- The Provincial Letters of Pascal. Edited by John de Sayres. George Bell and Sons.
- L'Emprunt, Dom Miguel (1832), Le Droit des Gens et L'Histoire. Paris: A. Chaix et Cie.
- Early English Society Publications. 73 and 74. The Bickling Homilies of the Tenth Century. Edited, with a Translation and Index of Words, by the Rev. R. Morris, M.A. Part III. The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted. Edited by F. D. Matthew. Extra Series, 35 and 36. The English Charlemagne Romances. Part II. The Siege off Melayne. Part III. The Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce Charles the Crete. Part I. Edited by Sidney J. Herrtage, B.A. N. Trübner and Co.
- New Guinea. By L. M. D'Albertis. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.
- A Fool's Errand. By One of the Fools. Sampson Low and Co.
- Bricks Without Straw. By Judge Tongree. Sampson Low and Co.
- Black Abbey. A Novel. By M. Crommelin. Sampson Low and Co.
- Sunrise. Parts VIII. and IX. By William Black. Sampson Low and Co.
- Indiana. First Annual Report of the Department of Statistics and Geology of the State of Indiana. Indianapolis: Douglas and Carlon.
- A History of the New Testament Times. By Dr. A. Hausrath. The Time of Jesus. Vol. II. Williams and Norgate.
- Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia, with Illustrative Class Songs. By the Rev. William Wyatt Gill, B.A. Wellington: George Didsbury.
- The Constitution and Policy of Wesleyan Methodism. By the Rev. Henry W. Williams, D.D. Wesleyan Conference Office.
- Food for the Invalid. By J. Milner Fothergill, M.D. Macmillan and Co.
- Songs and Poems from 1819 to 1879. By J. R. Planché. Chatto and Windus.
- Songs in the Twilight. By the Rev. Charles D. Bell, D.D. James Nisbet and Co.
- Early Hebrew Life. A Study in Sociology. By John Fenton. Trübner and Co.
- Social Rights and Principles. Glasgow: Aird and Coghill.
- Dorothy. A Country Story in Elegaic Verse. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Life and Mind: as the Basis of Modern Medicine. By Robert Lewins, M.D. Watts and Co.
- The Epistle of Barnabas. With a Translation by Samuel Sharpe. Williams and Norgate.
- Messianic Prophecies. By Franz Delitzsch. Translated by S. J. Curtiss. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Mary Magdalene. A Poem. By Mr. Richard Greenough. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- The First Quarto Edition of Hamlet, 1603. Two Essays (Harness Prize). By G. H. Herford, B.A.; and W. H. Widgery, B.A. Smith, Elder, and Co.
- Heroes in the Strife. By Frederick Sherlock. Hodder and Stoughton.
- Animal Life. By Karl Semper. (International Scientific Series.) C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Records and other Poems. By the Late Robert Leighton. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Raban, or Life-Splinters. By Walter C. Smith. Glasgow: James Maclehose.
- Short Readings for the Christian Year. Part I. Advent to Easter. W. Skeffington and Sons.
- Prayers and Responses for the Household. W. Skeffington and Sons.
- Christianity and the Science of Religion. (Fernley Lecture.) By the Rev. J. S. Banks. Wesleyan Conference Office.
- Descartes. By J. P. Mahaffy, M.A. William Blackwood and Sons.
- Pencil and Palette. By Robert Kempt. (Mayfair Library.) Chatto and Windus.
- Scenes and Songs. By Gerard Bendall. S. B. Barrett.
- The Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles. By the Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. (Bohlen Lecture.) William Isbister.
- Sceptical Fallacies of Certain Modern Writers Examined. By W. J. Hall, M.A. Rivingtons.
- Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph. By Marcus Dods, D.D. (Household Library of Exposition). Edinburgh: Macniver and Wallace.
- English Men of Letters—Locke. By Thomas Fowler. Macmillan and Co.
- Queen's College Calendar (London), 1880-81. Macmillan and Co.
- The Lord's Prayer and the Church. Letters to the Clergy. By John Ruskin, D.C.L. With Replies, &c. Strahan and Co.
- The Churches of Asia. A Methodical Study of the Second Century. By William Cunningham, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
- The Letter H. By Alfred Leach. Griffith and Farran.
- Lyrics and Elegiacs. By Charles Newton Scott. Smith, Elder, and Co.

- The Irish Land Laws.* By Alexander G. Richey, Q.C. Macmillan and Co.
Memoir of the Rev. Henry Watson Fox, B.A. By the Rev. G. Townsend Fox, M.A. New Edition. Religious Tract Society.
English Philosophers—Adam Smith. By J. A. Farrar. Sampson Low and Co.
A Simple Treatise on Heat. By W. Mattieu Williams, F.R.A.S. Chatto and Windus.
On Certainty in Religion. By Edward White. Elliot Stock.
The Lord's Prayer. Discourses by Nevison Loraine. Smith, Elder, and Co.
The Shepherd's Dream. A Dramatic Romance. By Henry Solly. J. and A. Brook and Co.
Dolores. A Theme with Variations. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
My Father's House; or, Thoughts about Heaven. By Agnes Giberne. Seeley, Jackson, Halliday, and Co.
A Tale of Venice. A Drama and Lyrics. By C. G. O'Brien. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.
A Lover's Gamut, and other Poems. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
The Irish Crisis—1846-47. By Sir C. Trevelyan, Bart. Macmillan and Co.
Discontent and Danger in India. By A. K. Connell, M.A. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
The Cardinal Archbishop. A Spanish Legend. By Colonel Colomb. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
Free Church Services for the Solemnization of Marriage and Burial of the Dead. Samuel Bagster and Sons.
Sermonic Fancy Work. By John Paul Ritchie. W. B. Whittington and Co.
Dresden China and other Songs. By F. E. Weatherby. Diprose and Bateman.
The Inspiration of the New Testament. By Walter R. Browne, M.A. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
Future Punishment. By Clement Clemance, B.A., D.D. John Snow and Co.
The New Werther. By Loki. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
Marie Antoinette. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
Critical Handbook to the Study of the Greek New Testament. By Edward C. Mitchell, D.D. Religious Tract Society.
The Future of Palestine. By B. Walker. J. Nisbet and Co.
The Age of the Great Patriarchs—from Adam to Jacob. Vol. II. By Robert Tuck, B.A. Sunday School Union.
The Principles of Catholic Reform. By M. Hyacinthe Loyson. Rivingtons.
Guide to the Study of Political Economy. By Dr. Luigi Cossa. Translated from the Italian, with a Preface, by W. Stanley Jevons, F.R.S. Macmillan and Co.
The Legend of Mine Moa. Sung by an Aged Maori. By Joseph E. Ollivant. A. R. Mowbray and Co.
The Congregational Year Book for 1881. Hodder and Stoughton.
The Ministers' Diary and Visiting Book for 1881. Hodder and Stoughton.
Sin's Penalty and Expiation. By the late Rev. Alex. Anderson, M.A. Simpkin and Marshall.
Anniversary Service for the Lord's Supper. By Henry Hawkes, B.A. Williams and Norgate.
Esquisses Morales; Pensées, Reflexions, Maximes suivies des Poésies de Daniel Stern et précédées d'une Etude Biographique et Littéraire. Par L. De Rouchard. Paris: Calmann Lévy.

EDUCATIONAL BOOKS.

- School Class Books.* Pliny's Letters. Book III. By J. E. B. Mayor. And a Life of Pliny by G. H. Rendall, M.A. The First Four Books of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, with Notes. Edited by William W. Goodwin, Ph.D., and John W. White, Ph.D., Harvard College. Selected Epigrams of Martial. Edited by the Rev. H. M. Stephenson, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
Elementary Classics. Extracts from the Greek Elegiac Poets, from Callinus to Callimachus. By Herbert Kynaston, M.A. Livy. The Hannibalian War. By G. C. Macaulay, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
Macmillan's Progressive French Reader. First Year. By G. Eugène-Fasnacht. Macmillan and Co.
Second Steps to Greek Prose Composition. By the Rev. Blomfield Jackson, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
Children's Treasury of Bible Stories. Part III. St. James the Great, St. Paul, St. John. By Mrs. Herman Gaskoin. Macmillan and Co.
Latin and Greek Translations. By Chas. Donal Maclean. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL 1, 1881.

ART. I.—*Congregationalism.*

‘THE Age of the Puritans is not extinct only and gone away from us, but it is as if fallen beyond the capabilities of memory herself; it is grown unintelligible, what we may call incredible. Its earnest purport awakens now no resonance in our frivolous hearts. We understand not even in imagination, one in a thousand of us, what it ever could have meant. It seems delirious, delusive; the sound of it has become tedious as a tale of past stupidities. Not the body of heroic Puritanism only, which was bound to die, but the soul of it also, which was and should have been, and yet shall be immortal, has for the present passed away.’ *

Six-and-thirty years have passed away since the great critic, historian, and moralist whom we have recently lost wrote these words; and it is more than doubtful whether in the interval Puritanism has become at all more ‘intelligible’ to most Englishmen. The Puritan conceptions of God and of the universe, of the life and destiny of man, of the Christian Church, of worship, of national government, of the true ends for which Churches and nations exist, are still ‘incredible’ to us. Those conceptions can indeed never, in their old form, recover their old supremacy over the hearts and lives of men; but Mr. Carlyle is right when he says that the ‘soul’ of Puritanism is immortal; the energetic faith of those great times will return, and then very much of the Puritan controversy that seems to us frivolous will be recognized as having, at least for the Puritan age, an immense importance, and very much of what seems sheer fanaticism and madness will be recognized as ‘truth and soberness.’ Festus was in-

* ‘Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches,’ vol. i. p. 7.

competent to judge whether Paul was mad or not; we ought to be very cautious when we attempt to judge how much was rational, how much was irrational, in the contention of the Puritans.

But there were Puritans and Puritans. The early Separatists, Robert Browne, Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, and their allies, assaulted Cartwright and the Presbyterians with a vehemence as fierce as that with which Cartwright and the Presbyterians assaulted Whitgift and the High Commission. Looking back upon the controversies of the Elizabethan times, we are able to see that the Presbyterians and the Separatists were really fighting under the same flag, that at heart they held the same principles; but these principles received in the writings and 'gathered Churches' of the Separatists so intense and audacious an expression that the moderate men were filled with dismay and horror. If, as Mr. Carlyle says, the main movement of Puritanism has become 'unintelligible,' 'incredible,' 'delirious,' it may be assumed that Congregationalism, which is one of the extreme developments of Puritan principles, must be separated by impassable gulfs from modern thought and modern faith.

The root-principle of Congregationalism, which I endeavoured to illustrate in a former paper,* ought not, indeed, to be remote from the modern Christian mind, for it has a place in the recognized theology of all Evangelical Churches. The religious communities which were originated by the Evangelical Revival of the last century, and the religious communities which received from the Revival fresh inspiration and vigour, have, during the last hundred years, re-asserted with great seriousness and awe the infinite contrast between those who are loyal to Christ and those who are not, between the lost and the saved. The emphasis with which Congregationalism maintains that the members of Christian Churches should be Christians is, therefore, intelligible to all Evangelicals; and the struggle in which Congregationalists have been engaged for three hundred years, in their endeavour to express in the constitution of the Church the infinite significance of conversion, of faith in Christ, of regeneration, ought to secure for them the hearty sympathy of all who care for Evangelical theology. Indeed this polemic involves something of even greater importance than Evangelical theology. It is a declaration that the religious difference between those who submit to the authority of Christ and those who revolt against it is immeasurable; it is an endeavour to bring home to men the reality of sin and

* BRITISH QUARTERLY, January, 1881.

of righteousness ; and, to say everything in a word, it is the translation into polity of the great spiritual law, 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life ; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.' The Idea of the Church—that 'august society of saints'—is outraged when the dead and the living, the lost and the saved, those who are living in the light of the Divine joy, and those on whom 'the wrath of God' abides, are received into communion together.

And—passing from the Idea of the Church to its Functions,—these also require that, as far as this can be secured, all that are in the Church should be loyal to Christ's authority, and should have received the illumination of the Spirit of Christ. It is at this point that Congregationalism breaks openly with more moderate Puritanism. Henry Barrowe expresses one of the decisive and characteristic elements of the Congregational theory in the following words—

*It is manifest that all the members of the Church have a like interest in Christ, in His Word, in the Faith ; that they altogether make one body unto Him ; that all the affairs of the Church belong to that body together. All the actions of the Church, as prayers, censures, sacraments, faith, &c., be the actions of them all jointly, and of every one of them severally ; although the Body, unto diverse actions, use such members as it knoweth most fit to the same.**

The essence of the whole controversy between Congregationalism and those forms of Church polity with which it is most frequently brought into collision, lies in what is affirmed in this passage.

Every Christian Church is a living organism. Its separate members have their separate functions. Some are appointed to teach ; some may be appointed to exhort ; some to take charge of the temporal affairs of the community. It has its rulers, and its rulers claim obedience. But if it is true that 'all the members of the Church have a like interest in Christ, in His Word, in the Faith ;' if it is true that all the affairs of the Church are the affairs of all its members, then Barrowe is right in the inference which he draws from this principle later on, when he says—

Now, then, seeing every member hath interest in the public actions of the Church, and together shall bear blame for the defaults of the same ; and seeing all our communion must be in the truth, and that we are not to be drawn by any into any willing or known transgression of God's law ; who can deny but every particular member hath power, yea and ought, to

* Barrowe's 'Brief Discovery of the False Church,' p. 35. 1590.

examine the manner of administering the sacraments, as also the estate, disorder, or transgressions of the whole Church, yea, and not to join in any known transgression with them, but rather to call them all to repentance, &c., and if he find them obstinate and hardened in their sin, rather to leave their fellowship than to partake with them in wickedness.

With words like these before us, it is not difficult to understand the alarm, the indignation, the terror, created by the early Congregationalists. Their theory seemed to menace the Church with universal anarchy. And it must be acknowledged that the form in which the responsibilities and duties of private members of the Church was sometimes stated justified grave apprehension. Every individual Christian seemed to be invested with the attributes of an infallible critic of doctrine, polity, and administration. It seemed as if it were every man's duty to insist that his own judgment should be a law to the Church. The duty of recognizing in others the same access to the mind and will of Christ that a man claims for himself was not stated with sufficient clearness and force. Nor was it remembered that, though Christian men 'have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things,' moral idiosyncrasies, and differences of intellectual power and of intellectual discipline will always affect the manner in which different men who are equally loyal to Christ will suppose that the law of Christ is to be fulfilled in practice.

But to make any impression on sluggish and hostile minds, it is necessary to say one thing at a time, and to say it without surrounding it with the limitations which would obscure its meaning and fetter its force. The issue which was raised by Congregationalism is of supreme importance: Has Christ placed the affairs of His Church in charge of Church officers or in charge of all Christians? It was the contention of the Congregationalists that the corruptions of Christendom had arisen from the surrender and suppression of the functions of the Christian commonalty.

The people, upon a superstitious reverence and preposterous estimation unto their teachers and elders, resigned up all things, even their duty, interest, liberty, prerogative into their hands; suffering them to alter and dispose of all things after their own lusts, without inquiry or controlment. Whereupon the true pattern of Christ's Testament, so highly and with so great charge incommended by the apostles unto the fidelity of the whole Church, was soon neglected and cast aside, especially by these evil workmen, these governors, who some of them affecting the pre-eminence sought to draw an absolute power into their own hands, perverting those offices of more labour and care into swelling titles of fleshly pomp and worldly dignity.*

* 'Brief Discovery,' p. 8.

To effect a complete and permanent Reformation, it was necessary to recall the Christian commonalty to the discharge of the duties which they had at first neglected through their own indifference, and which, according to Barrowe, they had afterwards lost through the ambition of the priesthood. It was of the *duties* rather than the *rights* of the Christian commonalty that the early Congregationalists were thinking. It was necessary to recover 'rights' in order to discharge 'duties;' about the 'rights' apart from the 'duties' they were very indifferent. The whole method and tone of the controversy differed widely from very much that we have become familiar with in recent times. Men were not invited to become Congregationalists, because Congregationalism gave them the power to choose their own ministers, and to control, according to their own tastes and wishes, the conduct of worship and all the affairs of the Church. Nobody would have cared enough for Congregationalism to be imprisoned for it, to be hung for it, if this had been the meaning of the movement. Men were told that Christ had trusted His truth and His laws to the fidelity of all who loved Him; that no Christian man could escape the responsibility which this trust imposed; and that at whatever cost and in the face of whatever peril, the responsibility must be discharged. They were invited to separate themselves from the national Establishment that they might be loyal to the trust they had received from Christ, and that they might so escape His final condemnation. Only in 'gathered Churches,' consisting of devout and spiritual members, could the Christian commonalty fulfil the functions to which they were divinely called. That these Churches should have 'rulers' was part of the will of Christ, and both Browne and Barrowe insisted on the duty of honouring and obeying them; that they should have 'teachers' was also part of the will of Christ, and it is the duty of the taught to listen with respect and consideration to those who teach them; but the ultimate responsibility for the whole life of the Church lies with the Church itself, not with the ministers alone. Whatever powers may be entrusted to pastor, teacher, elders, deacons, the Church can never surrender its own supreme authority, for the retention of this authority is necessary to the discharge of its duties. It must take guarantees that those whom it appoints to office shall be loyal to their trust; if they are persistently disloyal it must have the power of removing them. The Church—the whole Church—is responsible for the persons who are received into membership and retained in membership; for the order of worship; for the

substance, at least, of the teaching which is given to the Church itself, and which is given in the name of the Church to people outside.

In this region, as many will think, Congregationalism becomes 'unintelligible,' 'incredible,' 'delirious.' That tradesmen, mechanics, farmers, ploughmen, and serving-men, women harassed with household cares, or earning their living as household servants, or in workshops and factories, should be charged with such responsibilities, and should be regarded as having any competence to meet them, will to many people seem preposterous. What can such persons know of the deep mysteries of theology? How can they be expected to form an intelligent judgment on conflicting doctrines of the Trinity and of the person of Christ, on conflicting theories of the atonement, on the controversies concerning Augustinianism, controversies extending over fourteen centuries, and dividing saints from saints, theologians from theologians? What can they know about the researches and the principles which must determine questions relating to the canon and to the inspiration of the sacred books? How can they be trusted to arrive at just conclusions concerning the sacraments, concerning the true polity of the Church, concerning the modes of worship which are most in harmony with the genius of the Christian revelation and most conducive to the spiritual strength of the Christian Church? In the administration of discipline, is it reasonable to expect that such persons will have an adequate knowledge of the ethical principles of Christ, will be competent to discern the true application of those principles to the complex affairs of human life, will be able to escape from the personal antipathies and personal prejudices which would disturb their impartiality and destroy the moral authority of their decisions? Can such persons be even trusted with the election of their own religious teachers and rulers? Are they competent to judge of the intellectual and spiritual qualifications of a pastor or preacher? Will they not think very little of the sagacity, of the knowledge, of the just discrimination, of the steadfast integrity, of the deep devoutness necessary to the office, and will they not be caught by the charm of a pleasant manner, by vivacity, by fluency, by many other superficial attractions which are quite separable from the real elements of efficiency? Is it not certain that a Church polity which assumes in the ordinary members of a Church intellectual and moral resources which very few of them can possess, will lead to confusion, scandal, and disaster?

Our principal reply to these objections is a very simple one. We take the New Testament seriously. We believe that those whom Christ redeems from 'this present evil world' and translates into His kingdom receive a Divine life and a Divine light, and are taught of God. The measures of spiritual illumination and of spiritual strength given to different men vary. Shining in the same heaven, 'star differeth from star in glory.' But a man's rank in the Divine kingdom is not determined by his social obscurity or distinction, or by the extent of his secular knowledge, or by the degree of his general intellectual culture. The serving-man may know more of the mind of God than the scholar; the man who works at the forge than the man who fills a professor's chair; and the maid may have a keener and truer spiritual vision than the mistress. It is often said that the Christian Church is a perpetual witness for democracy, and that in the presence of the harsh and often iniquitous gradations of rank in secular society, it illustrates the true equality of mankind. There is truth in this assertion, but not the whole truth. The Church does not merely refuse to recognize and confirm the inequalities of the world; it often reverses them. There are gradations of rank in the Divine kingdom as well as in secular states, but it often happens that, in passing from the inferior to the nobler order, 'the first become last and the last first.'

Congregationalism affirms that any system of Church polity that does not recognize the wonderful endowments conferred on the Christian commonalty must be contrary to the mind of Christ. The early advocates of our theory often failed to make the real meaning of their position clear. They pleaded apostolic precedents as though all apostolic precedents had the authority of a formal law. They appealed to 'texts' when they should have appealed to principles. They seemed to fetter the Church to the customs of the primitive age when they were really claiming the very largest freedom. But we must judge them by the spirit of their writings rather than the letter; we must remember what were the methods of controversy in their times; we must let the profound and far-reaching principles asserted on one page control the formal argument developed on the next. If we sweep away what may have seemed to themselves the strongest supports of their position, dismiss all their curious appeals to Jewish history, reject their quotations from Jewish prophets as exegetically unsound, and, if exegetically sound, wholly irrelevant, refuse to acknowledge that the organization of the Churches of Galatia and the Church at Corinth is the type to which

modern Churches are bound to conform, their contention loses nothing of its real strength. Their main plea becomes stronger when separated from the ingenuities and subtleties which divert attention from the real issue.

Are we to take the New Testament seriously? This is the question which settles a large part of the controversy. What account are we to give of those who have believed in Christ and who are regenerate of the Holy Ghost? About the blessedness and dignity which they are all to possess on the other side of death, we can say little. For it doth not yet appear what they will be, when through one millennium after another, their power, wisdom, and righteousness will receive perpetual development under the kindlier conditions of the world to come; and the immense possibilities of their wonderful destiny should make us regard with reverence and awe the obscurest of men who have received the life of God. But are they *now* the sons of God? Is it true that they dwell in Christ and that Christ dwells in them, that they have 'the mind of Christ,' that they have received the 'spirit of wisdom and revelation,' that they are confederate with Christ in His prolonged contest with the sins and sufferings of mankind? Is it true that every Christian man—not priests alone, not ministers alone, but every Christian man, whether peasant or prince, gentle or simple, whether rich in secular learning or destitute of it—is charged to defend and perpetuate 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' and to do his best to get the will of God done on earth as it is in heaven? Congregationalism answers these questions in the affirmative, attributes to every Christian man amazing prerogatives and powers, insists that these are the ground of grave duties, requires the polity of the Church to be so constructed that every Christian man shall be charged with the responsibility of taking part in the maintenance and defence of the truth of Christ and in the assertion of His authority. In other words, according to the Congregational theory, the affairs of the Church are the affairs of every member of the Church; and to entrust the exclusive charge of doctrine, discipline, and worship to a sacerdotal or ministerial order is to suppress the functions and to paralyze the strength of the Christian commonalty.

The direct illumination of the Holy Spirit does not release men from the duty of learning the will of Christ from the discourses delivered by Him during His earthly life and from the writings of His apostles; nor does it release them from the duty of availing themselves of those permanent ministries which He has instituted for the increase of the

spiritual knowledge of His people and the discipline of their righteousness. It is obvious that in a Congregational Church it is of the first importance to secure for all the members the amplest instruction in Christian faith and duty. It is not enough that they know the rudiments of the gospel. They have something more to do than to save their own souls. In Churches which entrust the clergy with all the functions of government, it may be sufficient if the Christian intelligence of the clergy is adequately disciplined. In Churches which divide these functions between the clergy and representative laymen, it may be sufficient if, in addition to the clergy, a fair number of laymen have acquired a considerable knowledge of the contents of the Christian revelation ; for the ordinary members of the Church, though comparatively uninstructed, may have the sense to recognize and to elect the men who are competent to discharge duties which are beyond their own strength. But Congregationalism makes heavy demands on the Christian commonalty, and these demands will never be met unless all the members of a Church are well taught. The Evangelical Revival of the last century, while it conferred on Congregational Churches blessings of immeasurable value, disturbed the true Congregational tradition ; it led us to think that our work was done when we had prevailed upon men to repent of sin and to trust in the mercy of God revealed through Christ for eternal redemption. Our wiser fathers thought that when this Divine triumph was achieved their own work had only begun. It would be an exaggeration of the truth to say that we have reversed the parts which in their judgment belong to God and to the Church in the salvation of mankind ; but it might be almost said that the early Congregationalists left the conversion of men very much in God's hands, and made it the chief duty of the Church to discipline and perfect the Christian life of those who were already Christians ; we have thought that for the conversion of men the Church is largely responsible, and we have left them in God's hands for the development of Christian power and righteousness.

One of Robert Browne's books is an illustration of the importance which he attached to full and exact Christian knowledge. He calls it 'A Book which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians ; and, how unlike they are unto Turks and Papists and Heathen folk. Also, the Points and Parts of all Divinity, that is, of the revealed Will and Word of God are declared by their several Definitions and Divisions, in order as followeth.' It is something very different from the

brief and simple 'Manuals' of Congregational principles which some ministers are in the habit of placing in the hands of all candidates for Church fellowship. Browne's treatise contains a system of divinity, of ethics, and of ecclesiastical polity; and from point to point he carries on a polemic with Romish and Anglican error and corruption. He begins with the doctrine of the Trinity, the glorious perfections of God, and His authority; goes on to the fall of man and its consequences; then passes to the divinity of our Lord, His atonement and the doctrine of redemption. He then states the doctrines of grace, election, and effectual calling; then discusses the constitution of the Church, and the doctrine of the sacraments; and then the standing and privileges of Christians. After a brief account of Jewish ceremonies, he defines and illustrates what he describes as the general duties of religion and holiness—repentance, faith, the honouring of God, obedience to God. Then he gives an account of 'special duties' to be discharged for the name and kingdom of God—public worship and the keeping of the sabbath. He then passes to social duties, states what he conceives to be the duties and qualifications of rulers—including those who hold office in the Church, civil governors, husbands, parents; he discusses the grounds of their authority and the obligations which their authority imposes on them. He further states what he conceives to be the duties of 'inferiors,' and insists with great resoluteness on the esteem, honour, and submission which are due to those who 'have the rule over them.' He then deals with our obligations to persons to whom we are not bound by definite relations—to good men, to the miserable. The book closes with an account of what he describes as strictly personal duties, and he treats of chastity, industry, providence, justice, fidelity, equity, truth, simplicity, and 'secrecy';* he denounces slander and covetousness.

What is specially interesting about this curious book is the arrangement of the matter. As the book lies open before you, the column which occupies the left half of the left-hand page consists of questions and answers on the subjects I have enumerated. These are given in plain language, and printed in a bold, clear type. In the right-hand column of the same page there are questions and answers, exhibiting the errors or corruptions which are opposed to the truths and virtues

* He dwells on the duty of keeping 'secret things' secret. I suppose that even in the Congregational Churches of the heroic times, trouble sometimes came from thoughtless gossip and the betrayal of confidence.

which are stated in the first column. The questions and answers in the first column are to be studied and mastered by all. The questions and answers in the second column 'simple people may pass over;' they are intended to arm those who are fairly intelligent but uneducated, against the erroneous doctrines and the erroneous ethics of 'Turks and Papists and Heathen Folk.' On the right-hand page, in small type, Browne develops his system scholastically, in formal definitions. The treatise was obviously meant to be a text-book for the Congregational Churches, and it is very certain that those who mastered it would have a fulness and definiteness of religious and ethical thought which are not very common in our days. The book brings vividly home to us the judgment of the early Congregationalists on the kind and extent of knowledge which should be acquired by every member of a Christian Church.

I have not yet exhausted the illustration of the spiritual audacity of Congregationalism. In Robert Browne's book, of which I have just given an account, there are two definitions which are worth considering. He says—

The *Church* planted or gathered is a company or number of Christians or believers, which by a willing covenant made with their God are under the government of God and Christ, and keep His laws in one holy communion. The *Kingdom of Christ* is His office of government whereby He useth the obedience of His people to keep His laws and commandments to their salvation and welfare.

In the passages which precede and follow those which I have quoted, there is a mystical identification of Christ with the Church, and with all the acts of the Church. His theory is that by 'a willing covenant made with their God' the members of a Christian Church accept the Divine will as their absolute law. In worship, faith, polity, and administration they acknowledge no other authority than the law of Christ. And through them the authority of Christ is to be visibly maintained. The union between Christ and them is so intimate that, to use the technical language of the times, the Church has part in the prophetic, the priestly and the regal offices of its Head. Christ teaches through the lips of the doctors of the Church; intercedes in the intercession of all its members; and when the assembled Church pronounces its solemn decisions, its acts of government are the acts of its Lord. What is bound on earth is bound in heaven, and what is loosed on earth is loosed in heaven.

In other words, every Christian Church is a supernatural

society. It is the permanent home of God. It is consecrated by the 'Real Presence' of Christ. The awful splendour which dwelt in the Holy of Holies was but the symbol and prophecy of a more august manifestation of God in the Church. When its members are assembled together in Christ's name they have not merely the written records of His earthly ministry to guide, instruct, console, and animate them ; Christ Himself is among them. Nor does He stand apart from them, isolated in His Divine majesty. The decisions of the Church are sanctioned by His authority. Its prayers are made His own, 'For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.'

It was for this lofty conception of the functions of the Church that the early Congregationalists endured imprisonment, exile, and death. Poor men and poor women were inspired by it with the courage of heroes and the endurance of martyrs. They, too, had seen 'the holy city, the new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven,' with its gates of pearl, its foundations of precious stones, and the nations of the saved walking in its golden streets. It was a glorious vision, worth suffering for, worth dying for.

Yes, it may be said, but only a vision, and a vision which, to use Mr. Carlyle's language again, was 'incredible' and 'delirious.' It is well for the human race, however, that there are men to whom visions, seen in the diviner hours of life, are truer than all the common experiences of common days. Congregationalism, as conceived by its founders, was an ideal polity. Those of us who inherit their principles and traditions are willing to acknowledge that it remains an ideal polity. It can become actual only when the members of Christian Churches touch the height of that perfection to which the Divine will calls them, and achieve that perfect union with Christ which is the final triumph of faith and the ultimate condition of righteousness. Other systems of polity recognize and provide for the infirmities and follies and perversities of Christian men. Congregationalism assumes that they are altogether loyal to the thought and will of Christ ; it trusts with a complete and unreserved confidence to the power and supremacy of the Spirit of Christ in the Church of Christ. In the actual condition of Christendom systems which take guarantees against human passion and human error may 'work' better ; but to some of us the idealism of Congregationalism has a fascination and charm. The way is left open for the perfect fulfilment of the Divine

idea. Guarantees which repress the outbreak of evil passions may also repress the free movement of the divinest forces. A 'strong' government may be necessary to curb and check revolt, but it is likely to impair the energy which is possible to only a free people.

As a matter of fact, where the true conception of Christian life and fellowship is seriously violated, Congregationalism often shows itself capable of providing informal remedies for evils which its principles and ideal constitution decline to recognize as possible. Just as under the freest secular governments the usual guarantees of liberty are formally suspended in times of national disturbance, so there are informal modifications introduced into the actual administration of Congregational Churches when the members are unfaithful to the ideal of saintliness; and the natural results of their unfaithfulness are, to some extent, averted. The organization adjusts itself to the life. But the main lines of the polity are preserved, and when better days come, the Church is able to resume all its functions. Sometimes, indeed, violent explosions occur; but they do not seem to me either more violent or more destructive than the catastrophes which occasionally occur in Churches which are more careful to provide against the perils which arise from the imperfection of human nature.

It is usual for Congregationalists to claim for their ecclesiastical ancestors a chief place in that protracted and complicated struggle which has secured for the English people their civil and religious freedom, and which will never be brought to a close until it has secured for them complete religious equality. The claim can be sustained by decisive proofs. But we make a grave mistake if we attribute to the Elizabethan Congregationalists the theory of individual rights which underlies most of the modern arguments against the interference of the State with religious faith and worship. Nor does this theory appear to have been discovered by the Congregationalists of the first half of the seventeenth century.

The real character of the early Congregational struggle against the Crown cannot be understood unless we remember the Congregational conception of the Church. As we have seen, Browne, Barrowe, Greenwood, Penry, and their brethren believed that a Church is a society instituted by the authority of Christ and actually governed by His will. Christ alone has the right to determine who shall be received into the society, and who shall be excluded from it. Christ alone has

the right to determine its polity and its modes of worship. When 'by one blast of Queen Elizabeth's trumpet' all Englishmen were made members of the national Church, and were required under penalty to attend its services, the complaint of the Congregationalists was not that the queen had trampled on the personal rights and violated the freedom of the English people, but that she had usurped the authority of Christ. 'No prince can make any a member of the Church.' When she imposed on the nation a system of Church government and a form of worship, still they did not complain that she interfered with their personal freedom. They maintained that she was interfering with the prerogatives of Christ, who alone had the right to settle the government of the Church, and the modes in which it should conduct its worship. It was their contention that Christ did not use queens and parliaments as the organs of His will in these high matters, but those 'Christians or believers who,' to quote words I have quoted before, 'by a willing covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ,' and whose 'obedience' Christ 'useth . . . to keep His laws and commandments.'

They confessed that by God's appointment Cæsar—the civil magistrate—had authority 'to rule the commonwealth in all outward justice, and to maintain the right, welfare and honour thereof, with outward power, bodily punishments, and civil forcing of men.' Some of them were extravagant in their concessions to the Crown, and went so far as practically to surrender all the securities of personal liberty. But while as a religious duty they rendered to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, they were equally resolute in refusing to render to Cæsar the things which are God's.

In more recent times the struggle with the Crown and the Church took a new form. It became a contest for individual rights—for what we call 'civil and religious liberty.' The later contest, if it takes for its motto the words of Christ which I have just quoted, must read them as though they were written, 'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but keep for yourselves the things which are your own.' The question as to the limits of the authority of the State over individual citizens is plainly a very different question from that which interested the founders of English Congregationalism. They were not contending for the rights of men, but for the rights of Christ.

The controversy in its more recent form is sometimes described in another way, a way which approximates more

closely to the original character of the struggle. It is described as a movement for the separation of Church and State. The description is not very exact and is open to some objections ; but, speaking roughly, it is a fairly true account of the object of the early English Congregationalists as well as of our own. We want the State to keep within its own province, and to leave the Church to govern itself.

But it is contended that a complete separation of the two powers is impossible, that there are points at which their respective jurisdictions necessarily touch each other ; this we may admit, and the questions raised by the conflict of authorities are sometimes intricate and extremely difficult to solve. It is also contended that Congregational Churches, in their doctrine, discipline, and worship, are just as really under the control of the State as the Anglican clergy ; and a case recently decided in the Court of Vice-Chancellor Hall is quoted in support of this contention. In discussing the Huddersfield Chapel case there will be an opportunity for considering some questions which may seem of more immediate interest than the lofty principles which I have endeavoured to illustrate in this paper.

In 1873 Mr. Stannard became assistant to Mr. Skinner, the pastor of the Church meeting in Ramsden Street chapel, Huddersfield. In January, 1875, he became co-pastor. At that time a majority of the trustees of the building were not satisfied that Mr. Stannard's preaching was in harmony with the doctrines defined in a schedule to the trust-deed. Mr. Skinner resigned in April, 1877, and then Mr. Stannard was retained to supply the pulpit, although on account of difficulties arising out of the terms of the trust-deed he was not appointed to the pastorate. In January of last year some of these difficulties had been removed and he was elected pastor. A majority of the trustees were still confident that his preaching was not in harmony with the doctrinal schedule of the deed, and instituted legal proceedings to eject him from the use of the building. In the suit they relied principally on a letter written by Mr. Stannard on his election to the pastorate, in which he stated the qualifications with which he received the several articles of the schedule. In the judgment of the Vice-Chancellor the action of the majority of the trustees was sustained by the provisions of the deed, and Mr. Stannard was therefore declared to be no longer minister of Ramsden Street chapel.

The judgment has given occasion to some very wild, incoherent, and unintelligent writing. In an article on the

case in a provincial Conservative newspaper there is the following amusing passage—

Very disagreeable is it for high-souled Nonconformists that certain religious doctrines and forms of worship should be enforced among them by the strong secular arm of the law of the land. Fain would they deny that such is the case, and represent that such is the fate only of enthralled Churchmen. But unfortunately instances are of continual occurrence when the law interferes in the religious affairs of even the most stalwart Liberationists, and prescribes or prohibits, directs or deprives, in a manner wholly at variance with the volumes of Liberationist tall talk. Denominational organs may strive to suppress reports of the frequent law-suits concerning Dissenting chapels and doctrines and trust-deeds; but there are many Dissenters who read some better journal than the sectarian paper, and they become painfully aware that their leaders and instructors who profess to enlighten them are sedulously endeavouring to keep them in the dark and to deceive and mislead them. The Dissenters of Huddersfield have just been taught that they are under law, and that their chapel and its affairs are under 'State patronage and control,' from which the Liberation Society has never yet made any effort to liberate them, as all its energies have been directed to meddling with the private affairs of the Church instead.

The *Times* had an article—less extravagant, of course—but betraying in the very terms it uses a very natural misconception of the facts and principles involved in the suit. It began with these sentences—

It seems to be supposed by some ardent Ritualists that, if only the Church were disestablished, they would be able to live in perfect peace, and could for all time do exactly as each one liked, without having the fear of Lord Penzance or any secular authority before their eyes. We would advise those who harbour this delusion to study a decision by Vice-Chancellor Hall which we report to-day. It will show that a religious body may have not the remotest connexion with the State, may embody the very dissidence of Dissent, and yet not escape interference at the hands of the law. No section of Nonconformists probably more desired to hold aloof from contact with secular Courts than the body of 'Protestant Dissenters of the Congregational denomination, otherwise called Independents,' whose doctrines have been the subject of discussion for seven days in Vice-Chancellor Hall's Court. The early fathers of that Church would have marvelled much had they been told that they would one day find it necessary to resort to a court of equity for aid, and invite the judges of the land to construe their articles or say what were their true doctrines. The force of circumstances, however, has brought about this strange result.

It was certain that the suit would give occasion to a great deal of writing of this sort. The prosecution and imprisonment of Mr. Pelham Dale and Mr. Enraght had produced a very restless feeling in many Churchmen. The prosecutions appeared, at least, to be vivid illustrations of the fact that the

State has charge of the doctrine, ritual, and discipline of the Anglican Church, and it was to be expected that when the trustees of Ramsden Street chapel appealed to the Vice-Chancellor to eject Mr. Stannard, we should be told that Nonconformists are in precisely the same position as Churchmen, and that the State has charge of the doctrine, ritual, and discipline of Congregationalists. A very few minutes' reflection will enable any one to discover that there are the widest possible differences between the case of the ejected Nonconformist minister and the case of the two imprisoned clergymen.

The issue raised by the Huddersfield suit was extremely simple. Rather more than thirty years ago certain persons in Huddersfield secured a piece of ground with the intention of erecting a chapel upon it. A chapel was erected. The people who subscribed the money, or the committee appointed to carry out their wishes, placed the building in trust. Thirty years ago, as I have heard, there was a great dread in Huddersfield of the movement which has received its name from the venerable James Morison of Glasgow. The vehement antagonism to Calvinistic theology and the eager evangelistic zeal of the Morisonians had created a considerable number of congregations in Scotland, and from time to time adventurous representatives of the movement made raids across the border. Yorkshire Congregationalists, or some of them, regarded the creed of the zealous Scotchmen with dismay. And so it happened that the founders of the Ramsden Street chapel resolved that to the end of time no Arminian heresy should be preached in its pulpit. In a schedule to the trust-deed the chief doctrines of the Calvinistic theology were defined with a rigour unusual among Congregationalists in recent years, and the pastor of the Church assembling in the building was required, on his appointment, to state in writing his acceptance of these definitions.

Whether it is expedient or just that such definitions of doctrine should be introduced into the schedule of a trust-deed and the acceptance of them by the minister made the condition of his use of the building, whether a deed so constructed is in harmony with the principles and genius of Congregationalism, are questions which I will consider later in this paper; but it is notorious that most people who give money for the erection of a place of worship suppose that they are acting within their rights when they ask for securities of this kind. They argue that, since the building is erected by their money, they have a moral right to prevent it from being

used for the propagation of religious opinions which they abhor; and they think that the best way to secure it for the purposes they want to promote is to define a set of doctrines in the trust-deed.

English law sanctions this claim; and the question which the Vice-Chancellor had to determine was whether Mr. Stannard had satisfied the conditions which the builders of the chapel had insisted should be fulfilled by every minister that used it. This was the only question which the Vice-Chancellor would touch. It was the only question which he had a right to touch. There was a natural endeavour on the part of Mr. Stannard's counsel to raise other issues. He referred to what Dr. Allon is alleged to believe on one doctrine, and to what Mr. Baldwin Brown is alleged to believe on another. My own departures from Calvinistic traditions were not forgotten. It was also argued that Congregationalists were unfriendly to the imposition of definite creeds either on ministers or Churches. The whole speech was an attempt to attribute to the Vice-Chancellor the functions of an ecclesiastical judge. He was asked to determine the limits of Congregational orthodoxy. But he very properly declined to assume any such responsibility. He put all these topics aside. He was not an ecclesiastical judge, but a judge in Chancery. He declared that he had not to determine any question affecting Congregational doctrine, but only to interpret the provisions of a deed. He said virtually that certain persons had contributed their money to erect a building in Ramsden Street, that the law allowed them to settle the terms on which it should be used, that they had agreed that before any minister was appointed to be the regular and legal occupant of the pulpit he should declare in writing his assent to certain doctrines, that the letter which Mr. Stannard wrote did not satisfy the conditions imposed by the persons who erected the building, and that, therefore, Mr. Stannard must retire. Whether the doctrines of Mr. Stannard were true or false, consistent or inconsistent with his position as a Congregational minister, were questions in which the Court of Chancery had no concern.

In two important respects the case of Mr. Stannard is wholly different from the case of Mr. Pelham Dale and Mr. Enraght.

It is clear, in the first place, that the State had nothing to do with settling the doctrines to be preached by the minister of Ramsden Street chapel. Those doctrines were never submitted to the approval of Parliament or the Crown. It was not the law of the land which laid down the creed for the minister at Huddersfield. The law has simply said that when

people build a chapel they are at liberty to determine what use should be made of it ; and a civil court has enforced the use which they agreed upon.

The articles which have troubled Mr. Stannard were contained in a schedule to a trust-deed drawn up by private persons to determine the uses of property created by themselves. But the doctrine, the ritual, and the discipline of the Church of England have been settled by the schedule of an Act of Parliament. Mr. Stannard is told that he cannot use a certain building unless he fulfils the conditions imposed by the persons who voluntarily contributed money to erect it. But Mr. Enraght and Mr. Pelham Dale are told that they must obey certain regulations which the Crown and Parliament have resolved shall control the conduct of public worship in the national Church.

There is another and, perhaps, still more striking difference between the two cases. Under the Public Worship Regulation Act Mr. Pelham Dale and Mr. Enraght will be deprived of their benefices at the end of three years if they do not discontinue the ritual which has been pronounced illegal. If they receive other appointments the law will still require them to abstain from those acts which the Courts have condemned. If the members of Mr. Enraght's congregation built him a new church they would have no power—if he and they remained in the national Establishment—to give Mr. Enraght liberty to conduct the worship as he and they might desire. Convocation cannot give him this liberty. All the bishops on the bench cannot give it him. We contend that he and his people are in bondage to the civil power ; for only the Crown and Parliament can give them freedom to worship according to their own convictions of how God ought to be worshipped. He and his congregation might worship as they pleased if they became Nonconformists. This is surely a decisive proof that while in the national Church they are in fetters, and that only by leaving it can they become free. Mr. Stannard and his friends are not in chains. All that the Vice-Chancellor has determined is that Mr. Stannard cannot use, to propagate one set of doctrines, a particular building which was erected by private persons for the use of men who would propagate another set of doctrines. Mr. Stannard and his friends can build another chapel and, if they please, can so frame the trust-deed that not only shall Mr. Stannard be perfectly free, but that thirty years hence the building may be used by a Comtist, a Buddhist, or a Mormon. Mr. Stannard will be just as truly a Congregational minister in the new

building as he was in the old building. I say 'just as truly,' for it is no part of my present business to determine whether his alleged divergences from Congregational traditions are sufficiently grave to render it improper to describe him as a Congregationalist. The Vice-Chancellor took care to make it clear that he had no authority to determine what doctrines might be taught by a Congregational minister; but it has been the special business of Lord Penzance, since he was removed from the Divorce Court, to determine what ritual may be celebrated by an English clergyman.

The *Times*, in the article I have quoted, says—

The majority of the trustees wished the Rev. Mr. Stannard to resign or retire, inasmuch as he had ceased to conform to the creed of *the Church*. He resisted on the ground that he had not exceeded the bounds of lawful freedom, and that he had the approbation of the bulk of his congregation; and a *Vice-Chancellor had to be called in to settle the difference*.

Nothing could be more inaccurate. The Vice-Chancellor was not called in to decide whether Mr. Stannard conformed to the creed of the Church or whether he had kept within the lawful bounds of freedom. There is every reason to believe that when the action was raised, the creed of Mr. Stannard was perfectly satisfactory to the great majority of the Church—that is, of the society of communicants meeting in Ramsden Street. What the Church believed, and whether Mr. Stannard conformed to that belief, were not the subjects in dispute. The whole question was about the theological articles in a trust-deed which settled the uses to be made of a particular building erected by private funds, and about Mr. Stannard's acceptance or rejection of these articles. In the case of the ritualistic clergymen, the question turned on the law of the Church itself—the way in which Mr. Pelham Dale and Mr. Enraght are required by the Crown and Parliament to celebrate their worship. Their position is a very difficult one. With their views of the Episcopal Church, which in this country permits supreme authority in matters of faith, ritual, and discipline to be exerted by the civil power, they cannot separate from the Church without being guilty of schism; they cannot remain in it without being bound by their consciences to break the law.

The Ramsden Street suit may be of some service to Non-conformists if it compels them to re-consider their recent customs in relation to trust-deeds. That men have a right to control and limit the uses of property for ten thousand

years after their death—if the world should last so long—is a very curious yet very common hallucination. What greater right has one generation than another to declare how anything that the world contains shall be used to the end of time? The world belongs to the living, not to the dead. The men who lived three hundred years ago, two hundred years ago, a hundred years ago, had no more exclusive property in the world than their predecessors; they had no more exclusive property in it than their posterity.

If some devout old heathen living in Saxon times had built a temple to Woden, and settled the rents of two hundred acres of land to maintain perpetual worship in honour of his idol, does any sane person imagine that his settlement would receive or deserve the slightest respect? We should say that he had had his turn, but that ours had come now. While he was alive he could build a temple for any god that he chose to serve, and use the rents of his estate to maintain the priests; but the piece of land on which the temple was built, and the estate which was settled to maintain the worship, could not belong to him after he was dead. And when the land ceased to belong to him his right to control it ceased. For the encouragement of foundations intended to promote the public benefit, it is expedient to empower men to determine for a brief period how property shall be used which they devote to public purposes; but an indefinite power of settlement for public uses is as inexpedient as an indefinite power of settlement for private uses; it is as inconsistent with the rights of every fresh generation; it should never be conceded. The powers granted to the Education Commissioners and the Charity Commissioners to revise and modify trusts are in harmony with justice and the true interests of the nation. For men to claim the right to determine that a building which they erect for religious purposes should be used to the end of time for the maintenance of a particular system of theology, is to claim that one generation has the right to bar the free use of the world by the generations which follow it.

But further: doctrinal schedules to trust-deeds are inconsistent with the traditions of the best times of Congregationalism, and with one of the fundamental principles of the Congregational polity. A very competent authority on the historical question has stated that—

As far as published accounts go, the Trust-deeds of the Independent chapels built within the twenty years following the passing of the Toleration Act, did not contain any provisions as to the doctrines to be preached in them; and what is more singular, the Trinitarian seceders

from Presbyterian congregations were not more precise and careful with reference to the chapels which they founded.*

The Church of which I am minister was founded in the middle of the last century by a Trinitarian secession from a congregation which had elected an Arian minister; but the seceders made no attempt to secure by a doctrinal schedule the permanent use of their new building for Trinitarian purposes. Mr. James thinks this 'singular.' It seems to me that any other course would have been an apostasy from the principles and traditions of Independency. It was not till the end of the last century and the beginning of this, when the traditions of Independency had been almost submerged under the flood of the Evangelical Revival, that doctrinal schedules began to be common. The 'Revival' was eager to save individual men. It knew little or nothing about the dignity, the power, the sacredness of the Church.

The Congregational theory is that the living Church of every generation is in union with the living Christ, the Lord and Teacher of men; is the organ of His thought and the instrument of His will; that it receives the illumination of His Spirit; that it is the perpetual trustee and defender of His truth. A doctrinal trust-deed is an attempt to protect by the guarantee of secular law that truth which, according to Congregationalism, is entrusted to the keeping of the Christian Church.

Theological definitions—and a doctrinal schedule must consist of theological definitions—are the product of the human intellect exercising its faculties on the contents of Holy Scripture and of the spiritual life of the Church. These definitions vary from age to age, even when the truths which they are intended to express remain the same; and it is impossible to review the history of Christendom without seeing that in different Churches and in different centuries devout and saintly men have greatly differed in the measures of their knowledge of the mind of Christ. Provinces of truth which were the home of Christian thought in one century have been deserted in the next. Regions almost unknown in one age, except to adventurous travellers, have been occupied and settled by whole communities in another. There is no reason for us to suppose that we have completely mastered the whole territory of Divine laws and facts accessible to the Church through Christ. There is no reason for us to suppose that our definitions of the truth which we have mastered are so perfect that they will be tolerable to Christian men a hundred years hence.

* T. S. James, 'Presbyterian Chapels and Charities,' p. 62.

We know Christ; His righteousness, power, and love have been revealed to us; but the accuracy of our intellectual account of Him is not guaranteed by the clearness of our spiritual vision and the depth and fulness of our spiritual joy.

The Church is not infallible; but, if loyal to Christ, its knowledge of Him will become richer and deeper from century to century; and it is the theory of Congregationalism that the Church should be left absolutely free to listen to Christ's teaching and to accept it. With fresh discoveries of the Divine thought, the mere scientific definitions of truths long known to the Church may require modification.

In the preface to the well-known Declaration of Faith and Order, agreed upon by about two hundred delegates at the Savoy in 1658, there is a passage which shows the true spirit of the Congregationalists of the Commonwealth—of Owen, Caryl, Greenhill, Nye, Bridge; all of whom were on the committee which drew up the document—

Confessions when made by a company of professors of Christianity jointly meeting to that end—the most genuine and natural use of such is, that under the same form of words they express the substance of the same common salvation or unity of their faith, whereby speaking the same things they show themselves 'perfectly joined in the same mind and in the same judgment.' *And accordingly such a transaction is to be looked upon but as a meet or fit medium or means whereby to express that their 'common faith and salvation;' and no way to be made use of as an imposition upon any. Whatever is of force or constraint in matters of this nature, causeth them to degenerate from the name and nature of confessions; and turns them, from being Confessions of Faith, into exactions and impositions of Faith.*

The imposition of a doctrinal system as a condition of Church communion or ministerial office is, therefore, altogether abhorrent to the genius of Congregationalism; and even a doctrinal schedule limiting the use of a particular building to those who could accept the recited articles would have seemed to our ecclesiastical ancestors a presumptuous and perilous attempt to limit the prerogatives of the living Church. Or rather, they would have regarded it as a disloyal, and even profane, attempt to prevent the Church from listening to the voice of Christ.

It may be urged, no doubt, that when a Church has come to the conclusion that the doctrines imposed upon its minister by the provisions of a trust-deed are inconsistent with the mind of Christ, it can easily relinquish the use of the building in which it has been accustomed to meet and erect another. But in many cases this would involve grave in-

justice ; for the Church which is called to this duty may have spent very much more in enlarging and improving the building than was spent in its original erection by those who drew up the trust-deed. In many cases the erection of a new building would involve the gravest waste and inconvenience ; for the existing place of worship may be enough to meet the necessities of the population, and to build another would be to incur a useless expenditure. In all cases there will be pain in forsaking the familiar walls consecrated by the pathetic and sacred associations which make the rudest building, within which a Church has been accustomed to meet, dear to its members. I contend that those who erect buildings for worship have no right to inflict these evils upon their children or their children's children. And any Church which accepts the use of a building erected by persons without faith in the Living Presence of Christ with His people, or who suppose that this presence is not so sure a guarantee that the Church will continue loyal to the truth as they can construct for themselves in a doctrinal schedule to a trust-deed, must not be surprised if, sooner or later, it gets into trouble.*

R. W. DALE.

ART. II.—*Our Salmon Fisheries.*

- (1) *Annual Reports of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries, England and Wales.* London. 1877, '78, and '79.
- (2) *Report of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries on the Sea and Inland Fisheries of Ireland (various years).* Dublin.
- (3) *Salmon Fisheries.* By ARCHIBALD YOUNG, Commissioner of Scotch Salmon Fisheries. London, 1877.
- (4) *The Stormontfield Piscicultural Experiments, 1853—1866.* By ROBERT BUIST. Edinburgh, 1866.
- (5) *Report of the Disease which has recently prevailed among the Salmon in the Tweed, Eden, and other Rivers in England and Scotland, 1880.*

It is very much to be regretted that no authoritative figures denoting the salmon wealth of the three kingdoms are accessible to the political or fishery economist ; and that, in consequence, there is just now, as there has occasionally been before, much 'popular ignorance' on the subject: greatly exaggerated

* The question of Doctrinal Trusts for charities, colleges, and other institutions which are without the guarantee of a church would have to be discussed on other grounds than those relied upon in this article.—(R. W. D.)

accounts of the value of our salmon fisheries—especially of such as are private property—being always in circulation.

The chief sources from which thoroughly reliable information may be obtained as to the present condition and future prospects of the salmon fisheries of England and Ireland are the voluminous annual reports of the inspectors of the English and Irish rivers. As regards the salmon streams of Scotland, which are nearly all private property, information must be sought from such sources as present themselves, no reports of a public nature being issued—if we except those given of the half-yearly meetings of the Tweed proprietors. Of the many annual reports published by the inspectors of the English salmon fisheries, that for the year 1879 deserves special mention, as from the varied nature of its contents it is undoubtedly by far the most interesting of the long series which has been issued, although it deals less directly with the economy (in detail) of our salmon rivers than some previous issues. The portion of the report in particular compiled by Mr. Buckland—now, alas! no more—is mainly devoted to what may not inaptly be termed ‘generalities’ of the salmon question—to a well-timed exposition of several important points more or less connected with the natural history of the salmon; as, for instance, the anatomy of the fish, which is discussed at considerable length: the food of the salmon, as well as notes of a chemical analysis of its flesh, likewise form a portion of the report. The ‘migration’ and the ‘nesting’ of salmon are also ably discussed; whilst the essays on the ‘Connection of Public Health with Salmon Fisheries,’ and the ‘Cultivation of Spawning Grounds,’ each contain information of importance. The leaves appropriated to a disquisition on the ‘Nomenclature of British Salmonidæ’ are also of interest, and the brief page or two which treat of the ‘diseases of salmon’ make an *apropos* addition to our knowledge of the natural history of the fish. The ‘Fry of Salmon’ is the title of another contribution to this blue book, and affords us much interesting information regarding the growth of this valuable animal. Mr. Walpole’s contribution to the report of 1879 is sufficiently brief, but not unimportant. He devotes the space assigned to him to a ‘View of the Condition of our [Salmon] Fisheries in the Year 1879.’ We have been impelled to note the contents of the present report in this detailed fashion, because the joint work of the inspectors, not only in the present, but in former communications to the Home Secretary as well, affords an excellent cue from which to speak of the past and present condition of the salmon

fisheries of the United Kingdom, and more especially of their progress during the last twenty years.

No authentic statistics are ever collected of the weight of salmon coming to market, or of the sums which are annually derived by individuals or associations, in name of rent, from salmon waters; but although no official statements are published of the annual capture of salmon or of the rentals of rivers, sufficient evidence is at hand of a more or less reliable kind, by means of which it is possible to arrive at a tolerably fair estimate of the salmon wealth of the three kingdoms. Even taking the quantities which in the course of a season pass through our chief piscatorial bourse as a basis, it is quite possible to form by such means a good idea of the national power of salmon production, as also, generally, to gauge the state of our various fisheries year by year, for Billingsgate may aptly enough be termed the fish thermometer of the United Kingdom, the daily supplies sent to that great piscine mart being a constant although fluctuating percentage of the varied fish captured in British waters. Thus in the year 1874 over 2,000 tons of salmon were consigned to Billingsgate for distribution, the greatest amount of weight being represented by Scottish fish; salmon from Scotland being sent every season to London in large quantities: consignments to Billingsgate from the Irish fisheries are second in importance, Irish salmon, as a rule, being forwarded direct to their places of consumption, chiefly English manufacturing towns, Birmingham, Manchester, and Bradford being good customers to the salmon fisheries of the Emerald Isle. It will probably come in the nature of a surprise to many persons to learn that the salmon fisheries of Ireland yield a larger revenue than those of Scotland. Selecting a year at random, we find from the report of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries that in 1877 over 47,000 boxes of salmon, each containing 150 lbs. of fish, were exported from Ireland to England. The salmon consumption of the Irish people, or the weight of fish sent direct from Irish fisheries to Glasgow and other parts of Scotland, can only be guessed; but, judging from the statistics given by the inspectors of the quantities of salmon carried by the local railways, the quantity of salmon consumed annually by the Irish people must be considerable. It is probably within the mark to say that the value of the salmon caught in Ireland is much more than the value of what is taken in England and Scotland added together.

The annual value of the salmon captured in the three kingdoms has been estimated by Mr. Young and others at

£750,000, divided as follows: England £100,000, Ireland £400,000, Scotland £250,000. In 1878 the Irish fishery inspectors valued the salmon despatched to England only at £418,476 11s. 8d. As has been already said, no official means exist of arriving at any reliable conclusion, but it would be no extravagant estimate to fix the money value of our salmon fisheries at a sum of, say, one million sterling per annum; certainly a large amount to derive from this fish in the face of the difficulties which surround its growth, arising not only from the continued pollution of rivers, but also from the determination of poachers to exact tribute from every stream, and that, too, at a time when the fish are of more than ordinary value, namely, when they are about to spawn. It has been more than once suggested in the course of controversy that Government should purchase the rights of salmon fishing throughout the three kingdoms. Computing the value as above—which, however, includes the cost of capture and the interest on the fishing plant, or, in other words, the difference between rental paid and prices realized—and taking the money question only into account, discarding entirely, let us say, any claims for the loss of amenity, it will be apparent that a large sum would be required for such a purpose.

The failure of England to play a distinguished part in the supply of salmon, considering the number and magnitude of its streams—and the late Mr. Buckland in his report for 1878 gives a *catalogue raisonnée* of 129 rivers that might all be populous with these fish—is altogether remarkable. The Severn alone, with its vast area of water and its numerous affluents, it is but reasonable to conclude, ought to produce as many and as heavy salmon as the Tay and Tweed and their numerous tributaries united; but, as a matter of fact, the Severn, once famed at least for the quality of its fish, yields but a very scanty supply. As for the river Thames, which at one time enjoyed considerable reputation as a salmon stream, and has been talked of again and again by enthusiastic fishery economists as a future home of the 'venison of the waters,' it is too much of a highway for steamboats, and an easy passage for city sewage, we fear, ever again to become a productive salmon river. 'Of late years not a salmon has been seen.' It is noteworthy that at the present time the source of the chief supply of these fine fish in England is the 'coaly Tyne,' one of England's most northern streams. In the report of the inspectors for 1878, the statistics of the capture from 1870 to 1878 inclusive are given, which, for the purpose of comparing with the capture on the river Severn

for the same period, we have computed at their money value, assuming each fish to be of the average weight of 12 lbs., and to bring 1s. 3d. per lb. The numbers taken in the Tyne in the years 1870 to 1878 inclusive, were as follow: 1870, 36,450; 1871, 120,600; 1872, 129,100; 1873, 86,792; 1874, 21,746; 1875, 23,290; 1876, 24,840; 1877, 41,300; 1878, 48,150. The numbers of the fish taken in the Severn are not given in the report, only the values are stated, and the figures of the two rivers, assuming the fact of prices being the same, are now placed side by side:

<i>Year.</i>					<i>Tyne.</i>					<i>Severn.</i>
1870	...	...	...	...	£27,887	...	...	...	...	£18,009
1871	...	...	...	...	90,450	...	...	...	...	11,200
1872	...	...	...	...	96,825	...	...	...	...	8,000
1873	...	...	...	...	65,094	...	...	...	...	10,000
1874	...	...	...	...	16,809	...	...	...	...	10,500
1875	...	...	...	...	17,467	...	...	...	...	10,590
1876	...	...	...	...	18,680	...	...	...	...	14,560
1877	...	...	...	...	80,975	...	...	...	...	12,880
1878	...	...	...	...	86,112	...	...	...	...	8,978
					Totals, £399,199					£99,708

being an average of £44,355 per annum for the Tyne, and of £11,078 for the Severn. These figures being sufficiently eloquent of themselves, require no commentary.

As has been stated, Mr. Buckland enumerates and sums up the condition of 129 English rivers, which either already yield salmon or might be made to do so. As the stories of these streams are so much alike, it would only occupy space to very little purpose to give even the briefest possible summary of what the inspector says about each of them; it will be quite sufficient, therefore, to select at random some half-dozen, in order to show either why they do not yield salmon, or why they yield so few. We have seen what the Tyne does in the way of salmon production, but we have no statistics of the salmon yield of the river Wye, which is a half larger than the Tyne; that the take of these fish ought however, to be considerable in that river, may reasonably be assumed from the fact that 'in 1878 there were licensed in this district, 84 nets, 1,747 putchers, and 139 rods.' The bane of the Wye is poaching.

The sewer pollutions from Hereford and elsewhere, the unfortunate destruction of fish in the summer of 1878, by some naphtha run accidentally into the Wye, and the mischief done to the upper waters by the lead mines, by netting, &c., are all as nothing compared to the terrible poaching that takes place in the winter time in the head waters of the Wye. The vital

interests of the river depend on a stop being put to the poaching, and bye-laws may be made and remade in vain, if there are no salmon to be caught; for salmon cannot be caught unless they are bred, and upon the protection of the breeding fish in the upper waters depends the prosperity of all interests in the Wye, whether they be lower, middle, or upper.—*Page 96 of 18th Report.*

In the Ribble district, licenses have been granted for 64 nets and 147 rods.* The Ribble itself is 'much polluted' by the sewage of Preston and other places, which of course does mischief to the fisheries. The Hampshire Avon, says Mr. Buckland, is 'one of the most important salmon rivers in the South of England;' and according to the same authority, a Christchurch salmon is highly esteemed for dinner parties in the London season, and will fetch as much as 3s. a pound. This river is one of the earliest in England.

The estuary fishing begins early in the year, and goes on to June and July. The large fish have all passed by the middle of June, and then the grilse begin to run. The present close season for nets on the Avon is from 15th August to 1st February, so that it will be seen that this river is one of the earliest in England. The close season for rods is from the 2nd October to the 1st February. In 1878 there were caught in the Avon, exclusive of the Royalty Fishery, about 393 salmon. The salmon in the Avon have several difficulties to meet: firstly, weirs; secondly, weeds in the summer time; and thirdly, water meadows. There are two fishing mill dams in the Avon, one about a mile above the reach of the tide at Knapp Mill, the other about two miles above that of Winkton. The mode of fishing these weirs is very peculiar. It appears that the owners of these fishing mill dams have a right to place a series of 'racks,' i.e., wood gratings, so as to prevent the fish ascending even when the hatchways are open. In 1869 it was calculated that about 1,300 salmon were taken immediately below Knapp, and in the next 30 miles only 50. There are nine weirs on the river, besides those at Knapp and Winkton.—*Pages 8 and 9, Report for 1878.*

The river Camel, in Cornwall, may be next referred to. It is naturally a salmon river, but its prosperity is considerably

* The following statistics of the catch in one or two English rivers have been gleaned from the appendices to the report of 1879:

Lune, Wyre, Keer, and Cocker District: 87 salmon taken by net, 357 by rod and line.

Ribble District: 2,619 salmon, weighing 31,428 lbs., by net; 2,805 salmon by rod.

Selont District: About 400 salmon, 300 by net, 100 by rod and line.

Usk and Ebbw District: About 3,550 salmon by rod and line, weighing 35,590 lbs. No particulars of netted fish.

Severn District: With net and fixed engines, 9,885 salmon, weighing 70½ tons; with rod, 145 salmon, weighing 2,000 lbs.

Exe District: 1,000 salmon, weighing 7,700 lbs., were taken by rod.

Trent District: 'Practically no take at all!'

In 1879 there were employed salmon fishing in England 6,416 men, 8,099 of these being net fishermen.

affected by the upper waters being polluted by china clay works, and the progress of the river is much impeded by a steep weir at Dunmure, near the town of Bodmin. 'The Camel now fishes with nets till the end of September, the close time for nets being from the 1st October to the 30th April, and for rods from the 15th November to 30th April.' The Clwyd and Elwy afford a small portion of the English salmon supply. In 1878 there were caught 1,190 salmon, weighing 4,640 lbs., for the capture of which 10 draft nets and 34 rods were licensed. The Clwyd is 25 miles in length, the Elwy 18 miles in length, and they drain together 319 square miles. These streams are greatly subject to droughts, the consequence being that salmon do not run up till late in the year; but according to the inspector, the Clwyd and Elwy, the latter particularly, are excellent breeding rivers. 'Formerly a very large number of smolts were destroyed and brought into market in clothes-baskets; they were also caught in very large numbers when resting in shoals before going into the salt water. Large numbers of salmon fry are also destroyed at the end of March and April by getting on to the meadows through irrigation sluices.' On the river Dart there is one fishery which now yields a clear profit of £800 per annum, and salmon in the Dart have greatly increased since the passing of the Act of 1861, which is pleasant to know. In the river Exe, in 1877 about 1,000 salmon, weighing 9,000 lbs., were caught in tidal waters; and with rod 70 salmon, weighing 450 lbs. 'The fisheries of the Exe,' we are told, 'suffer very much from pollutions, especially from the paper mill at Trews weir, and from the paper works on the Culm.' About the Trent, which might be made an important salmon river, the report contains the following information—

In spite of all the difficulties under which the Trent labours as a salmon river, it certainly has been greatly benefited by the Salmon Fishery Acts. In 1863 Messrs. Ffennel and Eden reported that the whole produce of the tidal portion of the Trent which extends above Gainsborough, did not exceed 40 fish per annum! In his report for 1875 (p. 40) my colleague Mr. Walpole gives from the Conservator's annual returns the following numbers: 1867, 750 fish; 1868, 1,200 fish; 1869, 1,100 fish; 1873, 2,000 fish; 1874, 2,000 fish. Following up these statistics, we find the number taken in 1876 was 1,000 salmon, weighing 14,000 lbs; in 1877 about the same number; and in 1878 only 500.—*Report 1878*, p. 80.

Speaking generally of the condition of the English salmon fisheries and their yield of salmon, Mr. Inspector Walpole says that the season of 1879 was in every sense exceptional, the summer being unusually wet and cold, with the result of

rendering salmon scarcer and dearer than in any previous recent season. 'In reviewing the condition of the salmon fisheries of England and Wales during 1879,' says the inspector mentioned, 'I have to describe the results of an unfavourable fishing season—of the worst fishing season, indeed, so far as some rivers are concerned, which has occurred since I have been officially connected with the salmon fisheries of England and Wales.'

It has to be regretted also that the salmon fisheries of Scotland proved to be even less productive in proportion than those of England and Wales. Judging by the figures obtained of the sale at Billingsgate, the supply of Scottish salmon was less by some 12,000 boxes than in the preceding year, the relative figures being for 1878, 27,660 boxes, against the 15,564 boxes of 1879. The supply of English salmon passing through the same market was as follows in the same years: 4,273 boxes in 1878, compared with 5,762 boxes in 1879. The most productive salmon year that has been known in Scotland was that of 1874, during which 32,180 boxes were received in the great London fish mart.

Before speaking of the Scottish salmon rivers or their produce, it will be as well to explain that there is a difference in the laws of the two countries as to the rights and practice of salmon fishing. This difference may be described in the words of Mr. Young, who is an advocate at the Scottish Bar, and likewise a commissioner of Scotch salmon fisheries. He says—

There is no such thing as a public right of salmon fishing known to the law of Scotland; and all the salmon fishings in the country, not only in rivers, but also in estuaries and in the narrow seas, to at least one mile seaward from low water mark, belong either to the Crown or the grantees of the Crown. Riparian ownership by itself confers no title to salmon fishings—not even to rod fishing; and it sometimes happens that one person possesses the land on both sides of a river and the subjacent soil, whilst another has the right to the salmon fishings. A charter with an express grant of salmon fishings is required to constitute a valid right, or a charter with a general grant of fishings, followed by forty years' prescription of salmon fishings, or a Barony title, fortified by a similar prescription.—*Ibid* p. 228.

As will be obvious from the foregoing extract, the salmon in Scotland is what may be called a 'property' fish, which persons are not entitled to capture as a matter of course. The salmon in a given river, or part of a river, are as much the property of the owner or lessee of that portion of water (as a rule dependent on the grant of a right of fishing to the superior) as the oxen grazing on a farm. Some rivers in

Scotland, as regards salmon, possess a rather extensive proprietary, as the Tay and Tweed; others, again, are as nearly as possible the property of one person. The river Spey, for instance, with perhaps the exception of one fishery, is the property of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, and the portion of which his Grace is not himself the owner he very shrewdly leases, so that he obtains command of the whole water, and is thus enabled to work it, as regards the fishing, pretty much as he pleases; and if we are not mistaken his Grace still keeps the fisheries in his own hands. The Duke of Sutherland is another nobleman who is able to do as he pleases in the matter of his salmon fisheries.

In most questions connected with the economy of our salmon fisheries, or the natural history of the salmon, Scotland must be awarded the place of honour. All the chief battles connected with the growth and distinguishing features of the fish have been fought in Scotland, notably the 'par question,' which gave rise to a wonderful amount of controversy till finally settled by a series of experiments conducted at the salmon breeding-ponds on the estate of the Earl of Mansfield at Stormontfield, near Perth. Not only has it been established in Scotland that a 'par is the young of *salmo salar* and becomes a smolt,' but it has also been conclusively settled, by the experiments of the late Duke of Athole and others, that grilse become salmon, a fact which was at one time hotly denied. Another battle which has been fought in connection with the Scottish salmon rivers is of equal importance, namely, the establishment of a weekly and annual close time, so as to enable the fish to make at certain times an unmolested ascent from the sea to their spawning beds. The salmon are unmolested for a period of twenty-four hours in each week, and for several months of autumn and winter net-fishing entirely ceases; but these periods of grace were the subject of much contention before they were granted; and even now, when the value of a close time has been confirmed by the continued prosperity of the Scottish salmon fisheries, there are not wanting persons who would find a good excuse for disturbing present arrangements.

As has been already hinted, the salmon fisheries of Scotland have not been so prosperous as usual during the last three or four fishing seasons, and that fact coupled with the outbreak of a mysterious disease has created a sort of *scare* both among lairds and lessees; but that there is nothing radically wrong with the Scottish salmon fisheries will by and by be shown, and probably this year (1881) the rivers will be as

productive, or perhaps more productive, than they were in the good salmon year of 1874. Not that it will ever be possible to please the lessees of any of our Scottish salmon fishing stations, it would be a hopeless task to attempt to do so; for if a 'tacksman' should prove satisfied with his take of fish, he is certain not to be pleased with the price obtained, because in good seasons when salmon have become plentiful the returns from the fish factors are voted to be unsatisfactory, prices ranging low in consequence of frequent gluts of the market. The fishing stations of rivers in Scotland are usually let every year by public auction, so that persons desirous of entering upon the business of salmon fishing have an opportunity of becoming tenants, the competition being open to all comers. Salmon-fishing as now pursued is therefore somewhat of a lottery. A man who offers £500 for a fishery has no certainty that he will capture a sufficient number of fish to pay rent and working expenses, and, after doing so, leave himself a profit on the outlay of his capital and remuneration for his own enterprize and labour. And in years in which a great fishing occurs, the owner of the fishing obtains no higher rent than he has probably obtained in worse seasons—his rents are supposed to 'average;' but it is quite certain that salmon rents have a tendency to fall quicker in bad times than they rise when there ensues a run of good seasons. It may be said that the plan of letting the fishings openly by auction is sufficient to prevent monopoly and to ensure a fair rent, but that is not always the case. It would be better both for lairds and tenants if salmon fishery rentals were fixed on some other principle than that now in use; if the owners of fisheries were paid, for instance, by a percentage of the sums derived from the sale of the salmon by the fish factors, it would be more equitable than the present plan. The market price of salmon is known to all who like to take the trouble to inquire during the season, and nothing could well be easier than to arrange for and obtain such a percentage of the receipts as would be fair between the contracting parties. The advantages of arranging salmon rental on this principle are too obvious to require argument: in good years the owner of a fishery would obtain an increased rent; in bad years the tenant would not be asked to pay more money than he had earned.

Some lessees of Scottish salmon fisheries have of late begun to advocate as a remedy for bad seasons an alteration of the close time in so far as to suggest that ten days' grace might be given on all rivers in which, from causes over which

the lessees had no control, the fish could not make their run to the spawning grounds about the usual time. In the case, for example, of a bad catching season on the River Tay, lessees would like that net fishing should not close before the last day of August, instead of, as at present arranged, on the 20th of that month; but in order to balance, the close time the lessees would agree, when such a concession was granted, that the borrowed days should be restored at the beginning of the following fishing season, which, in the case of the Tay, would be timed to begin on the 15th instead of the 5th of February. This proposition, it is contended, would not be at all unreasonable, provided the proprietary of the river were unanimous, which, however, is exceedingly unlikely, seeing that the men who supply the breeding grounds and the men who own the commercial fisheries are usually, speaking in a figurative sense, at what may be called 'daggers drawn' with each other. All the reward which, as a rule, the upper proprietors obtain for affording a procreant cradle to the fish is a few weeks' angling—rod fishing closing on the Tay on the 10th of October. And as the upper men put the case, 'without our breeding grounds, which we could easily destroy, if we pleased to adopt "a dog in the manger" policy, you could not draw your hundreds or thousands per annum from your tacksmen; we ought to have a much higher percentage of your profits, therefore, than about one salmon for each thirty which you capture.' The upper proprietors, it must be admitted, have never yet been dealt with in a really liberal spirit, and under the circumstances suggested, they would undoubtedly be jealous of any extension of the time allowed for commercial fishing. Besides, there is not in existence, so far as we know, any machinery by which the close time could be annually regulated in accordance with the exigencies of the fishery; and, moreover, the question would naturally arise, 'At what point shall the line be drawn? how many salmon would require to be captured to constitute a successful season? and, in the event of such number being caught in some years—say by the end of July—would all the lessees then agree to close the water and cease fishing?'

* It has also been suggested that, as salmon are taken alive in small quantities at a time—in threes and fours as a general rule—and can thus be handled 'individually,' fishing might in consequence be permitted all the year over, it being a fact of salmon fishing economy that absolutely *clean* fish can be obtained at all seasons. Fish in spawn, or which had newly spawned, might therefore be returned to the water by their captors, the fisherman being as a rule well able to distinguish between a prime healthy fish and a 'bagot' or 'weel-mended kelt.'

The only circumstances in which it would be safe to conduct a salmon fishery on such a method would be for any particular river to be worked jointly for behoof of all interested on a *pro rata* scale; to be converted, in fact, into a joint-stock company, in which the rights of all the proprietors would be severally and justly respected. This idea of fishing a salmon river by means of joint-stock enterprize is not a new one, as it has been mooted before; but so far as can be at present foreseen, there are no impractical difficulties in existence to prevent such a scheme from being at once carried into effect, and the river we have in our mind's eye as the seat of such an experiment is the Tay, which is *par excellence* the salmon river of Scotland, having a sufficiency of fine tributary streams, in which the breeding fish find shelter and spawning places, and having likewise, as if to overawe the upper proprietors, at Stormontfield a nursery on the piscicultural plan, which is in good working order, and by means of which the salmon population of the river has been annually augmented for a period of a quarter of a century by about half a million well-grown smolts. The advantages which would accrue to the proprietors of a salmon stream by working it on what may be termed 'the mutual advantage system' are at once obvious. Under the present competitive system of fishing each of the tacksmen fights for his own hand; it is the daily object of each of them to prevent, if possible, the ascent of a single fish to any station above them. On the river Tay there are at present 132 fishing stations, namely, 38 above the bridge of Perth, 49 between the bridge of Perth and Newburgh, and from that place to the mouth of the river there are 45 stations, or fisheries. These fisheries are worked by, or from, 178 'shots,' or nets. The 'shots' on the Tay average two for each station; one fishery is worked with four, but very few have more than three, and it may also be mentioned that, although the whole of the fisheries are not continuously worked, some of them being leased merely to keep away competition, and one or two shots are only netted on the Monday mornings, taking the chance of a fish having come up on the Sunday, yet a large number of persons are employed during the fishing season; over 30 men are engaged on one station, while employment will probably be given on the Tay to some 850 persons in the working of the various 'shots,' and in other ways; so that probably there will be

• One answer made to this scheme by gentlemen well versed in the economy of our salmon rivers was, 'Terribly dangerous, and not for a moment to be thought of.'

expended in the course of the fishing season a sum of £22,000 for wages, fully a half of which sum could probably be dispensed with were the proprietors of the fisheries to unite in a scheme of general working. The best way of putting the case is to say that the present rental of the River Tay, as assessed for police purposes, is £21,750 (both classes of fisheries are included in that sum, angling waters and commercial fisheries). That is the sum derived from the river by the owners from fisheries which are let to tenants or kept in hand. To pay such a rental, the wages of the persons employed, and admit of the tacksmen receiving an interest on their capital, expended on fishing gear, and proper payment for their enterprize and personal exertion in conducting their fishing stations, a very large number of salmon must be caught, as wages, interest, &c., cannot be calculated at less than twice the amount paid for rent, and the river must pay for all; in the case of the Tay, say a total sum of £65,250, which would necessitate the capture of at least 65,250 fish, each 16 lbs. in weight, to sell at the average of 1s. 3d per lb. By means of the co-operative plan now hinted at, it is not too much to say that fewer fish would be required to produce their present incomes to the lairds; or if the same number, or a still greater number, were to be captured, the profit would be from a quarter to a third more; so that the Mugdrum fishery might yield to its owner £2,200 instead of £1,700 as at present, whilst Rash, Bush, and Cairney might bring in an annual sum of £3,000, the present rental of these combined stations being eight hundred pounds less, whilst the thousand per annum derived from 'Flookie' might also be largely increased, and other stations likewise be made more valuable. By forming the river into a joint-stock company, all the fish required could probably be taken at some twelve, or at the most twenty, *shots*, and the river could be closed as soon as the agreed upon number of fish had been obtained; and, writing in the interests of the proprietary, fish need only be caught when the price likely to be obtained was a high one; at present it is of course the interest of competing lessees to capture and have promptly sent to market every salmon that will enter their nets. It might be also arranged in the event of such a scheme being entered upon, that the capture of salmon should only embrace fish of a given size or weight, say 20 lbs., except in the case of grilse; and that only a given and very small percentage of the number of grilse taken, should be sent to market, it being pretty certain that a 6-lb. grilse, if allowed to remain in the river, will one day become a 20-lb.

salmon of the value of probably thirty shillings, whereas if disposed of as a grilse it might not have brought more than three or four half-crowns. Such a scheme could not of course be matured in a day, but the plan of fishing thus indicated is undoubtedly practical and quite worthy of being considered; taking the average rentals of a period of years, there should be no difficulty in fixing the respective shares of the owners.*

As has been stated, Scottish salmon lairds, and lessees of fisheries as well, have during the past two years been rather alarmed by the outbreak of an epidemic disease in some of the Scottish salmon streams, just as the grouse lairds have been more than once terribly scared by 'the grouse disease,' and yet these birds, according to all accounts, were last season (1880) nearly as plentiful as ever they have been. A prolonged official inquiry was conducted last year into the causes of the malady which had affected the health of the salmon (*Saprolegnia Ferax*), and an elaborate report on the subject has recently been issued. This document, however, is somewhat disappointing, inasmuch as it leaves the question of the salmon plague as nearly as possible where it was found by the commissioners; in other words, it fails to assign the disease to any definite cause, nor does it provide a remedy. The industry of the reporters (Messrs. Buckland, Walpole, and Young) in collecting evidence is sufficiently evident, and that the evidence is valuable as an exposition of what has taken place among the salmon stock of certain rivers no one will be found to deny. In summing up this report the commissioners remark that 'increased observations by naturalists, microscopists, and other scientific persons, prolonged over many seasons, may possibly be necessary in order to enable us to arrive at a complete knowledge of the cause of the recent outbreak of *Saprolegnia*, and of the remedies which are applicable to this disease.' In that we agree, although plenty of time has elapsed since this fungoid growth was first observed; indeed, it was strangely

* Were the Tay to be converted into a joint-stock salmon fishery, such questions as 'the falls of Tummel removal' might then be entered upon with great hopes of a favourable issue, the rights of the laird of Faskally being recognized by the requisite number of shares in the joint enterprize. The falls of Tummel in the meantime arrest the progress of the fish, and keep them out of four lochs, Tummel, Rannoch, Ericht, and Lydoch, and prevent them from having the use of a run of about one hundred miles of river. It is thought that for the sum of £2,000 the salmon could be introduced into these upper waters by the erection of a sufficient pass or fish stair, and that, as a consequence of such opening up of new spawning and feeding ground, the rental of the River Tay might be augmented by some £1,500 per annum. It has been more than once proposed to deal with the falls of Tummel, but each successive scheme has hitherto been abandoned.

overlooked during the period of alarm which recently prevailed, that this disease is no new thing, but has been frequently observed in the Tweed and its tributaries at intervals during the last sixty years, and is very well known in connection with fish kept in aquaria, and to persons who have been in the habit of hatching fish eggs on the piscicultural plan. We shall not venture in these pages to set up any theory of our own on the present phase of the salmon disease, but that the pollution of the water inhabited by affected fish has something to do with the spread of the fungus is more than probable. Pure water is an essential element in the health and increase of salmon, and it remains to be seen, as regards several Scottish salmon streams, whether or not the refuse of all kinds of manufactories is still to be drained into them, seeing that such matter might very likely be otherwise profitably utilized. The reports with regard to the English salmon streams teem with illustrations of the injury done to the fish. The following extract places the matter of pollution in its true light, as affecting the salmon supply—

In England and Wales, as well as in Scotland, manufacturers of all kinds of materials, from paper down to stockings, seem to think that rivers are convenient channels kindly given them by nature to carry away at little or no cost the refuse of their works. The owners of mines do even worse than this, for in many cases they cut off the pure mountain streams at the very sources of the rivers, and convert that which is naturally an emblem of purity into mud-containing streams, which, moreover, often contain no small proportion of mineral poisons that are fatal to birds, beasts, and fishes, and which would (if they had not sufficient intelligence to know better than to drink the water) prove noxious even to men, women, and children. The mine owners do more mischief than the manufacturers, for the dyes, chloride of lime, refuse, and other matters placed into the river by the latter may possibly get so diluted that in time they may become innocuous. The mines, on the contrary, by the pounded and powdered rock they put in the river, cover over the fine natural gravel of the river bed, where the fish would spawn if they could. Should perchance a fish deposit its eggs, this *débris* covers over the delicate ova and infant fish, and also destroys the weeds which breed the insects on which the fry would exist during their stay in fresh water. If the above-mentioned pollutions were by law kept out of the rivers within her Majesty's realms, I feel sure—and write it most advisedly—that the fisheries would vastly increase in their salmon producing powers in a very few years.—*Page 12 of Twelfth Annual Report.*

Another drawback to the prosperity of our salmon fisheries in some districts is poaching. It is an evil of great magnitude, and is an important factor in the economy of a salmon stream. A salmon is never more valuable than when it is intent on repeating 'the story of its birth.' If a salmon on the counter

of a Bond Street fish merchant in the height of the London season be worth seven shillings a pound weight, a fish on its spawning bed about the middle of November is certainly worth as much per ounce, seeing that it is about to multiply its kind by tens of thousands! Yet that is the period usually selected by the poacher for carrying on his nefarious occupation; the time suits him, the nights are long and dark, and the fish being on the shallows are accessible to his rude devices. It matters not to the poacher that the salmon at the time selected for capture are in the worst possible condition for food. They are ruthlessly destroyed; and should the river flow past some small manufacturing town, the chances are that they will be destroyed throughout the close season in literal thousands. Spinners and weavers, especially in the border districts of Scotland, seem imbued with a passion for the killing of fish as well as for miscellaneous poaching of many kinds. A band of poachers from a manufacturing town have been known to sweep off the spawning beds in the course of a night a cart-load of gravid salmon, most of which would, in all likelihood, be found totally unfit for human food! At one period poaching in rural districts—but in saying so we are looking far back—was simply a recreation, more especially as regarded a ‘burning of the water;’ but nowadays poaching has become a ‘business’ of the most sordid nature. Forty years ago a peasant would, when opportunity offered, kill a hare or snare a rabbit or two for the benefit of his own soup pot, and after the same fashion the village shoemaker or blacksmith would spear a salmon, but not for sale. Now men bag our pheasants, snare our hares, and lift the spawning salmon off its procreant bed in order to obtain an occasional five or ten pound note by the sale of the animals to dealers. The game laws have been held up to public opprobrium by soft-hearted legislators as a clamant source of social evil, and their abolition has been often demanded in consequence. We might as well demand the abolition of five-pound notes because rogues have been known to forge them, and have been punished in consequence. It must never be forgotten that the poacher of the period is a purely voluntary criminal, who chooses to commit an offence of the consequences of which he is not ignorant. There can be no property in game, say some of our philanthropists: certainly not, so far as the poacher is concerned, for he neither gives breeding ground nor feeding ground to beast or bird of any description. The ‘business’ poacher has no soul for sport, he will kill the hare on its *form*, or lift away a sitting pheasant, eggs and all; he is, as a rule, a truculent

scoundrel, who, having an abhorrence of honest labour, settles down as a candidate for the distinction of the treadmill. In some of our salmon fishery districts—we allude specially to Scotland—poaching is far more virulent and sustained than in others. On the River Tay, for instance, there is, comparatively speaking, very little poaching; in season 1879–80 only fifty-seven men were prosecuted for illegal fishing, and fines exacted from them ranging from 10s. to £20. On the River Tweed and its tributaries poaching is a passion. On that classic stream poaching seems to be hereditary. Not long since three generations of one family stood before the sheriff charged with the crime; surely they must have been descendants of some of the old border reivers! It is perhaps not too much to say that over two hundred and fifty persons will, on the average, be prosecuted for poaching in the Tweed or its tributaries in the course of a year; and for one of the picturesque scoundrels who is found out and brought to justice ten will doubtless escape.* The late Mr. Russel, author of ‘*The Salmon*,’ used to assert that there were at least one thousand men on the Tweed, each of whom in the course of a year would bag two or three salmon, most of them, of course, being ‘black fish’ (i.e., foul fish). Think of that, and run up the account—probably three thousand spawning fish abstracted at the wrong time from one river and its tributaries! Say these fish averaged sixteen pounds’ weight, and that each in the legitimate way of trade would have brought to the tacks-men £1, we have thus a sum of £3,000, of which the lairds and their lessees have been despoiled: roughly speaking, it is a sum that would add a third to the present rental of the river. Counted up after another fashion, it may well be taken for granted that the killing of so many ‘spawners’ would exercise an appreciable effect on the productive power of the river; as it must ultimately become, if such wholesale poaching cannot be stopped, much less productive than it is at present.

It can be gleaned from the annual reports of the inspectors that poaching also prevails very extensively on all the English rivers in which there is salmon; unfortunately, there are very few. Of late some of the rivers have, we believe, been harried by organized gangs, who, setting the authorities at defiance, have openly taken and sold the fish. The effect of such

* The report of the Tweed Commissioners for 1877–78, which may be selected as a fair sample of the others, says, as regards cases of poaching tried criminally under the Tweed Acts, the number of persons involved was—Berwick-on-Tweed 12, Dunse 8, Coldstream 4, Roxburgh 79, Selkirk 83, Peebles 86, total 272. Of these, 126 persons paid fines, 56 were imprisoned, 34 absconded, 51 were acquitted, and in five cases the proceedings were withdrawn or not enforced.

wholesale spoliation on rivers which only produce salmon in tens, instead of, as in Scotland, by hundreds, must in time result in the total extinction of our finest fish. It requires a very populous river indeed to withstand the raids of the poacher, and the run upon it of the natural enemies of the salmon as well. Nature keeps up a severe balance, the ova of the fish are devoured in the hatching season by a number of enemies, whilst the young salmon have to pay tribute to the greedy pike and other piscine foes at all stages of their growth. When man, in the guise of a poacher, constitutes himself a factor in the account and robs the waters of their breeding fish, especially those rivers in which the salmon are scarce, it is no wonder that the fish disappear and streams become barren. The fishery inspectors, for the sake of the good work they are trying so hard to achieve, deserve the greatest possible encouragement. We are not of those enthusiasts, however, that expect a miracle to be worked; we shall not venture to say we shall ever obtain, far less within four or five years, as some enthusiasts hope, one million of choice salmon from our English streams and estuaries; less will serve us, and if the present supply even could be doubled, we would then look upon the future with greater hopes of success. Even to double the supply of salmon at present obtained from English rivers will involve several years of hard and continuous inspection. It is proverbial that what is reputed to be everybody's business is nobody's business, and with so many varied rights and interests to be reconciled, it will never be an easy task to render an English salmon river very productive. It is not too much to assert that a much better rental could be derived from the salmon fisheries of some of the English rivers than from the mill races which in many instances still retard the ascent of the spawning fish to their natural breeding-grounds. The value of a salmon fishery depends chiefly, or indeed altogether, on the breeding streams to which the fish can obtain access, because nothing is more certain than that, if there are no proper breeding tributaries, there cannot be a large supply of salmon. Speaking generally, and with a knowledge that much good work of the kind has been done by the inspectors, we must counsel a still greater hewing down of the obstacles which hinder the ascent of salmon to the upper waters.

Mr. Buckland was a keen advocate of pisciculture, and no doubt much can be done by artificial breeding to stock rivers which are barren of fish. But it is discouraging to stock rivers for the benefit of poachers or to have the fish untimely

killed by refuse from mines and chemical works. The place of pisciculture is undoubtedly on streams or stretches of water communicating with the sea, the salmon of which are largely excluded by natural obstructions from the upper shallows where they could find suitable breeding places. The most sustained and most successful artificial salmon breeding experiment known in this country has been conducted in connection with the River Tay. Salmon spawning and artificial hatching was commenced there in the year 1853, and has been continued annually ever since, and in the twenty-six years which have elapsed since that time about nine millions of eggs have probably been hatched and restored to the Tay as well-grown smolts. The expense of doing so has been trifling, it has scarcely exceeded £50 per annum, and it would be well if similar operations could be devised for one or two of our more likely English salmon waters.* Another reform much wanted in salmon fishing for commercial purposes is a uniform plan of taking the fish. We advocate the abolition of every kind of fixed machinery of capture; every salmon fishery should be placed on the same footing, if that can be done. In Scottish rivers salmon are captured by means of net and coble, the latter being a small boat which contains the net; it is rowed out well into the river, the net falling out as it progresses and encircling any salmon that it may encounter; when the boat, after describing a considerable curve, reaches the shore, the net is hauled in by men in waiting, and any fish it contains at once secured, the process being repeated two or three times, just as the tide may bring up the fish. This is a phase of salmon fishing economy about which much might be said, as it is thought by some economists that the net and coble 'shaves too close,' and does not allow the fish any chance of escaping; it is, however, the usual mode of fishing on Tay and Tweed, and is a consequence of the competitive system adopted by rival lessees who play the game of 'beggar my neighbour' with great industry, it being the sole object of each lessee to prevent, if possible, the escape of a single fish to the stations above his own.

One gratifying fact has now become prominent in connection with the economy of our salmon rivers; it is, briefly stated, that salmon of the period all over, are fully a pound and a half heavier than they were some twenty years ago. About that time the weight per fish had begun to decline in a

* The rental of the Tay when the piscicultural operations were begun was (1854) £9,269; in 1857 the rent had risen to £10,722; in 1860 it had reached £13,827; in 1864 the proprietors were assessed on a rental of £16,742; in 1866 on £17,465; in 1872 the rental had fallen to £15,162, but had risen again in 1873 to £18,941. The present rental is given elsewhere.

rather alarming fashion, and was progressing 'downwards,' as we may say, at the rate of about six or eight ounces per annum, showing conclusively enough that, at the time referred to, the lessees of some salmon fisheries having a long catching season had broken upon the capital stock, and were gradually but surely exterminating the salmon. Had it not been that sounds of alarm were vigorously raised, and that such action was speedily taken as induced wise legislation, the salmon might probably by this time have been relegated to the catalogue of extinct animals. This is said in all seriousness. Although fish, and the salmon among others, are wonderfully prolific, it is quite possible to capture such a percentage of them as must affect the breeding stock, if the depletion be only continued long enough. Practical men, both lairds and lessees, will doubtless remember the agitation which arose, and the pamphlets and articles which were evoked, besides the continual letters in the newspapers of men who had much to say on the subject of the marked falling off which was taking place in the size of salmon. That danger has, however, been surmounted. We have but to look in the windows of our fish merchants' shops, or on the marble slabs which serve as counters, to see a surpassing display of fine large fish, fish ranging in weight from 15 to 35 lbs. and even 40 lbs. A dozen salmon, each above 20 lbs., may any day be seen in a well-patronized fish-merchant's place of business, and in all probability he will have quite as many beyond the range of vision, stored perhaps in his cellar. Salmon ranging in weight from 20 to 35 lbs are now abundant, but besides these some very large fish are frequently caught. The capture, indeed, of a pair of shapely salmon, twins perhaps, was recently announced, each fish weighing 48 lbs., and in the course of the season several larger giants of the deep were taken; notably, a 61-lb. fish was consigned last year to a London salesman which realized at the rate of 1s. 9d. per lb. to its captor for the whole fish; another of the same sort, the largest of the season, was taken at a fishing station on the Tay three miles below Perth, that fish was credited to Mr. Pourie, the lessee of the fishery, by his London agent at 63 lbs. and produced 3s. per lb. Seven or eight fish were last season taken on the Tay, ranging in weight from 48 lbs. to 53 lbs.; salmon below 48 lbs. are seldom remarked. Of the salmon caught by the anglers who frequent Loch Tay, the average weight last season (spring, 1880) was $21\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., the heaviest fish taken being one of 49 lbs., a pound less than the heaviest salmon taken on Loch Tay in 1854. The average weights of

the Loch Tay fish, from the opening day in February to the end of May, has been in 1873, 22½ lbs. ; 1874, 21½ lbs. ; 1875, 22½ lbs. ; 1876, 20½ lbs. ; 1877, the same ; 1878, 21½ lbs. ; 1879, 23 lbs. There can be no doubt of the fact that the weight of our salmon, taking the fisheries all round, is now steadily on the increase. Mr. Speedie, of Perth, who has in his day had a vast amount of experience in commercial salmon fishing, gives the average weight per fish—having weighed a very large number, probably as many as five thousand, to arrive at a correct result—as a fraction over 17 lbs. for both spring and summer salmon.

Many gentlemen interested in salmon as property became somewhat alarmed two years ago at the large importations of 'canned' salmon from the Columbia, the McLeod, and other great rivers of America ; but notwithstanding the fact of really considerable quantities having been received, the prices of home-caught fish have not been in the least affected by the supply, and now we hear that the American rivers are suffering from over-fishing, and that pisciculture is being already resorted to, to keep up the stock of breeding fish. 'Frozen salmon,' caught in Canadian waters, have also, by way of experiment, reached the London market, and it is, we believe, intended to continue the supply, so that these fish may be on sale at a period when our own rivers are closed, thus enabling the public to obtain fresh salmon all the year round. 'This,' said Mr. Buckland, 'will necessarily very much affect the price of Dutch fish, and it is possible that in the course of time it may also affect the British salmon fisheries.' It will be a long time, we suspect, judging from what has taken place in the case of the importation of American beef, before the price of salmon will fall in our markets from the plentifulness of the Canadian supply. Although the present (1880) has been, comparatively speaking, a productive year, we have not observed that the price of salmon has in consequence, as compared with the seasons of 1878 and 1879, been at all favourably affected in the direction of consumers. We take the following quotations of the prices at Billingsgate from the market reports of the *Field* newspaper—Billingsgate, May 7th : Fresh salmon, 1s. 8d. to 1s. 9d ; Grilse, 1s. 11d. to 2s. ; Trout, 1s. 2d. to 1s. 6d. June 11th, Salmon, 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. ; Grilse, 1s. 3d. to 1s. 5d. ; Trout, 1s. 2d. to 1s. 4d. August 13th : Large Scotch salmon, 1s. to 1s. 3d. ; Grilse, 1s. to 1s. 1d. ; Trout, 10d. to 11½d. These of course are dealers' prices, and for whole fish only ; traced to the West-end fish shops the quotations per lb. for fine table cuts would be found

ranging from probably half-a-crown to five, and on occasion seven, shillings. The early salmon which reach London, 'the firstlings of the flock,' are sold at quite 'fancy' prices; fish which may in Billingsgate yield whole at the rate of three shillings and sixpence, cannot be bought in the West-end of London at less than from eight to ten shillings per pound. Mr. Buckland once promised that we should all be able to purchase fine, fresh, home-grown salmon at less than sixpence per pound; but that kindly gentleman was far too sanguine, although in his day and generation, it must be owned, he worked with all his might to produce such a result.

As regards the present condition of the Scottish salmon fisheries, it may be safely enough asserted that they will speedily improve as compared with the last two seasons.

It may be safely predicted that at the present time (January, 1881) all the Scottish salmon rivers are well filled with fine fish. In some seasons, as during 1879, salmon have not the chance of 'running' at the exact time lessees of fisheries would select; but when the chance of ascending occurs, the fish in some seasons may be seen in literal hundreds seeking instinctively to reach their spawning places. It is impossible to take a census of the salmon population of such a river as the Tay, but we know it contains a vast number of salmon of all ages and sizes, from the tiny *par* a few months old and two or three inches in length, to the giants of the tribe weighing from forty to fifty-five pounds. A female salmon of the weight of 30 lbs., it has been calculated, will yield nearly twenty-five thousand eggs, and that being so, it is sufficiently obvious that two hundred such fish would give five millions of ova; and if each egg were in due season to become a fish, the Tay in the course of three years would become overstocked with salmon. As a hard matter of fact, probably one-half of the eggs alluded to would escape the act of fructification by the milt of the male salmon, whilst of those which might be impregnated with the quickening matter, many would fall an easy prey to a countless horde of enemies. The tiny *par*, as young salmon are called in the first stage of their growth, are devoured in tens of thousands, or die from hunger; and even the *smolts*, better able as they are to protect themselves, must prove active indeed if they can escape the foes constantly lying in wait for them as they journey from the place of their birth to the sea. It has been calculated that only about five salmon eggs in each thousand ever reach the dining-room as sixteen pound salmon. From the size and appearance of the fish taken throughout the season of 1880, it looked as if the

rivers were just about properly filled, for, when a stream is over-populated, the fish degenerate in condition, becoming small and lean. To keep rivers in fettle, the close times must be adhered to, so that a proper percentage of the salmon population may be permitted to reach their breeding places. Fishery lairds, and fishery lessees likewise, must have seen ere this that it is impossible to get more out of a river than Nature intended; if one year yields an abnormally prolific salmon harvest, there must necessarily follow a series of comparatively unfruitful years; for a river being of a given extent, it can only breed and feed a given number of fish.

J. G. BERTRAM.

ART. III.—*The Masora.*

- (1) Buxtorf, *Tiberias*. Basilaë. 1620.
- (2) Walton's *Polyglot*. The Eighth Dissertation. London. 1657.
- (3) Pfeiffer, *Opera philologica*. Ultrajecti. 1704.
- (4) *The Tagmical Art*. By WALTER CROSS. London. 1698.
- (5) Wolfius, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*. Hamburgi. 1721.
- (6) Kennicott's *Dissertations*. Oxford. 1759.
- (7) *The Hebrew Bible*. London. 1861.
- (8) *The Masora*. By CHRISTIAN GINSBURG. Vol. I. London. 1880.

THE anxiety of the Jews for the preservation of the sacred text of the Old Testament manifested itself in the labours of the Masorets, which extended through a long series of years. Although in some cases trifling and foolish, and dealing with subjects of little utility, the great work, which has survived the lapse of time, is an enduring memorial of their diligence, and of the care with which they entered into the most minute details of critical research. Whatever be the value of it, they at least deserve the credit of having employed in their undertaking an amount of labour such as has probably never been bestowed upon any other book. Nothing in the text escaped their scrutiny, but the object aimed at was not fully accomplished, for various readings and other difficulties of different kinds still exist, testifying to the impossibility of transmitting to posterity ancient MSS. absolutely free from error. Some of the Jews said that the Masora was intended to be a fence to Holy Scripture, preventing mistakes from creeping into it, and hindering even a letter from going astray, just as the

Pharisees invented a hedge or margin for the law, so as to obviate the possibility of infringing it, even in the minutest point. If such were really the original intention, the failure led Houbigant to conjecture, that the term was subsequently employed, because the Masoretic criticisms were written at the beginning and end of MSS., and around the text in each page, and that they were called a fence, on account of the shape, rather than from any supposed efficacy in preserving it from corruption. The Rabbis were divided in opinion as to the value of this laborious work, and the same difference of view exists among Christians. To some it appeared that the labours of the Masorets were little better than trifling, and that counting the verses of the Bible, was of about the same practical utility, as numbering the leaves of a medical book would be with the view of curing diseases. Others were of opinion that they did not always succeed in removing obscurities from the text, that they frequently confused the elaborate system of punctuation, instead of rendering it more perspicuous, and that so far from clearing away obvious anomalies, they merely pointed them out, leaving the correction of them to others. Kennicott depreciated and probably undervalued the labours of the Masorets, but it ought not to be forgotten that they were the originators of textual criticism, and that, if their work had never been carried on, it is probable that the text would have been more seriously corrupted, during the confusion which ensued, as the consequence of national disasters. The Masora itself has reached posterity in an imperfect form, and, from various causes, it has become in some places so obscure, that the discovery of the true meaning is next to impossible. This consideration alone should to some extent disarm hostile criticism. Still, after making due allowance for injuries caused by careless transcribers, and by neglect, it must be admitted that while, in some respects, affording invaluable assistance toward a correct understanding of Scripture, it contains much that is foolish, trifling, useless, and superstitious.

The degree of importance to be attached to the Masora must be determined by the estimate which may be formed of its authority. • If Ezra and the prophets who came after him were the authors of any portion of it, whether by restoring correct readings, or by inventing the points and accents, this part of the work, if it could be separated from the rest, would carry with it superior, if not Divine sanction. In the absence of direct scriptural or other historical evidence as to the share which they actually took in the compilation, the distinc-

tion cannot be made, nor is it possible to determine what variations may have crept into the text, before and during the Babylonish captivity, nor how many of them they deemed it necessary to correct. That the earlier members of the Great Synagogue did make emendations may be regarded as probable, but beyond this, nothing is definitely known about their method of dealing with the sacred text. All other portions of the Masora, such as the enumeration of verses, the shape and position of particular letters, the number of the Kerioth, and the elaborate system of accentuation, must be regarded as the work of the later Rabbis, and destitute of all Divine authority.

Masora and Cabala are correlative terms, the former signifying tradition in the sense of that which has been handed down from one to another, and the latter, tradition in the sense of that which has been received, after being so transmitted. Ultimately each came to have a more restricted meaning. The latter is the expression used to describe the mystical or theosophic teaching of the Rabbis, after the destruction of the temple, while the former signifies the traditional criticism of the sacred text. The Masora does not concern itself with interpretation, except indirectly, in those cases where the compilers supposed that there were ellipses, and in the accentuation, which is in itself a complete system of exegesis of the whole of the printed text of the Old Testament. It deals critically with verses, words, and letters, and with the changes which occur in particular passages. All the anomalies of the two latter, as well as those of the punctuation, including both vowels and accents, are carefully examined and noted. The number of each is reckoned up, and the middle verse of every book of Scripture is pointed out, the object of the work being to preserve the text from the possibility of interpolation, either by the omission or addition of a single letter. Although this great undertaking is believed never to have been completed, yet the Masora as it now appears, is a remarkable memorial of the persevering labours of learned Jews in different ages.

The original authors of it were called *Sopherim*, enumerators or scribes, because they counted the verses, words, and letters, and reviewed the text. Who they were, at what time they lived, and where they flourished, cannot be determined with any degree of certainty, because there is no historical evidence which can be relied on. That they were not limited to any one period or generation is evident, but who were the first Masorets and with whom the order ended, are questions in-

volved in hopeless obscurity. Aben Ezra, who lived about the middle of the twelfth century, said that the sages who flourished in the Rabbinic school of Tiberias about and subsequent to A.D. 500, were the authors of the Masora, in opposition to the opinion of other Jews, some of whom assigned to them a much earlier, and some a much later date. That they lived before this period can be shown conclusively, from passages in the Talmud, where their work is spoken of or referred to as already in existence. In the treatise entitled *Megilla* (the Roll), which contains an explanation of Neh. viii. 8, there is express mention of the Masora, and of the verses and accents. The treatise *Nedarim* (Vows) speaks of the *Keri* and *Cethib*, of the method of reading the text appointed by the Scribes, and of other departments of their critical labours. In *Kiddushim* (Espousals) the Masorets are called 'ancient,' and mention is made of their special work of numbering the verses, and fixing which was the middle one in each book. The Talmud differs also in many places from the Masora and contradicts it, from which it is evident that the latter must have been in existence before the former. These references are found in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Gemaras. In the Mishna, which was redacted in Palestine about A.D. 190, in the treatise on the Roll, there is a clear reference to the verses into which the law and the prophets were then divided, showing that the arrangement must have been made at an earlier date. The Rabbis of Tiberias could not have invented the points and accents, because they notice their anomalies, which would scarcely have been the case, if they had themselves been the inventors of them.

Others take an entirely different view, and affirm that, like the oral law, the Masora was a collection of traditions handed down by Moses from Mount Sinai, that, passing from hand to hand, it came to Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue, and that by them it was delivered to their successors, through whom it finally came to the Rabbis of Tiberias. The meaning of this has been explained to be, not that the various readings and the punctuation were actually originated by the lawgiver, and were coeval with the law itself, but that they were as certain and possessed of as much authority, as if he had actually appointed them. It must also be limited to the Pentateuch, because it cannot be supposed that traditional criticism could have come into existence in reference to books which had not been written.

In an age when copies of the Scriptures were only in MS., it was not possible that they could be multiplied without risk of

error, and hence variations would necessarily arise. As long as the inspired authors of particular books were living, difficulties could be authoritatively removed, and true readings settled, but after their decease, an element of uncertainty would arise. However careful the Scribes might be, their work would be liable to mistakes, and in times of disaster and confusion, MSS. would be lost, and the text would run serious risk of being corrupted. In the general reformation carried out by Ezra and Nehemiah, after the return from the captivity, they gave special attention to the sacred books, and adopted whatever means they judged most effectual, both for their preservation, and for facilitating the general use of them by the people (Ezra vii. ; Neh. viii.) In carrying out this great work, the men of the Great Synagogue were aided by the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and whatever was definitely settled while they lived, must be regarded as bearing the stamp of Divine authority. After deciding what were the canonical books, and dividing them into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, they proceeded to revise the text, and to arrange it in verses as they now appear. That many of the Kerieth date from this period cannot be doubted. Jewish tradition further affirms that they invented both vowels and accents, in order to facilitate reading and interpretation alike, but it is impossible to decide whether they were the authors of them, or only revisionists of the work of their predecessors. That Ezra and his colleagues were the first of the order of the Masorets was believed by many learned Jews, including Rabbi Assaria, Rabbi Gedaliah, Isaac Abarbanel, Ephodæus, and others.

The work of criticism having been set on foot, was prosecuted with unflagging energy by succeeding Rabbis. As MSS. multiplied, various readings tended to increase, and errors began to creep into the sacred text, which afforded abundant material for the critical acumen of the Masorets to work upon. When a vast body of criticism had been accumulated, the disasters which overtook the nation at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, put an end to their labours, and the Masora being forgotten, was in danger of being lost. Four centuries and a half after the overthrow and dispersion of the nation, according to Elias Levita, a council of learned Jews was summoned to meet at Tiberias, for the purpose of consulting about various religious questions. Delegates came from distant countries, and as one result of their deliberations, it is supposed that the critical labours of the Masorets were revived. Aben Ezra thought that this was the occasion on

which the points and accents were invented by the united ingenuity of the assembled Rabbis. From henceforward the work of criticism was carried on, till all traces of it are lost amid the darkness of the middle ages.

The language and form of the Masora are peculiar. The former is Chaldee, and the style is both intricate and difficult to master. If the abbreviations and mnemonic signs be also taken into account, the whole will not be a subject of study likely to prove attractive to many. In the first instance, the Masora was written on sheets, separate from the sacred text. This was the shape in which it appeared when it was studied by Elias Levita, with a view to the preparation of his work entitled, 'Masoreth Hammasoreth.' His labours were aided by a compendium in MS. called, 'Achla veachla' (Food and food), without which he said he could never have mastered its voluminous details. In the course of time, in order to furnish tangible assistance for the study of the sacred text, extracts were inserted in the margin, and with the view of crowding as much information as possible into the limited space, abbreviations, numeral letters, and symbolical terms were employed, instead of the more extended method of writing. This was called the Masora parva; and, for obvious reasons, is unintelligible to all except those who have mastered the symbols, of which a full explanation is provided by Buxtorf in his 'Clavis Masoræ.' In the course of time it was deemed expedient to insert upon each page more copious extracts, and in consequence, partly from a desire to magnify the learning of the Rabbis, partly to increase the value of the MSS., and partly to furnish additional assistance toward understanding the text, the Masora was written around it on each side. Instead of following the ordinary style of calligraphy, the Scribes adopted the fantastic method of ornamenting each page by carving their writing into the shape of animals, such as lions and tigers, and various other ingenious figures. This practice became a fruitful source of error and confusion, because, in order to preserve the symmetry, words were omitted from one clause, or added from another, regard being had to the figure, rather than to the sense. The corruption consequently became so great, that the utmost ingenuity of those who have attempted to decipher the meaning, has frequently been attended with but indifferent success. This is called the Masora textualis. All that could not be written around the text on each page was placed at the end of the MS., and became the Masora finalis, both together constituting the Masora magna. At the beginning of each book there was also placed a short Masora

preliminaris. The first part of the Masora finalis consists of words arranged in alphabetical order, and after this comes a catalogue of terms, about the reading of which there was a difference of opinion between Rabbi Asher and Rabbi Naphtali, who were famous rectors of academies, the former in Palestine, and the latter in Babylonia, about the first half of the eleventh century. There is then a list of words in regard to which there was a similar divergence of views between the Eastern and Western Jews, and the whole closes with a short introductory treatise on the system of accentuation.

The scarcity of MSS., and the difficulty of understanding them, proved to be formidable obstacles in the way of Christian scholars obtaining an accurate knowledge of the Masora. When Daniel Bomberg was preparing the Hebrew Bible for publication, he conceived the idea of printing the Masoretic commentary along with it. The story of the way in which he came to employ Jacob ben Chajim, a Tunisian Jew, to prepare the text, has been told by the latter in a lengthy preface, of which there is a Latin translation in Kennicott. MSS. were sought for in every place, no expense was spared in procuring them, and all available materials were provided, with the view of bringing out an edition as correct as possible. After great labour had been expended in collating and correcting them, wherever it seemed to be necessary, the first printed copy of the Masora was printed at Venice in 1526. The work proved, as might have been expected, not free from errors, and in the beginning of the next century, Buxtorf determined to bring out another and more correct edition, along with his Rabbinic Bible. This was published at Basle in 1618, and was a great improvement upon the labours of Ben Chajim. In the preface to his Tiberias, he said that it was not his intention to remove every error from the text, but only to deal with such as presented themselves more prominently to his notice. Walton says that his success in correcting many of the errors overlooked by his predecessor was great. Notwithstanding the efforts to secure a correct text, the Masora as then printed was, in the opinion of Jablonski, mutilated, in many places obviously erroneous, in many more suspected, and frequently both self-contradictory, and at variance with extant MSS. He thought its condition to be so unsatisfactory, that it would require the labours of a Hercules to clear out the Augean stable. Although spasmodic efforts have been made by subsequent scholars to correct portions of the text, little or nothing has been accomplished since the time of Buxtorf. What was to have been a complete recension of the Masora,

accompanied by a Latin translation, was begun by Abichtius, but the design seems to have been abandoned, owing to the pressure of other duties. The want which was long felt by students has been met by Dr. Ginsburg, who has given the labours of many years to the preparation of an edition cleared of errors, as far as may be possible. What success has attended his efforts will only be appreciated by a limited number of scholars. The first volume of an edition of the Masora, by the late Dr. Freusdorff, was published in Germany some years ago, and a second is expected to appear shortly, but the work cannot be continued, owing to the MS. being left unfinished at his death.

The Masoretic criticism of the verses of Holy Scripture consisted in numbering them, and in pointing out certain peculiarities, the utility of which may be considered to be doubtful. If the intention was to prevent the possibility of addition or diminution, the success scarcely corresponds to the effort, because the computations differ widely, and the earlier and later Masorets do not always agree in points of detail. The total number was stated to be 23,206, but this cannot be relied on as absolutely accurate, because it supposes that all available MSS. were exactly the same, which is improbable, and because, in reckoning the verses of the Pentateuch alone, there is an irreconcilable diversity. The Talmudic treatise Kiddushim fixes the number of the latter at 5,888, and the Masora in Buxtorf's Bible at 5,245, so that the difference between the earlier and later Masorets on this point is 643. In his Tiberias, Buxtorf said that another computation, which he deemed erroneous, made them to be 5,845, while Elias Levita, in his 'Masoreth Ham-masoreth,' thought that there were 5,842. The work of the Masorets in pointing out the middle verse of each book is equally unreliable. The later said that the middle verse of the Pentateuch was Lev. xiii. 33, while the earlier fixed it at Lev. viii. 8, which shows considerable diversity. The number of verses in the book of Joshua is stated in the Masora to be 656, and the middle one to be chap. xiii. 26, but both calculations are erroneous, because vers. 36 and 37 of chap. 21, which now appear in the English version, were not taken into account, being regarded as spurious. The effect of this ancient opinion is still seen in their being placed unpointed in the margin of the Masoretic text.

The labours of the Masorets also appear in their notation of the peculiarities of particular verses, which Kennicott stigmatizes as *difficiles nugæ*. They noted that one verse,

Jer. xxi. 7, contained 42 words and 160 letters, that three had each 80 letters, as the Masora observes at Num. xxxvi. 8, that in five there were 5 consecutive words of 2 letters each, of which 1 Kings iii. 26 is one, that three began and ended with the word Jehovah, as Deut. xxxi. 3, which the Rabbis said was intended to symbolize the eternal essence of God, that twenty-six contained each all the letters of the alphabet, of which one, Zeph. iii. 8, had also 5 final letters, and many other similar details, equally important or valueless.

Connected with the Masoretic recension of verses are *Pesik* or pause, *Ittur Sopherim*, the collation or rejection of the Scribes, and *Tikkun Sopherim*, the restoration of the Scribes. The first, which is also called *Piska*, when used as an accent, signified that there was to be a stop in the cantillation. When it appeared as a stroke or a circle in the body of the text, the Masorets intended it to mean, that there was a pause or ellipsis in the sense, but not a hiatus. The illustration furnished, is Gen. iv. 8, where a supposed deficiency in the meaning has been supplemented in different ways, but, according to their views, without any necessity. *Pesik* has disappeared from the passage in the present Hebrew text. They said that there were twenty-five other cases, but Buxtorf was not able to discover them in the Masora, or to fix with certainty upon any passages in the sacred text, to which the criticism applied, except the one already specified. The *Ittur Sopherim* is mentioned as a tradition from Moses on Mount Sinai in the Talmudic treatise *Nedarim*, where five passages are pointed out, to which it had reference. In each of these there was a word to which it was the common practice to prefix the letter *vav* in reading the text, although not found in it. Ben Chajim, in his preface, specified only four, of which one does not occur in *Nedarim*.* The Masorets said that the addition being unauthorized, ought not to be made, and hence the criticism was called the rejection of the Scribes, because they discountenanced the usage. No trace of the superfluous copula is found in the English version in any of these places, or in the present Masoretic text. The *Tikkun Sopherim*, correction, or rather appointment, of the Scribes, had reference to passages mentioned in the Masora on Num. i. and Psalm cvi., in which it was supposed that there were erroneous readings. Some, thinking that the original text

* The passages in *Nedarim* are, Gen. xviii. 5; xxiv. 55; Num. xxxi. 2; Psa. xxxvi. 6; lxviii. 26. Of these Ben Chajim omits the second, and instead of the third gives Exod. xxiii. 13. He seems to have followed the Masora on Psa. xxxvi. 6, where only four are specified.

contained certain anthropomorphic statements derogatory to the Divine majesty, or that the context required a different form of expression than that which actually appeared, had introduced alterations, in order to remove the supposed difficulty. In all such cases, the Masorets said that the original reading was to be retained, because it had the sanction of Divine authority, which precluded alterations. This rule applied to eighteen passages, including Gen. xviii. 22, and Num. xi. 15, but only seventeen are given in the Masora, Lam. iii. 20 being supposed by some to be the verse omitted. In the first it was thought that the correct reading ought to have been, 'and the Lord stood before Abraham,' which had been altered into the present form, and in the second that it should have been, 'let me not see thy wretchedness,' which was changed into 'my wretchedness.' Some think that the *Tikkun Sopherim* was nothing but an invention of the later Jews, and that it never had any existence in fact, because the present readings are found in all the ancient versions, and in the oldest MSS., while the others never appear. Walton's opinion is, that when Ezra, after the return from the captivity, compared the MSS. together, he really found in some the erroneous readings, and that he corrected them on the authority of other copies. This is only conjecture.

A large amount of labour was bestowed by the Masorets on the words of Scripture, which they viewed in a variety of aspects. No account of the number of them is to be found in the Masora, but, since they counted the letters, and ascertained how often each occurred, it is not probable that they omitted to make the calculation. They mentioned, yet not in all cases, how often a particular word occurred, and thus laid the foundation of the system of concordances. The place in sentences of certain words was also noted. They counted the particles in each book, in order to prevent the possibility of any alteration in the beginning of verses. They observed the words which occurred in the middle, and in certain combinations of them, where the accents remained unchanged, and where they varied. They observed how often certain terms were construed together, of which illustrations are to be found in Buxtorf, and prosecuted other researches of which it is difficult to discern the practical utility.

Of greater importance were their labours in pointing out words of which the signification was different in different places. The Masora indicates that the term rendered 'leaf' in Gen. viii. 11, in six other places means 'ascend.' In

Gen. xxvi. 12, the Hebrew term rendered 'fold' (measures) is in all other places rendered 'gates.' In ver. 21 'Titnah' is a proper name (marg. 'hatred') but the Masora points out that it is never again used as such, elsewhere meaning 'accusation,' as in Ezra iv. 6. The Masoretic criticism of Psa. xxii. 17 is, that, while both there and in Isa. xxxviii. 13, כַּאֲרִי has the same punctuation, in the latter case it means 'as a lion,' although in the former it must receive a different interpretation.*

To this class of criticisms belong the *Sevirin*, or places where at first sight some other reading or form than that found in the text might seem to be required. At Gen. xix. 28 the Hebrew verb rendered 'risen' is in the masculine gender, where it might have been supposed that the feminine form was required to agree with the nominative, but the Masora parva notes that, although the construction seems to violate the ordinary rule, the reading ought not to be changed, because the noun is epicene. At Exod. iv. 19 the Hebrew term translated 'into Egypt' does not appear with the final ה, which, when added to certain words, signifies motion to a place, yet the Masorets said that no alteration ought to be made, because there are other places where a similar form occurs. Although other anomalies frequently occur in the text, which does not always strictly observe grammatical rules, still they did not consider that there was sufficient reason for correcting them, so that in all cases they were allowed to remain unchanged. Words written defectively, or with a *scriptio plena*, were not noted in every instance. Whenever a particular term was found more frequently defective than otherwise, the latter cases, being the exceptions, were enumerated, and whenever the former were the exceptions, they were counted, the others being omitted. These criticisms applied principally to words written with י and ך, and more rarely to those with ם and ה. In Gen. ii. 7 the Hebrew verb rendered 'formed' has a double ך, and the Masora notes that elsewhere the superfluous letter is not found. In Num. xiv. 37 the term translated 'did bring up' does not occur in any other place written defectively. Other examples may be found in Buxtorf.

In the margin of the Masoretic text are placed Keriōth, about the origin of which there is great difference of opinion. The text contains the Cethib, while the vowels placed beneath

* כַּאֲרִי stands in the present Masoretic text of Psa. xxii. 17, but the English version, following the Septuagint, has translated as if the Hebrew were כַּרִּי, which is supposed to have been the original reading, and to have been altered by the Jews. The difficulties of the passage seem to be insuperable.

belong not to it, but to the Keri, from which it might be inferred that the latter was always to be read. These various readings are found in every book of the Bible except Malachi, but there is no agreement as to the exact number of them. Elias Levita reckoned up 848 passages in which the reading in the text differed from that in the margin, which he called *Karian vecathban*, because the numerical value of the letters of these words is the same. Others largely increase the number, and Buxtorf says that in the printed copies alone, many more are to be found, as might be expected. Neither is there any unanimity of opinion as to the time at which the Keriōth began. It has been confidently inferred by Walton and others, that they could not have been in existence in the time of Jerome, because no mention is made of them in any of his writings, and it has been thought incredible that terms which materially affect the sense in numerous passages, if then known, should have been neglected by him in his commentary. After his time, the first distinct mention of Keriōth is found in the Jerusalem Talmud, which refers to a few various readings, showing that textual criticism was not altogether unknown in that age. Elias Levita and other Jews said that they originated with Moses, that they were a tradition from Sinai, and that after being handed down orally, they were ultimately reduced to writing by the men of the Great Synagogue. Buxtorf thought that Ezra was really the originator of them, because, when collating MSS. with a view to the preparation of a correct text, he found variations, some of which were of sufficient value to be placed in the margin, and that thus a system began which was afterwards more fully developed. It was a conjecture of Michaelis that, because no Keriōth are found attached to the Hebrew text of the prophet Malachi, the collation was first made in his time, and that variations then began to be recognized. That they must be long prior to the age when the Talmud was redacted, and to that of the men of Tiberias, is clear, because the Septuagint, the Targums, and the Vulgate follow the Keri in some cases, which can only be explained by supposing either that the authors used MSS. with marginal readings, or else that the words then in the text in these places are now the Keriōth. The view of Kennicott, with which Wolfius agrees, is, that they were extracted from a few copies in different ages, some being ancient and others comparatively modern, that they were of gradual growth, and that the work of collecting them, which had been begun at a time which cannot be determined, was continued and developed by the Masorets of Tiberias.

Both among Jews and Christians, there is also great diversity of opinion as to the way in which the Kerieth originated. Some of the former said that they arose from the mistakes of the sacred writers, who were either imperfectly acquainted with the grammar and genius of the Hebrew language, or were careless in their style of writing. This view, which shows that those who held it, would have dissented from the doctrine of verbal inspiration, was rejected by Elias Levita and Ben Chajim. Others held that they were only various readings, arising from the diversity of MSS. which had not been transcribed with sufficient care during the Babylonish captivity, and that, whether the Cethib or the Keri ought to be preferred, should be decided by the context. This was the opinion of Kimchi, which is supported by the Jerusalem Talmud and by the ancient Levitical treatise Siphri. A third view is, that they were inserted in the margin by the sacred writers themselves to denote mysteries, but Morinus ridicules it, by observing that if the number of the Kerieth was 848, the former must have been very numerous. Other Jews, agreeing with Ben Chajim, refrained from expressing any opinion, and contented themselves by saying vaguely that they were a tradition of Moses from Mount Sinai.

Christian scholars likewise disagree as to the manner of the origin of the Kerieth. Some are of opinion that they arose from the diversity of MSS., those who hold this view being divided into two classes. The former includes the scholars who maintain that they originated from the mistakes of the copyists, and the latter, those who say that they are the various readings of the MSS. of high authority, which revisionists did not venture to reject, preferring to retain one in the text and the other in the margin. This last was the opinion of Lightfoot, Buxtorf, and Pfeiffer, and it follows from it, if of any value, as a necessary corollary, that the Keri is not always to be preferred to the Cethib. Others think that they are not variations of MSS., but emendations inserted by the Masorets in the margin, as the result of a critical examination of the text, and others, as Walton, that they originated from both sources. Vitranga and Prideaux believed that they arose partly from the mistakes of the copyists, and partly from the superstition and critical labours of the Masorets. The Abbé Hiller, rejecting the foregoing theories, propounded an opinion which had at least the merit of novelty. He thought that both the Cethib and the Keri should be regarded as being of Divine origin. When Ezra was engaged in multiplying copies of the Scriptures, he did

not always employ exactly the same words, and being an inspired man, the variations could not be attributed to human imperfection. Hence arose diversities, which were perpetuated by subsequent copyists, who did not venture to reject any of them. The autographs of Ezra were regarded as of absolute authority, and whatever differences were in them, appeared in all subsequent copies. In support of this view, Hiller appealed to a passage in the Talmud, without providing any reference. It is found in the treatise Taanah (Fasting), in the Jerusalem Gemara, of which Morinus furnished a translation. The purport of it is, that three Esdrine MSS. were discovered, which were collated by the Rabbis. In several passages they were found to differ, and where two were agreed, the reading in the third was rejected. This passage, if nothing else, shows that at the time when the Jerusalem Talmud was compiled, the Masorets were accustomed to determine readings on the evidence of the majority of copies. It is doubtful, however, whether these MSS. were so ancient, because the Talmudic term which Morinus rendered 'Ezra,' also means 'court,' and then the sense would be, that three were found in the court of the temple, no time being specified. Lightfoot thought that one had been used by the Jews who remained in the Holy Land, another by those who had been carried to Babylon, and a third by those who had settled in Egypt, that each was of high authority, and that the agreement of any two of them decided the reading. Others, rejecting the authority of the Keri, held that the Cethib was always to be preferred, because it was found in the inspired text. Danzius thought that the former were originally inserted in the margin as explanatory terms, and that in the course of time they came to be regarded as alternative readings, contrary to the original intention. Walton mentions that this view was held by Neotericus. Amid such a conflict of opinion, it is difficult to determine which ought to be followed, but the view which will probably commend itself to general acceptance is, that the Keri arose partly from the variations of MSS. caused by the mistakes of transcribers, and partly from the critical labours of the Masorets, who wished to correct the text where they supposed that it had been corrupted.

Although attempts were made by Hiller and others to arrange the Kerieth in classes without much success, nevertheless there are two sets of them deserving of notice. There are places, such as Deut. xxviii. 30, 2 Kings vi. 25 and x. 27, Isaiah xiii. 16, and Zechariah xiv. 2, where the

Masorets inserted in the margin alternative readings, which they supposed to be less offensive to modesty. This innovation was displeasing to the Karaites, who censured it in the Talmudic treatise *Chilluk*, or the controversy of the Karaites with the Rabbis. Their principal objection was, that if, in these cases liberties might be taken with the sacred text, it was impossible to say where they were to stop. The reason assigned by the Masorets for the substitution of euphemisms was, that certain words were not at first used in the sense which was afterwards attached to them, but this view cannot be maintained, because the prophet Zechariah employed such terms to express the same meaning as that which had been attached to them in the earlier Scriptures. It was the opinion of Pfeiffer, that Ezra and the Great Synagogue first added these Keriōth, because he thought it improbable that the cause which originated them, was the mock modesty which was supposed to be offended in later times by the excessive naturalism. In these cases the English version invariably follows the Cethib.

There is another class of Keriōth which substitutes the negative particle \neg for ל 'to him,' or the contrary, which must be considered of some importance, because the meaning is seriously altered. The Masora magna reckons up fifteen places, including *Exod. xxi. 8* and *Lev. xi. 21*, where one or other term is found in the margin. Buxtorf, in his '*Lexicon Rabbinicum*,' on the same authority, added two more, that is, *Isa. xlix. 5* and *1 Kings xi. 20*, but the latter is not now found in the margin of the ordinary Hebrew Bibles. Hiller raised the number to eighteen, from which others differ, both in the total, and in the particular passages specified. As to the cause of this diversity of reading, there is little agreement among scholars. Vitranga supposed that it arose partly from the carelessness of copyists, partly from the superstition of the Rabbis, and partly from the critical examination of the text. The Septuagint, the Targums, and the Vulgate sometimes follow the Cethib, and sometimes the Keri, and in the English version the practice is not uniform. Whether one or the other should be followed must be decided by the context, and by the accents, which in some cases help to determine the reading.

The Talmudic treatise *Nedarim* mentions words which were to be read although not written in the text, and others which, although written, were not to be read. In the Hebrew Bible the vowels of the former only appear, leaving the consonants to be supplied from the Keri. Ben Chajim produced from the Talmud seven examples of the former, including

2 Sam. viii. 3 and Jer. xxxi. 38, and of the latter five, including 2 Kings v. 18 and Jer li. 3. These words stand in the body of the text without punctuation, and are noted in the margin. Each class is reviewed in the Masora, and the instances are pointed out, but authorities differ as to the number of the former. The Gemara noted seven, Elias Levita eight, Avenarius twelve, Capellus and Walton thirteen, while the Masorets reckoned ten. Pfeiffer collected twenty-seven examples, including vowels for entire words and for syllables only.

From the criticism of words the Masorets passed to that of the letters of the sacred text. They counted them all, and found that in the entire Bible the number was 815,208. This calculation is certainly erroneous, because Shickhard said that there were upwards of 1,236,000, while Dr. Gregory Sharpe reckoned them at 1,167,280. They noted how often each was used, and the middle letter in every book. Whether such calculations, although an undoubted proof of their industry, and of their desire that the sacred text should be preserved inviolate, were of any practical utility, may be considered as at least doubtful.

Questions also arose connected with the size, shape, position, and punctuation of letters which deserve notice, because they serve to illustrate to some extent the superstitious tendencies of the Rabbinic mind. They were enlarged, diminished, inverted, suspended, distinguished by peculiar marks, as when a final letter appears in a few cases in the middle of a word, and transposed. As to the meaning of these peculiarities there are various opinions. Buxtorf thought that such diversities were not introduced into the text without sufficient reasons, which were well known to those who originated them. In the course of time, as the consequence of national troubles and confusion, the knowledge of them was lost, and their place was supplied by supposed mysteries and similar fictions. At first these peculiarities may have contributed to the preservation of the text, and they probably indicated a secret meaning, which was preserved in the schools by oral tradition. When the seminaries of learning were broken up, and scholars and teachers were dispersed, this department of knowledge, not having been committed to writing, entirely perished, while the letters were still preserved in their former shape, serving at least as perpetual memorials of the elder Rabbis. Another view was held by some, who thought that the diminished letters were intended to indicate a limit within which, reckoning from the last enlarged form, a certain number was included. Thus, between 2 enlarged

in Gen. i. 1 and π -diminished in Gen. ii. 4 there are 1,112 letters. The diminished \beth in the last word of Gen. xxiii. 2 was supposed to have been the limit of a certain number formerly known, but now forgotten. This uncertainty seems to be inconsistent with the theory. Hiller conjectured that the changes of vowels, which could not be expressed by any other symbols, were indicated by these peculiarities in the letters, so that those which were enlarged or diminished, signified that long were used instead of short, or the contrary, as he thought would be evident by comparing good MSS. Suspended letters showed that the words in which they occurred, had been transposed with those standing immediately before them in other copies. A fourth opinion is, that these peculiarities originated with the Masorets, who used them simply as critical marks. This was the view of Wolfius, who gave as an illustration the letter ν , which appears suspended in Psa. lxxx. 14, to indicate that it was the middle letter of the book of Psalms, although others have assigned to it a different meaning. Here again the conflict of opinion shows that the real meaning of these peculiarities cannot be determined with certainty.

In the sacred text there are examples of the enlargement of every letter of the alphabet. This peculiarity could not have been invented by the Masorets of Tiberias, because it is mentioned in the Talmudic treatise *Sopherim*, which speaks of the enlarged \beth in Deut. xxix. 27, as it now appears in the text. Buxtorf explains it to signify mystically the terrible nature of the expulsion of the people from the promised land, as the punishment of their sins, and its perpetuity, unless followed by national repentance. The enlarged \beth in Levit. xiii. 33 is supposed to mean, in the same way, that three persons were shaved, the boy who had reached his fourteenth year, the Nazarite who had accidentally touched a dead body, and the Levite, this being the numerical value of the letter. The \beth in Psa. lxxx. 16 was used to symbolize the perpetual greatness of the vine, which, having been transplanted from Egypt as an offshoot, had, under the fostering care of the Almighty, grown up strong and magnificent. It was also said that the curves of the letter were signs indicative of the depression of it, under the calamities which would overtake the nation. It was supposed that the enlarged γ in Deut. vi. 4 was intended for emphasis, and to awaken attention to the importance of the declaration contained in the passage. Others thought, that, as the numerical value of the letter was seventy, it pointed to the seventy nations, into which the Rabbis supposed mankind to be divided, who, if the Jews

should prove disobedient, would listen to the Divine call (Isa. xxxiv. 1). In Lev. xi. 42 the enlarged י was undoubtedly a critical mark, intended to point out that it was the middle letter of the Pentateuch.

The same principle of explanation has been applied to the letters which appear in many places in the text smaller than the others. This peculiarity is also alluded to in the treatise *Sopherim*. In the Masoretic preface to Leviticus, and at the beginning of the Masora finalis attached to the same book, there is a review of the thirty-three passages where they are found. In both the list is incomplete, some cases being mentioned in one which are not found in the other. These letters are supposed in particular cases to express contempt for persons referred to in the context. The diminished פ does not appear in the ordinary Hebrew Bible at Exod. xxxii. 25, nor נ in Deut. xxxi. 27, although in both passages the Masorets marked them as reduced in size, to express indignation at the conduct of the rebellious Israelites, and the ignominy which would in consequence certainly overtake them. In Esther ix. 7, 9, where the diminished נ and ש occur in the names of two of the ten sons of Haman, who were slain by the Jews, it is supposed that the alteration was intended to signify contempt. Why Parshandatha and Parmashta should have been singled out for this special mark of scorn, while the others are not noticed, does not, however, distinctly appear. In Vajezatha, the last name in the list, י is enlarged and י diminished in the Masoretic text. Both peculiarities are accounted for by Buxtorf in the same way, by supposing that although he was the youngest, he was equal to his brothers in wickedness, the latter letter signifying his youth, and the former his criminality. The diminished י in Prov. xxviii. 17 was supposed to express the real misery of him who had incurred the guilt of shedding innocent blood, and who was in consequence not even deserving of being called a man.

The only inverted letter in the Old Testament is ׀, which assumes this form in eight passages, having in each a mystical signification. In Num. x. 35 and xi. 1, in the ordinary text, the peculiarity does not appear, while immediately before each verse in the open space, the inverted letter is inserted. In the former example it was supposed to mean, that when the ark moved forward, all the enemies of Israel would be driven backward, and in the latter, that it was a symbol of the perversity of the people, when they complained of their hard lot, and of their ingratitude for the many favours they had received from God. The Masora parva on Exod. iii. 19, speaks of the ׀

in the first word as being turned obliquely, no trace of this peculiarity being now found in the ordinary Hebrew Bibles. It was explained to mean, that the heart of Pharaoh had been turned aside, so that he would not allow the Israelites to depart until forced by extreme pressure.

The Masora notes that there are only four words in which suspended letters appear elevated above the others. These are ך and ם, of which, the former occurs only once, and the latter three times, and in each case the explanation is difficult. The first is found with this peculiarity in the Hebrew of the term Manasseh, in Judges xviii. 30, where Gershom is said to be his son. In the Talmudic treatise Bava Bathra (Last Gate), it is said that the letter was suspended to show that the latter, although really the son of Moses, had Manasseh assigned to him as his parent, because he did the works of the wicked king. A later rabbi explained the anomaly to mean, that the sacred writer was unwilling to call Gershom the son of Moses, because it was discreditable to the lawgiver to have such a child, and that the ך was suspended to show that it might be either read or omitted, so as to leave it ambiguous who was the parent, the term in the former case remaining unchanged, and in the latter, becoming Moses. The suspension of ם in Psa. lxxx. 14 has been already referred to. Rabbi Solomon and others explained it in a mystical sense. They said its elevation meant that it might be either read or omitted, in the former case, the sense being, that the wild boar of the forest would cause devastation, and in the latter, that it would be like a fish of the sea, which could not come out of the water, and which would die, even if it could reach the dry ground: If the Israelites should prove themselves worthy, their enemies would be as powerless to injure them as a marine animal, while, if they should turn out unworthy, they would be as destructive to them as a boar destroying everything in its course. Rabbi Bechai said that the ם suspended was a symbol of Jesus crucified by the Romans with his head downwards, and an expression of the Jewish contempt for His followers, because they caused the destruction of the vine of Israel, that is, the temple at Jerusalem. Here, as in many other places, the Romans were alluded to under the name of Christians. The second example is found in Job xxxviii. 13, where the ם of the Hebrew term for 'wicked' appears in the text suspended, to show that they shall perish like dust cast upward toward heaven, so that their place shall know them no more. The third case occurs in the 15th verse of the same chapter, and in the same word. The

Talmudic treatise Sanhedrim explained the meaning to be, that when a wicked man, on account of his wickedness, becomes hateful to the righteous in this lower world, he also loses the favour of God in the upper, and that the heavenly light is taken from him, in which the pious walk and shall rejoice for ever. As the suspended letters are mentioned in the Talmud, it is evident that the peculiarity must have existed previously, and that it was not invented by the Masorets of Tiberias.

In the text of the Old Testament there are fifteen places noted by the Masorets, where marks which are neither vowels nor accents stand over particular letters. The Jews here find mysteries, but the real design of those who affixed them is only a matter of conjecture. Their antiquity cannot be doubted, because they are mentioned by Jerome in his Questions on Genesis, in the book Zohar (Light), supposed by some to be older than the Talmud, and in the Talmud itself. When the Masorets were reviewing the text, they found them in certain places, and allowed them to remain, although in their time all knowledge of the purpose they were intended to serve had been lost. Of these passages, there are ten in the Pentateuch, four in the Prophets, and one in the Psalms, each of which is marked in the Masoretic text. One of these is Gen. xvi. 5, where the mark appears over the second ' in the Hebrew term rendered 'and (between) thee,' the preposition being unwarrantably omitted in the English version. This is the only place in the Pentateuch where it is found with a *scriptio plena*, that is, with a double ', over the latter of which the mark now stands. The explanation given is, that the letter was not inserted contrary to the usual practice without a cause. This the Rabbis found in the conduct of Sarah, who, when she said to Abraham, 'The Lord judge between me and thee,' at the same time cast an envious eye on Hagar, who was then pregnant, and said in her heart, 'The Lord judge between me and the child which thou shalt bear.' The *scriptio plena*, to which attention was called by the mark, was intended to show that she had a double intention. Another example is found in Genesis xviii. 19, where the marks appear over three of the letters of the Hebrew term rendered 'where.' The Rabbinic interpretation of this is, that the three angels not only asked Abraham where his wife was, but also inquired of Sarah where Abraham was, although nothing of the latter appears in the text. In Genesis xxxvii. 12, these diacritic marks appear over each of the letters of the Hebrew sign of the accusative, before the word translated 'flock.' The explanation of the Rabbis is

that the sons of Joseph went forth, not so much with the intention of pasturing their flocks, as of gratifying their own evil inclinations by killing their brother.

The labours of the Masorets were also directed to a critical examination of the punctuation, including both the vowel system and the accents, neither of which can they be believed to have originated. That their work in this department was arduous will be evident, if it be remembered how numerous, and frequently how minute, are the points attached to the entire text of the Old Testament. Some have supposed that they are of little use as aids to interpretation, and the Hebrew has frequently been printed without them. Nevertheless no scholar will despise the assistance they afford for arriving at the true meaning of Scripture, if, for no other reason, than that they embody the views of the Masorets, collected from the traditions of a long series of years.

The origin of the system of vowel points is involved in great obscurity, and in consequence there is wide diversity of opinion among scholars as to the inventors of it. Rabbi Assaria, in *Meor Enajim*, said that they were attached to the text by Adam, that when the Jews became well acquainted with the Scriptures, they were omitted by them in reading as unnecessary, that they were restored by Ezra after the Babylonish captivity, that they were subsequently depraved in the confusion consequent upon national calamities, and that the Masorets of Tiberias finally corrected and restored them to their primitive state. This view has been ridiculed by many subsequent writers, but all that Assaria probably meant was, that when the Scriptures were committed to writing, the points were attached, which was also the opinion of Hottinger, who thought that at no time was the sacred text actually without punctuation. Other Jews thought that they were originated by Moses, who received them at the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, and that they were even then committed to writing, or were transmitted by oral tradition to Ezra. This view is found in the books *Zohar* and *Cosri*, and was held by Kimchi and Bechai. It is also mentioned by Eusebius and Origen as being entertained by several persons in their times. Another opinion, which has found more general acceptance, is, that the vowel system was first invented by Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue, or else that they restored it, after it had become depraved or forgotten. Pfeiffer thought that each inspired man attached the points to his own writings, and that when the meaning of Holy Scripture had in many places become obscure, owing to their having fallen into disuse, they

were restored by Ezra, but whether by Divine inspiration, or in his capacity of an ordinary person, did not distinctly appear. Lightfoot ridiculed the notion that they could have been invented by the Rabbis, whose tendencies to trifling and superstition, as they appear in the Talmud, show that they were wholly unfitted for originating and carrying out so important a work. He thought that the system of Biblical punctuation must be traced to an inspired source.

The view of Prideaux was, that the vowels were invented by the Masorets soon after the age of Ezra. When reading in the synagogues, the Jews did not use pointed MSS., because they believed that the punctuation was of human origin, and when the Hebrew language began to be disused in common life, it became necessary to attach the vowels in order to preserve its true pronunciation. The Masorets and grammarians instructed their pupils in the details of the system, which was for a long time kept secret, and handed down by oral tradition only, but after the completion of the Talmud, it was judged expedient that all MSS. should be pointed, so that the sacred text then assumed the form in which it now appears. By this theory Prideaux sought to account for the silence of Jerome, by which many have been perplexed, while others have thought that there are passages in his commentary, from which it may be inferred that the punctuation was known to him. He interprets Gen. xlvii. 31 according to the points as they now appear in the text, in opposition to the Septuagint, which conveys the idea that Jacob worshipped the top of the staff, that is, the sceptre of Joseph, as an acknowledgment of his authority. According to Jerome, Jacob worshipped, bowing towards the bed's head. The translation given by the former has been regarded as a proof that the text was not pointed in their time. Vitranga held that the points were invented immediately after the destruction of the temple, but it is not likely that so complicated a system could have been originated in times of great public confusion. Others say they were invented and elaborated by the Masorets of Tiberias in the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ. Buxtorf, while hesitating about giving an opinion as to the time when the system originated, has shown conclusively that this view cannot be sustained. The anomalies of the punctuation noted by the Masorets is evidence, that it must have been in existence before their time, because, as they believed that it was not permitted to alter a single letter or point, if this had not been the case, they would have introduced corrections in order to render the

system uniform. If they had themselves invented and elaborated it, there is little probability that they would have left it encumbered with the defects which now appear. From this the only possible conclusion is, that, in whatever age the school of Masorets began, they found the punctuation already developed and complete. Wolfius adopted the theory that the points were attached to the text by the sacred writers themselves, or by Ezra, that they were preserved by the Rabbis, and that ultimately they reached the Masorets, who took precautions to prevent them from being corrupted in subsequent ages. He made this opinion to rest upon the almost unanimous consent of the Jews as to their antiquity, and upon the references to them as already existing, found in the Talmud and Masora itself. He also supported it by arguing that the meaning of the text, if unpointed, would, in many places, have been involved in an uncertainty, which could not have been sufficiently guarded against by the *matres lectionum* alone, by appealing with Lightfoot to the minute and subtle details of the system, which is so well suited to bring out the meaning of the sacred text, and which could not have been invented by frivolous and superstitious Rabbis, and, as the Scriptures were intended for all, both the well instructed and the illiterate, by asserting that, if there were no points, the difficulties of the latter, in guessing at the meaning, would have been insuperable. In the last argument there is considerable force, as will be evident from examples of words which have different meanings corresponding to the altered punctuation. דבר is susceptible of six interpretations, according as it is pointed. It may mean 'a word,' 'a saying,' 'say thou,' 'saying,' 'he said,' and 'to say.' לבנה may mean 'the moon,' 'a brick or pavement,' 'incense,' and 'the poplar tree.' While many others agree with Wolfius in asserting the antiquity of the system, no author has attempted to fix the time at which it was invented, or to furnish reasons for supposing that the sacred writers attached the points to their own MSS., or even that Ezra originated them. There is no allusion, direct or indirect, to the punctuation of the Hebrew text anywhere in Scripture. Nothing can be really gathered from Matt. v. 18 to prove the antiquity of it, where, notwithstanding what has been written on the passage, there does not seem to be any allusion either to the points or accents.

The difference of opinion as to the origin of the accents is equally great, some attributing both to them and to the vowel system the same antiquity, while others affirm that

they are alike of recent origin. Of those who hold that the vowels are ancient, some, arguing from the Chaldee names of the accents, say that they must have been originated in a later age. Capellus and Walton denied their antiquity, and Clericus, in his commentary on Genesis, thought them of so little value, that in many places he paid no attention to them. Among the Jews, Elias Levita held that they were invented by the Masorets of Tiberias, but Wolfius was of opinion that the post-Talmudic Rabbis were wholly incapable of originating so elaborate a system, which, if rightly understood, shows a degree of ingenuity and skill, which could not possibly have been possessed by such men. The antiquity and Divine origin of the accents, although based on no satisfactory evidence, have been maintained by others. This was the view of Pfeiffer, Joseph Cooper, and Cross, although the last hesitated as to whether their hermeneutical character was of superhuman authority. He believed that they were already in existence in the time of Ezra, and that their antiquity was established by the allusions to them in the Talmud, and in the book Zohar, which he thought was as early as B.C. 40. The appeal to the latter work is vain, because the date of it is uncertain, and other Jewish authorities cannot be relied on, because, as Capellus suggests, the passages which are used to support the theory, may have been intentionally interpolated. Nothing can be affirmed with certainty as to the antiquity of the accents, except that they are earlier than the Masora and the Talmud, in both of which they are spoken of in such a way as to show that they were already known and recognized. The assertion of their Divine origin carries with it consequences of too much importance to allow of its being accepted. In one sense they are a complete system of interpretation of the Old Testament, and if they were invested with such authority, this would put an authoritative end to all doubts as to the grammatical construction of every sentence in the Hebrew text, and leave no room for any difference of opinion. Such a view has never been accepted by any scholar, and never been acted on by any translator. The English version, while generally following the accents, in many places disregards them.

The Talmudic treatise Megilla contains a comment on Neh. viii. 8, where, 'giving the sense' is explained to mean, 'according to the accents,' from which, if the Talmud of Jerusalem were of any value as evidence of the usage in an age so remote, it would appear that they were in use in the time of Ezra, but it is only the embodiment of a tradition of

uncertain origin, and therefore of no real utility. Jerome makes no allusion to them in any of his writings, an omission which it would be difficult to understand, if they were in use in his time as a complete system of interpretation. In the ninth and tenth centuries after Christ, all knowledge of the powers of the accents appears to have been lost among the Jews, and even the famous Rabbi Saadiah, who was president of the school of Sora in that age, seems to have known nothing of them. A work on the accents, attributed to Ben Asher, president of the academy at Tiberias, and which was attached to the first Bibles printed at Venice, contributed to revive the study of them, with the view of ascertaining the purposes they were intended to serve. At a later period attention was given to the subject by Bibliander, Schindler, Helvicus, and many more, by whose labours much was effected toward the elucidation of it. About the middle of the seventeenth century two works on the accents were published by Samuel Bohlius, containing remarkable explanations of the punctuation of several passages, which had either escaped the notice of previous writers, or which they had been unable to understand. Cross learned from him the Tagmical art, which he expounded with some degree of success in an English treatise, published about the latter end of the same century. Many scholars have since laboured in the same field, some contending for the value and importance of the accents, and others doubting whether they were of any practical utility. In the present day, they are printed in all Hebrew Bibles, although the knowledge of the rules by which they are governed, and of their hermeneutical value, seems to be confined within very narrow limits.

Without going into any of the controversies on the following points, it may be stated generally that the accents were intended to serve grammatical, rhetorical, musical, and hermeneutical purposes, of which the last must be regarded as the most important. The grammatical use indicated the tone-syllable of each word, and preserved the euphony. The emphasis of particular words and expressions, parentheses, interrogations, and exclamations, were pointed out by the rhetorical purpose of the accents, which, in this respect, are the same as the stops which appear in ordinary printed books. *Sophasuk*, *Silluk*, and *Athnak* may be taken as illustrations. Viewed in their musical character, they regulated the cantillation or peculiar chant, employed by the Jews in reading Scripture in the synagogues. In this respect they were called *Neginoth*, because they indicated the musical notation. The editors of

the Complutensian Polyglots, believing that this was the only purpose of the accents, and that it was of very little value, omitted them altogether from the text. On the other hand, Bohlius said that it was an insinuation of Satan, when he persuaded some to believe that they had no other than a musical purpose. Abichtius thought they were not to be regarded as the same with the notes in a score of music, but that they merely indicated tone and emphasis, and pointed out the division and ending of sentences, where pauses were to be made, as in ordinary reading, the musical notation being still retained. The hermeneutical use is by far the most important, because, when rightly understood, it furnishes material assistance towards the interpretation of Scripture. The Jews called it *taham*, 'reason' or 'sense,' since it enabled the reader to arrive at a knowledge of the true meaning. It provides no help towards determining the correct translation of words into other languages, which could obviously have been no part of the design of the original inventors, but it points out the grammatical connection of the terms in every sentence of the pointed text, and both solves difficulties, and removes ambiguities, which frequently appear in the English and other versions. It shows in many cases, that the more modern Jewish interpretation of controverted passages is at variance with that of the elder Rabbis, and confirms the views of them taken by Christians.

Throughout the Old Testament two systems of accentuation prevail, one adapted to prose writings, the other to poetry. In the Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, it is not the same as that found in other books. A remarkable example of this difference may be seen by comparing Psa. xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii., where, although the text is the same in both places, the accentuation does not agree.

The double system of the accents of the Decalogue in Exod. xx. and Deut. v. is a peculiarity which was first pointed out by Bohlius. One catena of accentuation has reference to the commandment, showing where it begins and ends, according to the views of those who invented the punctuation, and the second to the verses as divided from each other in the text. When some commandments, such as the first, which included the first and second as now commonly understood, and third, were too long to be included in a single period, they were divided into verses by one accentuation, while by another, the unity of each was pointed out and preserved. When others, such as the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, were too short to form a single verse, they were arranged in one period,

so as to preserve the symmetry of the paragraphs, and the distinction of both was in like manner preserved by a double series of accents. When, therefore, a word is found with two accents, one has reference to the catena which embraces the period, and the other to the commandment. In the case of a third set, this peculiarity does not appear, because the commandment and the verse coinciding, there was no need for a double accentuation. This applies to the second and fourth only. The ninth and tenth commandments, which together make the tenth as now understood, were distinguished by the accents, yet united in one period, because of the unity of the prohibition in each, because together they formed a period proportionate in length to the others, and because eight having been distinguished, it was necessary that two should be constructed, in order to complete the number ten. A similar use of the accents appears at Gen. xxxv. 22, where the first Athnak clearly points out the middle of the verse, and the second a sudden break in the sense. If the punctuation could be proved to have been invented by, or to have been in use in the time of Ezra, this arrangement of the commandments would show infallibly the proper method of dividing the Decalogue, and solve a difficulty which has proved perplexing to scholars. The Lutherans follow the Masoretic punctuation. The view of Bohlius has been denied by Buxtorf, Hacksparius, and others, but an examination of the sacred text will show that the double system of accentuation exists, whatever may have been the design with which it was affixed. Cross thought that the first series of accents dividing the commandments, originated with the inspired writers themselves, and the second, distinguishing the verses, about two centuries before Christ, during the domination of the Syro-Grecian kings. In any case they were probably the work of different authors.

A knowledge of the hermeneutical value of the accents will frequently remove difficulties of interpretation, and explain ambiguities in the English version. At Gen. x. 21 there is uncertainty as to whether Shem or Japhet was the elder of the sons of Noah, the Hebrew being capable of being rendered either 'the elder brother of Japhet,' or, 'the brother of Japhet the elder,' but the accents show that the latter is the correct interpretation. The difficulty in Deut. xx. 19 is supposed to be removed by the use of the accents, which point out where a parenthesis is to be inserted. Instead of translating as in the English text, Cross proposes to render, 'O man, there are trees of the field (wild and fruitless), let them be brought before thee for the siege,' which is virtually the same as the

translation in the margin. In this case, the translators disregarded the accents in one version, and followed them in another. Deut. xxxiii. 28 appears in the English version as follows: 'Israel then shall dwell in safety alone; the fountain of Jacob (shall be) upon a land of corn and wine,' disregarding the accent *Zakeph Katon* on Jacob in the Hebrew text, which always ends a proposition. The translation ought therefore to have been, 'Israel shall dwell securely alone, by the fountain of Jacob, upon a land of corn and wine.' The English version of 1 Sam. iii. 3 leaves it doubtful whether Samuel slept in the temple where the ark of God was, or not, the impression produced by it being rather that he did, but the difficulty is removed by observing the *Athnak*. The clause, 'Samuel being laid down,' must be regarded as parenthetical. Having been removed in the translation from its proper place in the Hebrew text, it should be inserted after 'went out,' and then the version will be, 'ere the lamp of God went out, Samuel being laid down in the temple of the Lord, where the ark of God was,' &c., nothing being said of the exact place where the child was asleep. The great difficulty in 2 Kings v. 18, 19 is, in the opinion of Cross, entirely removed by attending to the accents. Instead of Naaman asking pardon from the prophet beforehand for sanctioning idolatrous worship, when his office required him to enter the temple of Rimmon, which could not have been granted, and which, if granted, would have been inconsistent with the parting salutation of Elisha, which always in Scripture implies favourable consideration, they make it evident according to him that the version ought to have been framed in such a way as to show that it had reference to what was past, and not to the future. The Hebrew is susceptible of the following interpretation, which the accents are thought to confirm: 'In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant. When my master came into the house of Rimmon he leaned upon my hand, and then I bowed myself in the name of Rimmon. In that I did bow down myself in the name of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing.' Naaman asked forgiveness for his past idolatry, saying nothing whatever about his future conduct. This view removes a difficulty which nothing that has been written upon the text as it now stands, has explained in a satisfactory manner. The translation of Judges vi. 24 in the English version is, 'and Gideon built an altar there, and called it Jehovah-Shalom.' From this the Socinians have argued that the Deity of Christ cannot necessarily be proved from the application to Him of the name Jehovah, because it is here

employed as the name of an altar. The argument cannot be sustained, for the accents show that the version is erroneous. According to them it ought to have been, 'and Gideon built an altar there, and the Lord called it peace.' In Psa. x. 15 the present translation is hopelessly obscure, owing to the neglect of the accents. The rendering, 'Break thou the arm of the wicked, and the evil man, seek out his wickedness till thou find none,' does not in the latter clause convey any clear meaning. In the Hebrew text *Athnak* stands under 'wicked,' showing that the word ends a proposition, while the accent on 'evil' shows that it is to be separated from what follows. The meaning, then, will be, 'Break thou the arm of the wicked; as for the evil man, thou shalt seek out his wickedness. Thou shalt not find it,' that is, as long as unrighteous men have the means of following out their nefarious purposes, they will never abandon them. The great difference of opinion as to the meaning of Psa. cx. 7, 'he shall drink of the brook in the way,' is removed by attending to the accentuation. The ordinary version leaves it doubtful whether 'drink' is to be construed with 'brook' or with 'way,' that is, whether the reference is to the time, or place of the drinking. The elder commentators were also divided as to what the brook signified, of which Christ was to drink on his way to the kingdom, whether the Kedron, or his sufferings, or his consolations. The accents determine nothing as to the latter question, but they point out that the construction of the sentence ought to be, 'of the brook in the way he shall drink,' showing that the reference is to the time of the drinking, that is, to the period of humiliation through which Christ passed to His glory. At Isa. xvi. 1 there is confusion in the present translation, 'Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land, from Sela (the rock) to the wilderness, unto the mount of the daughter of Zion,' from which the inference might be, either that it was to be sent to two different places, to Mount Zion and the wilderness, or else that they were both the same. The accents show that the correct version ought to be, 'Send ye the lamb belonging to the ruler of the land, from the rock, from the wilderness, to the mountain of the daughter of Zion,' which is also the literal rendering of the Hebrew, even if they were not taken into account. The Jews have laboured hard to get rid of the Messianic interpretation of Isa. ix. 5. The Targum of Jonathan paraphrases, 'His name shall be called from before Him that is the Wonderful Counsellor, God, a man enduring for ever.' Kimchi proposed to render, 'The God who is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the

Mighty God, the everlasting Father, calls his name the Prince of peace,' but neither version can be sustained, because the accents show that the English translation is correct. Rabbi Saadiah on Jer. xxiii. 6, said that the rendering ought to be, 'and the Lord shall call him our righteousness,' in order to destroy the Messianic reference. Even Aben Ezra is against him, and the accents are in favour of the common acceptation.

The accentuation is frequently of considerable importance in determining whether the Keri or the Cethib ought to be followed. At Joshua xv. 47 the English version translates according to the former, neglecting the latter, which, if rendered, would have been, 'unto the river of Egypt, and the sea its border, even border,' but the Keri agrees with the accents. The English version of 1 Sam. iv. 13 is, 'And when he came, lo, Eli sat upon a seat, by the wayside watching;' again according to the Keri, where the Cethib is, 'And Eli sat upon a seat, and smote himself, by the way, watching.' The former version is supported by the accentuation. At Isa. ix. 3 the translation follows the Cethib, while the Keri, 'thou hast multiplied the nation, and for it increased the joy,' is according to the accents. At chap. xlix. 5 the Cethib is, 'though Israel be not gathered,' but the Keri, 'to him shall Israel be gathered,' is supported both by them and by parallel places in the New Testament, such as Matt. xv. 24, John xi. 54, and Romans xv. 18. At chap. lxiii. 9 the translators followed the Keri, while other versions have adopted the Cethib, which is, 'he was not afflicted.' The former agrees with the accentuation, and is favoured by Zech. ii. 8 and Acts ix. 4. The English version of Job xiii. 15 follows the Keri, 'though he slay me, yet will I trust in him,' but the Cethib would be 'if he slay me, I will not trust him,' against the accents, which are in favour of the former.

The labours of the Masorets in noting the peculiarities of the vowels and accents were as great as in other departments of their work. In all cases where the punctuation varies from the ordinary rules without any grammatical reason, they noted the anomaly, and the number of other places where it occurred in a similar form. If an irregular punctuation appeared only once, as in Gen. xvi. 13, and Exod. xxxii. 6, it was marked in each instance, no correction being attempted. In the second example, the last word in the sentence in the ordinary Hebrew Bibles is regularly pointed, contrary to the Masoretic note. No attempt was made to explain how the variations arose, it being however in some cases noted that

they were only apparent and not real. These criticisms extend to almost every chapter of the Old Testament, and if they had been known and properly understood, they would have saved commentators a considerable amount of useless labour in the vain attempt to explain the anomalies of the vowel system, or relieved them from the discredit of leaving difficulties wholly unnoticed. The Masorets found them in the text, and left them unchanged.

The same observations will apply to the use of Dagesh and Mappik with their variations, and to the accents. That the latter existed before the Masora is evident, because otherwise there could not have been any criticisms of them. These are not so numerous as the Masoretic notes upon the vowels, partly because they furnish no help in ascertaining the meaning of terms, partly because they were supposed to be principally for cantillation, and possibly also, because at that time, the knowledge of their power in connecting together the members of sentences had begun to drop out of mind. Nevertheless these criticisms extended to a variety of minute details. The Masorets noted the effect of certain accents in changing vowels, and the anomalies which frequently occur, at variance with ordinary usage. When a word was found generally with the same accent, and when the exceptions were rare, the latter were always noted. An illustration of this is found in the accentuation of the Hebrew term rendered 'and he lived,' which occurs so frequently in Gen. v. In the chapter it is sometimes followed by a proper name standing separate, and in other cases united to it by Makkaph, with the accents Zakeph Gadol, or Rebia. To prevent any change being made, the Masorets observed that there were five examples of the former method of connecting the terms, which in the note on Gen. v. vi. are comprehended in the mnemonic symbol *Shilnag*, each letter of which is the first of the proper names, Sheth, Jared, Lamech, Noah, and Eber, which last in the Hebrew begins with *v*. The last name does not occur in this genealogical list, but at chap. xi. 16, where there is another catalogue of the patriarchs. In cases where a term received punctuation different from what was required by the accent, the Masorets noted both the latter and the vowel, lest any alteration should be introduced into the text. Athnak had the power of changing Pathak and Segol into Kamets, and wherever the change did not take place, the anomaly was duly marked. Words which were Millel sometimes appeared as Milra, and the contrary, all such cases being classified and pointed out, showing how particular accents altered the tone-syllable. At Gen. ix. 26 the Hebrew term rendered 'God,' and in two other

places is Millel, while elsewhere it is uniformly Milra, as the Masorets observed on the first passage. These may be taken as illustrations of the minute criticism to which the accents were subjected, and are a further proof of the extraordinary care used in examining the punctuation of the sacred text.

What MSS. were used by the Masorets cannot be determined, and all conjectures concerning them are useless. Nor is it likely that any of them were among those which were brought by the Jews into Europe in the eleventh century, although possibly some of the latter may have been transcripts. It is entirely from these that all subsequent copies have been derived, and upon them the present Masoretic text ultimately depends. The codex of Hillel dates from the latter end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. The Egyptian and Babylonian, otherwise called the codices of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali respectively, cannot be earlier than the middle of the eleventh century, about which time both these distinguished Rabbis flourished. The codex of Jericho, of which the age is uncertain, included only the Pentateuch, and was highly valued by Elias Levita, as the most correct extant in his time. He also speaks of the codex of Sinai, which in like manner contained only the five books of Moses, by an unknown transcriber. The peculiarity of it consists in some variations of the accentuation from that found in other copies.

The publication of Dr. Ginsburg's Masora is an event which will be memorable in the history of Jewish literature, because no edition of the work has ever before been brought out in England. Two hundred and eighty copies only have been printed, which are intended for libraries and subscribers. The part which has now appeared is merely an index of terms, without any introductory dissertation, translation, or notes, these being reserved for the third volume. Many years were expended on the work of preparing the MS. for the press, and so valuable was it considered to be, that, in order to avoid risks, it was deemed necessary to send it in the custody of a messenger of the Foreign Office to Vienna, where the printing has been going on since the summer of 1877. That such an undertaking should have been allowed to pass into the hands of foreigners reflects little credit upon English qualifications and enterprise. Of the only two sentences in the book not Chaldee or Hebrew, one is disfigured by an error, 'thrid' being printed for 'third.' Dr. Ginsburg may be congratulated on the completion of one part of his great work, but the real value and importance of the Masora will not be fully understood till the whole of it comes into the hands of scholars.

J. B. COURTENAY.

ART. IV.—*Mr. Hardy's Novels.*

- (1) *Desperate Remedies*. 1871. (2) *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. 1873.
 (3) *Far from the Madding Crowd*. 1874. (4) *The Hand of Ethelberta*. 1876. (5) *The Return of the Native*. 1878. (6)
The Distracted Young Preacher. 1879. (7) *Fellow Towns-*
men. 1880. (8) *The Trumpet Major*. 1880.

WHEN George Eliot died it was not unnatural that men should at once ask themselves if she who had been confessedly the greatest living English novelist had left any successor in the true province of literature. The question, floating in so many minds, was answered promptly and decidedly by one journal, not without influence on opinion, which claimed the falling mantle for Mr. Thomas Hardy. It was a surprise to many who read the words that such a claim should have been made; the English public, greedy for amusement, careless about good, finished, and subtle literary work, is very slow to understand that of stories which have charmed a leisure hour some are destined to pass into complete forgetfulness, having merely served to waste a part of the season, while others become a part of the literature of the country, to be read and re-read, and to place their characters as living beings among the viewless companions of our thoughts.

The power of creating personages which live, and become even more real than many historic phantasms is rarer than we may think. Most people who make pretensions to the study of literature have read not only Shakspeare, but Ben Jonson and Dryden, to say nothing of Marlowe, Beaumont and Fletcher, Wycherly, Congreve, Farquhar. Yet while the mere titles, the plot, and many isolated passages remain in the memory, how few there are who could name more than the title-character of any one play, who could be sure that they would not give to one author or to one play the *dramatis personæ* of another, while they no more confuse Shakspeare's plays than they mentally assign the children or the wife of one friend to another, or travel into the Midland Counties to visit one who lives in Devonshire.

Now if we ask ourselves who in English fiction have made their brain children our familiar friends, whom not to know is to be wanting in acquaintance with letters, and with the thought of the past and present, we shall find they are but few, Shakspeare, Fielding, Richardson, Miss Burney, perhaps—though her king, princes, and royal household are, for a

wonder, more real than her fictitious characters—Sir Walter Scott, Miss Austen, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and for those who have once become imbued with the spirit of his works, Hardy.

We shall see the difference between any of these and their fellows by taking authors whose works ran side by side—Miss Ferrier with Sir Walter Scott, Mrs. Brunton with Miss Austen. In Miss Ferrier's work Miss Pratt stands out with exceeding vividness, but we believe that many would find it difficult to say in which novel she found her place; and who can recall a single character in Mrs. Brunton's very clever novels, 'Self Controul' and 'Discipline'? In the creation of living persons, not mere lay figures round whom dress, furniture, scenery are to be arranged, we believe that the author we are now to study is the successor of George Eliot. The test is one any reader can apply, and to those who do so we have every confidence that Fancy Day and Dick Dewey, Ethelberta Petherwin, Clym Yeobright and Eustacia Vye, Parson Swancourt, and all the host of minor persons, each with its own distinctive mark, will become to their minds and memories as real and indestructible, say, as Adam Bede or Romola, and even as those drawn by Shakspeare's mighty hand, though they lack his perfect art.

Another test is one which is not so sure, since there is not, in spite of Mr. Matthew Arnold, any definite standard of literary excellence. There are those who imagine that Mrs. Henry Wood writes English, and that Ouida knows the value of the words she uses; they are wholly unable to distinguish between the faculty which is amused by an intricate if impossible plot, and that which tries and weighs style, plot, characters, the thought and learning involved in rather than displayed upon the book, against the masterpieces of fiction which the criticism of time has already tested and pronounced genuine. This test is that of literary style, wholly neglected by the majority of our novelists, whose name is Legion. The most part aim at telling their story, and depend on the story only for any value the book may possess. Some who are agreeable narrators, and who give a picture of the time in which we live fairly enough in its superficial aspects, write in a style which we feel to be simply abominable the moment we pause to consider the words in which the story is conveyed. Perhaps no writers of the non-enduring, merely ephemeral, yet pleasant kind, have ever written more or been more widely read than Mr. Trollope and Mrs. Oliphant. We doubt if there is in all their writings one single passage on which any reader has ever dwelt for its

own sake, for the thought conveyed in the given sentence, for the music of the words, or for the description of scenery apart from the context. We should be surprised to find that any intelligent person who keeps a book of extracts, no mean test of the beautiful in literature, has ever taken the trouble to copy into it a passage from either of these writers. To hurry through the mere story and see what is done with the puppets is the aim of the reader; none dwell on the page as they dwell on the words of Scott, some of whose prose chapters are little more difficult to learn by heart than is his ordered verse, or on scenes like that at the Rainbow in 'Silas Marner,' or Dinah's preaching, or Hetty's dreadful pilgrimage in 'Adam Bede,' or as now and then they lingered leisurely over Kingsley in his rich word-painting of a South American forest, or of the blazing solitude of the African desert. A really great novelist has always chapters that are quotable and readable apart from the context, for the pleasure which they give of themselves, just as scenes of a dramatist, or a chapter in the Bible can be read detached: it is in fact a note of true literature. The abdication of Mary Stuart in 'The Abbot,' the interview between Jeannie Deans and Queen Caroline in 'The Heart of Midlothian,' are types of chapters to be found in the works of all really great writers; but who ever cared to read a solitary chapter of more than two or three persons within our own memory?

But more is wanted than the power of creating characters and a good literary style. The first-rate workman rarely writes with set purpose to draw a moral. It is inconceivable that Shakspeare should have called one play 'Jealousy, or the Moor of Venice,' or another, 'God's Revenge against Murther.' He thinks of a man, Othello or Macbeth, and exhibits his qualities, he does not think of qualities and the consequences of qualities, and invent men and incidents for them. Perhaps the only exception to this among really great writers is Dickens. He, no doubt, set himself in one book to demolish Yorkshire schools, in another to reform sick nursing, and so on, but in so far as he is didactic he is tedious. Smike is a bore, and the case of Jarndyce *v.* Jarndyce could scarcely be more wearisome in the Court of Chancery itself than it is in 'Bleak House.'

Again, a writer must strike some deep human interest which shall be quite independent of the circumstances of the time in which the scene is laid. Garrick probably moved men as much, or more, playing Hamlet or Macbeth in the wig of the period than a modern actor in a costume studiously archæo-

logical, in conformity with some feigned but definite period in Denmark's history, or the most recognized Celtic traditions. It is by his intensely human sympathy that Scott triumphs, in spite of the fetters which he imposes on himself by his archæological details; and *Romola* because she is so true a woman makes us forget the somewhat too elaborate though very clever 'cram' with which the story of her life is overladen. In her other works George Eliot has for the most part taken a society which changes little—homely people with homely lives. It has been remarked that a boundless sympathy was her characteristic, but on a somewhat low level. Mr. Hardy, in the same way, but even to a greater extent, takes life where it changes least, and considers it in its most simply human aspects.

It is because there is in another remarkable writer of our day little sympathy with humanity, as such, that we do not mention him as the literary successor of George Eliot. Mr. George Meredith has no feeling of toleration for a fool. He is an accomplished literary artist, limited by this, that the only men and women worth writing about at all are those who speak in epigrams as brilliant as his own writing which describes them. When he introduces a fool and a bore the things he makes him say are often excellent; it is difficult to tell by what stroke of genius it is that the man who says so good things is yet so intolerable. Mr. Meredith is a delightful study to the diligent reader, but he is a study; he is laboured and affected, difficult sometimes as the chorus of a Greek play, always, we fear, caviare to the general, whereas the true novelist should, like the true dramatist, appeal to the many. Men must be amused, and they come to the novel as the relaxation from work. The 'Lustige Person' and the Manager in the Prologue to *Faust* have reason on their side against the high-flown arguments of the poet. The most broadly human is the truest artist after all.

All great writers are autobiographical; at least, have drawn largely from their own experiences; where we do not know that they are so, as in the case of Shakspeare, it is probably because we know so little about them. The true artist must use up what has come to him, and the highest originality is the transmutation in the alembic of the brain of the material accumulated by the worker, or by others who have gone before. Originality which is not based in a large degree on personal experience is a making of bricks not only without straw, but with very little clay.

Few men have used their own experiences so much as Mr.

Hardy, to whom we definitely turn after this somewhat long exordium, yet few have ever seemed so original to those who are in sympathy with the life which he describes. That he is less known than some far inferior people, arises from the fact that a certain country training, and somewhat of his own wide sympathy with nature, and with the simpler forms of country life, is needed before he is read and understood. In these days of overgrown towns men only take short rushes into country life, and know but little intimately of what they see; yet more than ever, and increasingly is it the case, that the readers of books are in towns and not in the country. We do not pretend to be wholly ignorant of some personal details of the author's life, but are sure that even one who was so would construct without difficulty a theory which would not fail widely when it came to be verified. That Mr. Hardy, like Mr. Barnes the Dorset poet, is sprung of a race of labouring men in a county where the real old families are attached to the soil, and the county aristocracy, except perhaps in Purbeck, are comparatively new comers; that he is not 'too proud to care from whence he came,' that, on the contrary, he regards his stock as reason for exceeding pride on two grounds—one the dignity of labour, the other that the country working-man is of nearer kin to that nature which he idealizes and personifies, till it has all the characteristics of some great supra-natural human being;—that he is thus anthropomorphic, but not in a theological sense, is apparent on the face of what he writes.

A closer observer might go further, and find autobiographic hints in the account of a young architect's life in 'A Pair of Blue Eyes,' and in 'A Laodicean,' now publishing in 'Harper's Magazine;' yet more in the minute touches whenever a building of any kind occurs in the course of his story; in the relations, apart from those of rivalry in love, existing between the same young architect and his friend Henry Knight; in other family revelations wherein it were impertinent to follow; especially as we must always remember that only the simplest basis of fact is used for the embroidery of fiction.

Mr. Hardy's first novel scarcely gave promise of the great merit of his later work. 'Desperate Remedies' is in the wildest style of extravagant romance. The hint of the *dénoûment* is given, and the *dénoûment* itself hangs on, not a lock of hair, but a single hair, a thread so minute that in real life no one would see it, much less would it play the part it here plays. The only thing to be said for the story, considered as literature, is that it is better than the sensational fictions, as

they are called, which the writer took for his model. We remember an argument many years ago, in which Charles Kingsley was one of the disputants, on the authorship of 'Titus Andronicus.' Kingsley claimed the play for Shakspeare, not basing the claim on the well-known lines, 'The hunt is up,' &c., nor on Tamora's speech to Aaron in the same hunt, but simply on the bloody murders and mutilations which strew their horror over the dreary acts. He considered it Shakspeare's first play, in which the young writer, imitative, as all such are, before he found his true style, simply outdid the raw-head-and-bloody-bones tragedies which he found all around him, and having beaten the purveyors of horrors on their own ground, turned to that which was his natural field.

The publication of 'Under the Greenwood Tree' not only at once stamped its author as an original and excellent writer, but has since attained that fatal gift of popularity which makes the book inaccessible in a decent cover. It is apparently now to be procured only in a vile binding of red and yellow, with advertisements of patent medicines on the back. But the book itself is a most delightful idyll, in the true sense of that much-suffering word, though composed of the very simplest elements. The scene shifts only from a country village to a gamekeeper's lodge in a wood, with the merest hint of the externals of town life. The *dramatis personæ* are the parson, churchwarden, schoolmistress, and ordinary villagers of a hamlet. The young people revolve round the pretty schoolmistress as moths round a candle, even the grave bachelor vicar singes his wings; and Fancy Day, the girl in question, makes a homely but suitable marriage with the carrier's son. But the book is delightful because all the sweet and liberal air of Dorset blows through it, because a county little known to the world beyond it, but loved well by those who are Dorset born, or have made it their home, is lovingly presented in all its pleasant aspects, its rough frank life, its genuine English language, the fair scenery of its woods and wolds.

In it Mr. Hardy has laid down the lines of his work, so to speak, and we may therefore examine some of his special excellences before proceeding further. First, Mr. Hardy has interpreted for us the village life which is so difficult to understand. The dweller in towns thinks the country labourer a lout because his speech differs greatly from his own, the real fact being that the dialect is far less debased than the clipt and smooth language of educated people, which tends more and more to reduce all the vowels to one sound.

The townsman thinks his country brother stupid because he often is unable to read and write, forgetting the compensating memory which is cultivated to its highest point because verbal memoranda are lacking ; and finding that the countryman is ignorant of some terms of town use, jumps to the conclusion that the whole vocabulary of the labourer is extremely slender. But says Mr. Barnes—

If a man would walk with me through our village, I could show him many things of which we want to speak every day, and for which we have words of which Johnson knew nothing.*

And again—

There came out in print some time ago a statement wonderful to me, that it had been found that the poor land folk of one of our shires had only about two hundred words in their vocabulary, with a hint that Dorset rustics were not likely to be more fully worded. There can be shown to any writer two hundred thing-names known to every man and woman of our own village for things of the body and dress of a labourer, without any mark-words [adjectives], or time-words [verbs], and without leaving the man for his house, or garden, or the field, or his work.†

And the fact that the countryman has not the town speech in full measure, and uses words and accent which are strange to the town, leads to the mistake that the language is radically different, that the labourers never talk like their employers and chance visitors, and if shown at all in fiction should always employ few words and a quite unintelligible tongue. Shakspeare should have taught us otherwise, though he only introduces his countrymen incidentally, and usually in his more comic scenes : he was bound to amuse his town audience, but he never did so at the expense of truth.

Now Mr. Hardy gives us always sufficient indication of dialect to produce the impression he wishes. One who knows the country of which he speaks catches the keynote and has the tune always in his ear ; but the outsider is not puzzled by too much dialect and many strange words ; the author has the true sense of what is needed for his art, and the strength of reserve.

Here, for instance, is a scene at the village shoemaker's, when the choir are criticising the parson, who will not stand by them, and wishes to introduce a harmonium to lead the services—

His visitors now stood on the outside of his window, sometimes leaning against the sill, sometimes moving a pace or two backwards and forwards

* 'English Speech-Craft,' p. v.

† Ibid. p. 89.

in front of it. They talked with deliberate gesticulations to Mr. Penny, enthroned in the shadow of the interior.

'I do like a man to stick to men who be in the same line o' life—o' Sundays, any way—that I do so.'

'Tis like all the doings of folk who don't know what a day's work is, that's what I say.'

'My belief is, the man's not to blame; 'tis *she* [the schoolmistress]—she's the bitter weed.'

'No, not altogether. He's a poor gawkhammer. Look at his sermon yesterday.'

'His sermon was well enough, a very excellent sermon enough, only he couldn't put it into words and speak it. That's all was the matter wi' the sermon. He hadn't been able to get it past his pen.'

'Well—ay, the sermon might be good enough; for, ye see, the sermon of Old Ecclesiastes himself lay in Old Ecclesiastes's ink bottle before he got it out.'

Mr. Penny, being in the act of drawing the last stitch tight, could afford time to look up and throw in a word at this point.

'He's no spouter—that must be said, 'a b'lieve.'

'Tis a terrible muddle sometimes with the man, as far as that goes,' said Spinks.

'Well, well say nothing about that,' the tranter [carrier] answered; 'for I don't believe 'twill make a penneth o' difference to we poor martels here or hereafter whether his sermons be good or bad, my sonnies.'

Mr. Penny made another hole with his awl, pushed in the thread, and looked up and spoke again at the extension of arms.

'Tis his goings-on, souls, that's what it is.' He clenched his features for an Herculean addition to the ordinary pull, and went on: 'The first thing he do when he cam here was to be hot and strong about church business.'

'Trew,' said Spinks; 'that was the very first thing he do.'

'The next thing he do is to think about altering the church, until he found 'twould be a matter o' cost and what not, and then not to think no more about it.'

'Trew: that was the very first thing he do.'

'And the next thing was to tell the young chaps that they were not on no account to put their hats in the font during service.'

'Trew.'

'And then 'twas this, and then 'twas that, and now 'tis——'

'Now 'tis to turn us out of the quire neck and crop,' said the tranter, after a silent interval of half a minute, not at all by way of explaining the pause, which had been quite understood, but simply as a means of keeping the subject well before the meeting.

Mr. Hardy's books are full of such passages, some far better, such as the scene in the vault, in 'A Pair of Blue Eyes,' the 'Sunday hair-cutting at Egdon,' in 'The Return of the Native,' the conversation in the barn, in 'Far from the Mad-ding Crowd.' But we have taken his earlier work because in it he first showed that here was a man who could put before us the life of English peasants, so wholly unknown to the great mass of English readers. And having lived among West country folk from childhood, the writer of these lines

believes there is not in all Mr. Hardy's works one exaggerated or untrue word in his descriptions of those whom he knows so well.

And next he is an interpreter of the simpler aspects of nature to many who have no time to commune with her, and learn her secrets at first hand. Year by year masses of our people, and they our chief readers, see less and less of simple quiet country scenes. Brick and mortar swallow up our lives, and when we escape from them, it is to the sea or to the mountains, not to lose ourselves in English woods, or wander over the downs and in the green lanes which exist only here, and date from British days, older still than the great Roman roads still to be traced in the west in unexpected places, green across hill and dale. Only a few days since we spoke to a young clerk who had escaped from London on Sunday into one of the loveliest districts of Surrey, and we asked if he had walked through a certain yew-tree grove, the wonder of the neighbourhood. To one country-bred there was something pathetic in the avowal that he did not know a yew-tree, nor indeed any one tree from another. To such an one it would be a revelation, to many another a sweet memory, to hear that—

To dwellers in a wood, almost every species of tree has its voice as well as its feature. At the passing of the breeze, the fir-trees sob and moan no less distinctly than they rock; the holly whistles as it battles with itself; the ash hisses amid its quiverings; the beech rustles while its flat boughs rise and fall; and winter, which modifies the note of such trees as shed their leaves, does not destroy its individuality.*

Or again, take and analyze this description of the wind blowing over a great heath.

The wind, indeed, seemed made for the scene, as the scene seemed made for the hour. Part of its tone was quite special; what was heard there could be heard nowhere else. Gusts in innumerable series followed each other from the north-west, and when each of them raced past, the sound of its progress resolved into three. Treble, tenor, and bass notes were to be found therein. The general *ricochet* of the whole over pits and prominences had the gravest pitch of the chime. Next there could be heard the baritone buzz of a holly tree. Below these in force, above them in pitch, a dwindled voice strove hard at a husky tune, which was the peculiar local sound alluded to. Thinner and less immediately traceable than the other two, it was far more impressive than either. In it lay what may be called the linguistic peculiarity of the heath; and is audible nowhere on earth off a heath.

Throughout the blowing of these plaintive November winds that note bore a great resemblance to the ruins of human song which remain to the

* 'Under the Greenwood Tree.'

throat of fourscore and ten. It was a worn whisper, dry and papery, and it brushed so distinctly across the ear that, by the accustomed, the material minutiae in which it originated could be realized as by touch. It was the united product of infinitesimal vegetable causes, and there were neither stems nor twigs, neither leaves nor fruit, neither blades nor prickles, neither lichen nor moss.

They were the minimized heath-bells of the past summer, originally tender and purple, now washed colourless by Michaelmas rains and dried to dead skins by October suns. So low was an individual sound from these that a combination of hundreds only just emerged from silence. One inwardly saw the infinity of those combined multitudes: one perceived that each of the tiny trumpets was seized on, entered, scoured, and emerged from by the wind as thoroughly as if it were as vast as a crater.*

That is admirable. Only those who do not know the country, or whose ears are somewhat hard of hearing, will think it overstrained, and they, perhaps, to a less degree if they remember how Keble, cradled among the Gloucestershire hills, where winds blow less strongly than in the wild west, spoke of a somewhat analogous sound—

Lone Nature feels that she may freely breathe,
And round us and beneath
Are heard her sacred tones: the fitful sweep
Of winds across the steep
Through withered bents—romantic note and clear,
Meet for a hermit's ear.

In all his books, without any effort, Mr. Hardy brings in nature as a personality, now aiding, now at war with man, now subdued, now triumphant, but always as living and in relation to human life. There is something of the relic of old paganism in his way of viewing her, as indeed there is so much of it in his own county. And he likes to take us where we see her moods—with the keeper into the heart of the wood; with Gabriel Oak the shepherd, to the wild hill-side and the chalk-pit; with the reddleman across lanes and commons known to but few even of the country folk; to the brow of the cliff beetling over the sea, where 'it rained upwards instead of down, the strong ascending current of air carried the rain-drops with it in its race up the escarpment.' He has learned many of the multitudinous languages in which nature speaks, both with tongues and looks, as truly as the king in the 'Arabian Nights' had learned the speech of beast and bird.

In his second novel—'A Pair of Blue Eyes'—Mr. Hardy showed that he had made a great advance in his power of

* 'The Return of the Native.'

drawing character and in the construction of a story. The first was a clever sketch; here was a finished and excellent study. It is needless to tell the story, and unfair to those who have not read it. But in it was given a hint of one of the writer's limitations. Elfrida Swancourt, though in a higher station, is own spiritual sister to Fanny Day, and, with one exception, all Mr. Hardy's women have a family likeness. They are all charming; they are all flirts from their cradle; they are all in love with more than one man at once; they seldom, if they marry at all, marry the right man; and while well conducted for the most part, are somewhat lacking in moral sense, and have only rudimentary souls. Undines of the earth, the thought of death scarce occurs in connection with them, and the pathos is all the deeper when Elfrida dies, like the Lady of Burleigh, 'with the burden of an honour unto which she was not born,' and the blight of three men's lives as an added weight.

The funeral of Elfrida, Lady Luxellian, is one of two scenes connected with death in 'A Pair of Blue Eyes,' and in each of them there is a whimsicality of treatment which is strange, but neither jarring nor irreverent. Dealing as he does with life in its purely human and temporal aspect, leaving to the preacher all which may be asserted or conjectured about the great issues to which it leads, he has only to do with the terrible irony of the fact of the rigid and impenetrable veil which shuts suddenly like a portcullis behind the retreating figure. To deal with this in the great tragic style would be quite alien to Mr. Hardy's temperament and purpose; to deal with it as a theologian would be perhaps impossible, certainly incongruous; he softens the thought of it by those gleams of humour inseparable from what we have called the irony of death. 'I should have gone mad in my sorrow,' said a believing Christian, who was for a time stunned, as it were, to all religious comfort, 'if I had not been sustained by my sense of humour.'

The labourers are enlarging the vault for the first Lady Luxellian, Elfrida's predecessor. One says—

'She must know by this time whether she's to go up or down, poor woman!'

'What was her age?'

'Not more than seven or eight and twenty by candlelight. But Lord! by day 'a was forty if 'a were an hour.'

'Ay, night time or day time makes a difference of twenty years to rich feyriees,' observed Martin.

'I seed her, poor soul,' said a labourer from behind some removed coffins, 'only but last Valentine's-day of all the world. 'A was arm in

crook wi' my lord. I says to myself, You be ticketed Churchyard, my noble lady, although you don't dream on't.'

'I see a bundle of letters go off an hour after the death. Sich wonderful black rims as they letters had—half-an-inch wide, at the very least.'

'Too much,' observed Martin. 'In short, 'tis out of the question that a human being can be so sorrowful as black edges half-an-inch wide. I'm sure people don't feel more than a very narrow border when they feels most of all.'

So, again, in *'Under the Greenwood Tree,'* young Dick Dewey is coming home from a friend's funeral, and passes the house of the girl to whom he is engaged.

'O Dick, how wet you are!' she said. 'Why your coat shines as if it had been varnished, and your hat—my goodness, there's a streaming hat!'

'O, I don't mind, darling!' said Dick, cheerfully. 'Wet never hurts me, though I am rather sorry for my best clothes. However, it couldn't be helped; they lent all the umbrellas to the women.'

'And look, there's a nasty patch of something just on your shoulder.'

'Ah, that's japanning; it's rubbed off the clamps of poor Jack's coffin, when we lowered him from our shoulders upon the bier. I don't care for that, for 'twas the last deed I could do for him; and 'tis hard if you can't afford a coat to an old friend.'

What Mr. Hardy does in reference to death he does also in reference to the other ills attendant on life—disease, sorrow, superstition. He could not bear the tragedy, or help us to bear it, unless he showed the strand of comedy interwoven; he is ironical in the deepest sense.

In *'Far from the Madding Crowd'* he touched deeper notes, but we do not think the book so great a success as his earlier or his later work. The heroine, who as usual plays fast and loose with her lovers, a young farmeress and heiress in one, is a less womanly woman, with all her coquettish ways, than are his other fantastic creations. The tragedy of Bold's suicide, and of the death of the girl Bathsheba's husband has betrayed, is somewhat too deep for its surroundings. Not that such subjects are unfit for fiction; to assert they were so would be to be unlearned to Shakspeare and Scott; but in *'Far from the Madding Crowd'* the character of the piece, so to speak, is melodramatic rather than tragical, while the incidents, or some of them, require a more harmonious setting. Still there are great merits in the book, the same love of nature, the same subtle analysis of motive, unexpected yet true complications of plot, as in *'A Pair of Blue Eyes.'* What is especially *new* in the work is not of any very deep interest.

In *'The Hand of Ethelberta'* the writer has taken a fresh departure, and produced one of the most striking works of English fiction. It is throughout comedy, even approximating

to farce, yet in it was put forth one side of the author's view of duty as the moving principle of life, to be worked out grandly and seriously in a yet maturer work. We have to admit, as in witnessing a comedy, unlikely though not wholly impossible premisses. Ethelberta Petherwin has sprung of very refined parents, though in humble life—both domestic servants. She has passed, by the time she is eighteen, through the stages of pupil-teacher in a good school, nursery governess, a clandestine marriage to a rich youth, widowhood, and recognition by her husband's mother. She is launched on society, clever, beautiful, brave, with unknown antecedents, and, by an accident, almost penniless. A less able artist with this conception in his brain would scarcely have avoided imitation of a great model; he would have drawn an adventuress of the Becky Sharpe type. Ethelberta is saved from this, and from all temptation to this, by her complete unselfishness. Her moving principle is love for her family, the desire to advance them in such ways as they, not she, consider best. It is a first step in the conception of a great unselfish love for mankind to be brought out hereafter. We rise to the thought of an abstract humanity to which each has his duties, to which each owes a true unselfish love, through the idea of a family. How this is worked out—through coquetries, of course, otherwise Ethelberta were none of Mr. Hardy's heroines; through difficulties which might well perplex a braver spirit, and seriously embarrass one with any real conscience or more than embryonic soul—we need not here tell. What we have said is enough to give the key to the work when read.

Though the scene is laid partly in London, the whole country portion of it is pure Dorset; but in his treatment of the scenery we could wish that Mr. Hardy had either been less minute or more accurate. To a non-native it does not matter, but to those who know it is perplexing to find Swanage made forty miles instead of twenty by road from Bournemouth, and that the trees of Lulworth can be seen in a gap of the hills from Corfe Castle. But the breeze of the Purbeck down, and the wash of the Purbeck sea are felt and heard through the book as though we rode with Ethelberta to Corfe, or waited for the steamer on Swanage pier.

In 'The Return of the Native' Mr. Hardy has touched his highest level, and we doubt if he will ever surpass it. Not that he has not many years of good work in him—he is still a young man—but because there is in it a sustained philosophy, a grasp of the problems of life, a clear conception of human

duty which a man rarely puts into words twice and under more than one form. The leading thought is man's duty to man under discouragement, under the loss of love and health, and of hope for self. We scarcely know where in the range of English fiction to look for a more noble, more pathetic figure than that of Clym Yeobright, the itinerant open-air lecturer, who, after his life was shattered, still 'went about doing good.'

He left alone set creeds and systems of philosophy, finding enough, and more than enough, to occupy his tongue in the opinions and actions common to all good men. Some believed him, and some believed him not; some said that his words were common-place, others complained of his want of spiritual doctrine; while others again remarked that it was well enough for a man to take to preaching who could not see to do anything else. But everywhere he was kindly received, for the story of his life had become generally known.

The scene of the story, the great Dorset heathland, is little known. We remember hearing Mr. Hardy say that, when he was writing it, he thought to himself that only Mr. — among all his probable readers in London would know accurately the district of his story. But without effort it has all the charm of the revelation of a new land, the customs and thoughts of a very peculiar and conservative people are wonderfully brought before us, and we are made to feel that, with all their unusual surroundings, they are of the same land and race as we are, moved by the same passions, hopes, and fears.

For 'The Trumpet Major' we care less; the mere novel-reader will probably like it better. But to us it labours under the defect of dealing with a time rather different from our own; the author has had to cram or be crammed for it, and the effort to reproduce that which is not a part of his own life is apparent. We are aware it shares this disadvantage with some very great works—with 'Romola,' with 'Esmond,' with 'The Fortunes of Nigel,'—and to say Mr. Hardy has not wholly failed where Scott has only partially succeeded, is to give high praise. The time is that of the alarm of a French invasion during the First Empire, and no doubt all is carefully studied from tradition, but the costumes of the day give somewhat the effect of a stage revival.

Of the story now publishing in the pages of 'Harper's Magazine' it is obviously impossible to speak, nor have we space to do more than name two admirable stories contributed to the now defunct 'New Quarterly Magazine,' 'The Distracted Young Preacher,' and 'Fellow Townsmen.' In these there is no disguising of distances, no confusion of place.

The village in the one, the town in the other are as much Ower Moyne and Bridport as St. Oggs in the 'Mill on the Floss' is Gainsborough, and the incidents in the former tale are true, transfigured and in some degree softened by an able artist hand.

In reviewing the whole series of Mr. Hardy's works—not at all too great in quantity to be admirable in quality during a period of ten years—the first general fact that strikes us, assuming him to be an accurate observer, is the unchanging character of the country side and the country folk. The old features of the landscape remain more perhaps in Dorset than in any other county, the road for instance from Wareham to Corfe Castle is the same, and over the same unenclosed heath as it was when the murdered Edward was dragged by the stirrup along the wild four miles; the speech, the dress in many parts—smock and long leather greaves—is the same; the food the same as when Wamba and Gurth discovered that bacon was the only real English word for cooked meat. Twice only, as far as we remember, does Mr. Hardy speak of the flesh food of the peasantry, and in both cases it is pig's liver. We take from 'Under the Greenwood Tree'—

'Once I was sitting in the little kitchen of the "Three Choughs" at Casterbridge, having a bit of dinner, and a brass band struck up in the street. Such a beautiful band as that were! I was sitting eating fried liver and lights, I well can mind—ah I was! and to save my life I couldn't help chawing to the tune. Band played six-eight time; six-eight chaws I, willynilly. Band plays common; common time went my teeth among the fried liver and lights as true as a hair. Beautiful 'twere! Ah, I shall never forget that there band.'

And in 'A Pair of Blue Eyes'—

'Owing to your coming a day sooner than we first expected,' said John, 'you'll find us in a turk of a mess, sir'—'sir' says I to my own son!—but ye've gone up so, Stephen—we've killed the pig this morning for ye, thinking ye'd be hungry, and glad of a morsel of fresh mate. And 'a won't be cut up till to-night. However, we can make ye a good supper of fry, which will chaw up well wi' a dab o' mustard and a few nice new taters, and a drop of shilling ale to wash it down.'

Perhaps nothing is more surprising to those who have only known English country life from such novels as Miss Yonge's than to see the extraordinarily small part played by the clergy in Mr. Hardy's books. In truth, the ordinances of religion summed up in the parson have but scant influence on the life of the English labourer, and of the country folk generally. He is not the all-pervading spiritual presence which the religious spinster of the upper class supposes; he

is a gentleman who touches their lives at sundry points, but is to keep within his own limits, and intrude on them no more than they intrude on him. Of dogmatic differences in the Church they are wholly ignorant. We have known a succession of clergymen in the same country parish within five years, varying from the extremest Calvinism, through a phase of High Churchism scarcely to be distinguished from Popery, to a liberalism differing in nothing but name from Unitarianism. All were accepted by the parishioners, the differences of doctrine were never distinguished except so far as they implied differences in practice, or interfered with any of the habits of an unchanging people.

The Church in Wessex has not eradicated superstition (how, indeed, should it do so ?), has only affected morals to an unappreciable extent, while even education has waited for the day of School Boards and modern Acts affecting labour. Were it to be objected to Mr. Hardy's books that there is about them here and there a kind of frank paganism, an acceptance, without moral blame, of superstition, no hasty scouting of the possibility of witchcraft, a forgetfulness of the triumphs of civilization; we should reply that these are some of the essential characteristics of the people and the country among which he has lived, that he gives life as he sees it, and not as it ought to be according to the ideas of certain outsiders.

With regard to one side of country life, on which he is as well informed as all others, it may be thought that he deliberately chooses only that which is fair and virtuous and pure for the sake of the picture he wishes to draw, and into the grace of which he will introduce no incongruous feature, that he has left out the most essential elements. This is not so. The English labourer is frank, but he is not coarse, save as Fielding's novels are coarse; that is, he introduces words which do not find their way into drawing-rooms, but he would recoil as from a snake in the grass at the thoughts and suggestions which are in many fashionable novels; his very vices have in them more of clumsiness and horse-play than of deliberate evil. He is purer than his town neighbours: if chastity consist in truth to one woman through life, so that the chaste man might adopt Arthur's words to Guinivere, 'For I was ever virgin save for thee,' we assert that the agricultural labourer stands higher than any other class in the community; he is truthful, honest, and trustworthy, and if he exceed in liquor, he certainly in this has no monopoly of vice or of needless indulgence.

If Mr. Hardy has indeed drawn his characters on the whole favourably, in spite of their many shortcomings; if he has drawn true gentlemen in his village carpenter John Smith, the reddleman Diggory Venn, the tranter Dick Dewey, it is because these men and their prototypes are so in fact. 'Though,' as Dickens said of the brothers Cheeryble, 'they eat with their knives and never went to school,' we never expect to find in any rank or position truer or more high-minded gentlemen than some Dorset labourers we are proud to call friends. But those who associate with them—a difficult matter for whomsoever is not bred among them—must expect that plainness of speech so graphically described in the novels under consideration—

'O, sir, please here's tranter Dewy, and Old William Dewy, and young Richard Dewy, O, and all the quire too, sir, except the boys, a-come to see you!' said Mr. Maybold's servant to Mr. Maybold, the pupils of her eyes dilating like circles in a pond.

'All, the choir!' said the astonished vicar.

'And they look very firm, and tranter Dewy do turn neither to the right hand nor to the left, but looked quite straight and solemn, with his mind made up!'

'O, all the choir,' repeated the vicar to himself, trying by that simple device to trot out his thoughts on what the choir could come for.

'Yes; every man-jack of 'em, as I be alive!' (The parlour-maid was rather local in manner, having in part been raised in the same village.)

'Really, sir, 'tis thoughted by many in both town and country that——'

'Town and country! Heavens, I had no idea that I was public property in this way!' said the vicar—'Well, it is thought in town and country that,——'

'It is thought that you are going to get it hot and strong!—excuse my uncivility, sir.' *

And again—

'Why don't your stap-mother (the speaker's wife) come down?' said Geoffry. 'You'll excuse her, Mister Dick, she's a little quare sometimes.'

'O yes,—quite,' said Richard, as if he were in the habit of excusing several people every day.

'She d' belong to that class of womankind that become second wives; a rum class rather.'

'Indeed,' said Dick, with sympathy.

'Yes! and 'tis trying to a female, especially if you've been a first wife, as she hev.'

'Very trying it must be.'

'Yes; you see her first husband was a young man, who let her go too far; in fact, she used to kick up Bob's-a-dying at the least thing in the world. And when I'd married her and found it out, I thought, thinks I, "'Tis too late now to begin to cure ye;" and so I let her bide. But she's quare—very quare at times!'

'I'm sorry to hear that.'

* 'Under the Greenwood Tree.'

'Yes; these wives be such a provoking class of society, because though they be never right, they be never more than half wrong.' *

Mr. Hardy not only reproduces the humours of the country for us; he is brimful of humour himself. One of the ways in which this manifests itself is in his similes and analogies. We find, quite at random, opening the pages of the 'Distracted Young Preacher;' the poor lad, fresh from college, and wholly ignorant of the country, trapped into association with smugglers whether he will or no—

Lizzy looked alarmed for the first time, 'Will you go and tell our folk?' she said. 'They ought to be let know.' Seeing his conscience *struggling within him like a boiling pot*, she added, 'No, never mind, I'll go myself.'

And the same sort of unexpectedness appears in the simplest narrative, where no deliberate simile is intended. In the 'Hand of Ethelberta' the Honourable Edgar Mountclere and Solomon Chicherel, a carpenter, are unexpectedly benighted fellow-travellers, hoping to get shelter and food at a roadside public-house—

'Come, publican, you'd better let us in. You don't dare to keep nobility waiting like this.'

'Nobility!'

'My mate hev the title of Honourable, whether or no; so let's have none of your slack,' said Sol.

'Don't be a fool, young chopstick!' exclaimed Mountclere. 'Get the door opened.'

'I will—in my own way,' said Sol, testily. 'You mustn't mind my trading upon your quality, as 'tis a case of necessity. This is a woman nothing will bring to reason but an appeal to the higher powers. If every man of title was as useful as you are to-night, sir, I'd never call them lumber again as long as I live.'

'How singular!'

'There's never a bit of rubbish that won't come in use, if you keep it some years.'

And of a young Wesleyan minister climbing a church tower—

The young man ascended, and presently found himself among consecrated bells for the first time in his life, Nonconformity having been in the Stockdale blood for some generations. He eyed them uneasily, and looked round for Lizzy.

In 'The Trumpet Major' this imaginative power has perhaps played tricks with Mr. Hardy. He has carried the analogies he sees between the human face and a landscape

* 'Under the Greenwood Tree.'

too far ; there are places in all his works in which he treads on the borders of what is strained. But it is seldom that he does so, and he rarely ever passes them. It is much to find even here a man who sees more than others, and does not rest for ever in the obvious and commonplace.

Our pleasant task is almost done. We think we have said enough to show that here is a novelist who—while he excites little short of wonder and enthusiasm in a certain section of the public, the comparatively few who know him—has not at all taken hold on the great popular mind, sometimes slow to discover when a new genius has arisen in the intellectual sky.

We have only to say more, that while Mr. Hardy is never didactic, never dogmatic, never definitely religious—the novelist who is so imperfectly apprehends the difference between a novel and a sermon, spoiling both—his whole influence is pure, ennobling, and gracious ; there is no line from beginning to end of his works we could wish to blot, no book which does not leave the reader heartily amused and raised in moral tone.

That Mr. Hardy has taken his place in the true literature of England is to us beyond question. For his sake and for their own we trust the larger public will recognize the fact, and steep themselves in the fresh healthy air of Dorset, and come into contact with the kindly folk who dwell there, through these pages, and then test their truth, as they can, in summer visits to the wolds, hill-sides, and coasts, which their 'native' has described so well.

ART. V.—*Schliemann's Ilios.*

Ilios ; the City and Country of the Trojans. The Results of Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Troy and throughout the Troad in the Years 1871–73 and 1878–79. By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN, F.S.A. With a Preface, Appendices, and Notes, Maps, and Plans, and about 1800 Illustrations. John Murray.

It appears to have been the author's desire, in bringing out, so soon after 'Troy and its Remains,' * this still larger and more profusely illustrated volume, not merely to give a more detailed account of his discoveries at Hissarlik, but to write an exhaustive treatise on the mythology, ethnography, and

* John Murray. 1875.

history of ancient Troy, including even its fauna, its flora, and its geology, with the topography of the whole region around and adjacent to it. This sufficiently comprehensive scheme has attained its completion in a beautiful though rather bulky royal octavo of more than eight hundred pages. As a work for the wealthy to store in the library or to lay on the drawing-room table we, of course, cordially welcome it. It is no insignificant contribution to our knowledge of the past; and the facts which it presents to us lose none of their value as facts, even if they seem to be sometimes unduly pressed in the service of a cherished theory—the historical character of the *Iliad*. The illustrations are, of course, to some extent, the same as before, but many new plans are added, and a greatly enlarged series is given of the pottery, metallic vases, and rude implements found, none of which, however curious and interesting in themselves, furnish the slightest elucidation of Homeric art. They are all (some of the jewellery, perhaps, excepted) absolutely barbarous, the work of people or peoples not more advanced in civilization than the natives of New Guinea, or Central America, or New Zealand now are. The small clay idols, or fetishes, representing, as Dr. Schliemann supposes (but it is a mere guess), the *Palladium*, or heaven-fallen statue of *Athené*, ‘are certainly ruder than the rudest ever found in Greece or elsewhere.’ What they do prove is simply the fact that a fortress or hill-city on *Hissarlik* was inhabited in very early times by a very primitive people. But whether the early occupants of it had any, and if so, what, relation to the people who, according to a very old legend or history, fought with the Greeks on the Trojan plain, is a matter still absolutely uncertain. Thus much we must state, as our own conviction, at the outset of our notice of ‘*Ilios*.’ With some of the theories propounded by the enterprising and munificent author we feel ourselves, unfortunately, compelled to disagree. To accept the *Iliad* as in any sense historical, and to believe that it contains history now first confirmed by fact, can only result from a long and very cautious consideration. So very much is to be said on the other side that the natural enthusiasm of a discoverer has to be repressed rather than stimulated by a conscientious reviewer, who is groping his way through prehistoric mists into the dim dawn of a nascent literature.

On Dr. Schliemann's *Autobiography* we have first a few observations to make. He tells us that ‘it did not take him more than six weeks to master the difficulties of modern Greek,’ and in three months he learned sufficient of the

ancient language 'to understand some of the ancient authors; and especially Homer, whom he read and re-read with the most lively enthusiasm.' Many very clever men have read Homer for half a century, but would hesitate to make the same avowal. In two years more he read 'almost all the classical authors cursorily, and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* several times.' He 'never lost any precious time in studying the rules of Greek grammar,' but 'followed the very simple method of learning ancient Greek as he would have learnt a modern language.' He tells us 'he is perfectly acquainted with all the grammatical rules without ever knowing whether or not they are contained in the grammars.' Moreover, 'when any man finds errors in his Greek, he can immediately prove that he is right by merely reciting passages from the classics where the sentences employed by him occur.'

He therefore 'strongly recommends all directors of colleges and schools to introduce the method he has followed; to do away with the abominable English pronunciation of Greek; which has never been in use outside of England; to let children first be taught modern Greek by native Greek professors, and only afterwards begin ancient Greek when they can speak and write the modern language with fluency, which it can hardly take them more than six months to do.' All the difficulties of the ancient language, he considers, can be mastered in a year, so that intelligent boys 'will not only learn it as a living language, but will also understand the ancient classics, and be able to write fluently on any subject they are acquainted with.' Truly, this is a revolution in our old-fashioned scholastic ideas.

He goes on to denounce 'the arbitrary and atrocious pronunciation of Greek usual in England,' and 'the erroneous method employed of disregarding the accents entirely; and considering them as mere impediments' (!) And so satisfied is he of 'the stubborn fact' that Greek can be learnt very quickly and very easily, that he tells us he has known office-clerks at Athens who 'have been able in four months to understand Homer and even Thucydides.'

It is quite obvious to remark that no one with a really accurate and critical knowledge of ancient Greek could write in this style. Dr. Schliemann seems quite unconscious that the modern Greek pronunciation of accents to mark stress or *ictus* on a syllable is in itself a corruption totally destructive of the sonorous harmony of Greek verse. The word *πεδίον* pronounced at the end of an Homeric hexameter *pedēō*, utterly loses all its metrical force and dignity by the shorten-

ing of the diphthong *ou*. Again, he does not seem at all to have considered that the main use of Greek, as an instrument of education, consists in the logical appreciation of the complex phenomena of the language. If Greek could really be learnt in six months, by the colloquial method, though talking it and writing it as a living language might have some practical uses, it would be wholly useless for all purposes of mental discipline and improvement.

To proceed, however, to the subject of our review. The question will arise in the minds of many why, if it is impossible to connect the Homeric Troy or the Homeric people with the remains at Hissarlik, in any way whatever, except in the probable coincidence of the sites, so much should have been said on matters so entirely extraneous to the actual discoveries made? Why this display of classical learning, extending in chapters ii. and iii. to more than 150 pages, with numerous and long quotations from Strabo; Apollodorus, and others, if the discoveries give us no knowledge either of the peoples who successively occupied the place, or of the date and duration of each occupation? Why, again, should at least 300 pages have been devoted to minute descriptions of archaic pottery?

In his anxiety to establish some real historical relation between the Homeric poem and the city or cities at Hissarlik, Dr. Schliemann nowhere shows himself to be conscious of two facts which are of the greatest possible importance to the controversy. One is, that all the details of the Homeric armour, however mixed up with exaggerated accounts of heroes hurling huge stones and fighting as only mythical giants or real barbarians fight, are essentially those of the fifth century B.C., as known to us from the numerous extant vase-paintings; the second fact is, and it is one fully established by the most recent inquiry, that very different poems from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* which we now possess were current as 'Homer' previously to the age of Plato. This fact we know from the long and oft-repeated incidents of the Trojan war as given by Pindar and the tragic poets, who differ very widely indeed from the existing Homeric texts, and evidently had epics of a much larger range. Later writers indeed disparaged these epics as 'Cyclic,' but the earlier writers unquestionably regarded them as the genuine 'Homer.' Consequently, all attempts to connect the barbaric implements and buildings found at Hissarlik with the finished, if archaic, poem of the *Iliad*, must be vain. The genius manifested in the composition of such an epic out of very old and obsolete materials, is in itself indicative of the highest and

best period of Greek literature. Poets who could compose an *Iliad* are not contemporaries of artists who make pots and pans of the type of those buried in the Hissarlik mound. And if they are not contemporaries, neither can they be, in any proper sense, witnesses to facts of another period. To put the matter before his readers correctly, Dr. Schliemann should have laid down this proposition: 'A very early poem, traditionally ascribed to one *Homer*, on a war, mythical or historical, between Trojan and Grecian heroes, shows sufficient local indications of truthfulness to enable us to say that the poet must have had some acquaintance with the neighbourhood of the Troad, sufficiently correct to enable him to describe generally its scenery and surroundings. If, therefore, the tradition was founded on any real city, the acropolis of an historic or prehistoric king or chief, that city must have been at Hissarlik, because, though the site by no means agrees with many statements in the present poem, it can be conclusively proved that no other city in the neighbourhood could have been the *Ilios* of the original ballad.'

This view, consistent as it is with all the early historical evidence which agrees in identifying Troy with the Greek *Ilium*, would have been accepted by all scholars. The mistake was to bring in *history* to establish the truth of the war, and to attempt to prove that which is absolutely incapable of proof.

There is a third fact which Dr. Schliemann, in common with all enthusiastic believers in an historical *Homer*, entirely ignores or denies—the composite nature of the poems, the work probably of many poets of widely different ages and countries, some of whom may have seen the plain of Troy, others may describe it from the accounts either of travellers or of still earlier poets.

The more often that I read over and over, and carefully consider (writes Professor C. G. Cobet) the ancient Ionic ballads which have come to us under the name of *Homer*, the more I feel convinced of the truth of the opinion, that these are not the composition of one bard, but were the songs of many poets of different ages and countries, originally devoted to the same theme, and collected at a later time and compiled into one *corpus* or literary work.*

Cobet thus agrees with the conclusions of Bentley and of F. A. Wolf.

The same opinion is held by Professor Sayce, who has

* 'Miscellanea Critica,' p. 401. This is the deliberate statement of one of the most eminent of living Greek scholars and critics.

shown * that the poems as we have them must have undergone the extensive recension of an Attic poet, the mixed nature of the present Homeric vocabulary rendering it certain that it is *not* one genuine and original poem.

Now this being admitted, we can explain many inconsistencies. Those who thought the site of Troy was on the hill of Hissarlik, in the Trojan plain, spoke of its being 'built on the plain,' ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, while others who thought the site was at Bounar-Bashi, further up in the hills, and nearer the sources of the Scamander, described (what may then have been the case, though Dr. Schliemann says it is not so now) the hot and cold springs, close to which Hector was chased by Achilles.† Other poets, again, who knew the claims of both sites to be the real Troy, not unnaturally spoke of one being the old site, 'the Dardania on the slope of Ida, founded before Ilios had been built on the plain.'‡ Thus arose the story of a rival settlement ruled by a rival prince—an Æneas, son of Aphrodite, who was viewed with jealousy by Priam, brother of Tithonus, who had married the Dawn-goddess! To the discussion of the claim of these very shadowy characters to be historic personages, Dr. Schliemann devotes much space. To bring a portion of our poems down to a comparatively late age, it may be conceded that the temple of Athené, mentioned in the sixth Iliad, for which there was actually no room in the limited area of the old hill-town, seems to be that found by Dr. Schliemann at Ilium, the Æolic Greek town visited, as Herodotus tells us, by Xerxes, and enlarged by Lysimachus in the time of Alexander the Great. The custom of offering the *peplus* to the goddess§ is Athenian, and the account is probably that of an Athenian bard, to whom the old wooden statue of Athené Polias was a familiar object.

No real progress will ever be made in the Homeric controversy while so extravagant an antiquity as nearly nine centuries before the Christian era is claimed for the Iliad more or less nearly as we now have it. It cannot be shown that Greek books, or a written Greek literature, came into use till quite four centuries later. All Dr. Schliemann's reasonings and inferences depend on this assumption, in which he is upheld by Mr. Gladstone. But surely it is enough to concede that old epics about Achilles, Agamemnon, and Hector, recited for centuries by hundreds of rhapsodists, partly

* Appendix A to Professor Mahaffy's 'History of Classical Greek Literature,' vol. i.

† Il. xxii. 151.

‡ Ibid. xx. 217.

§ Ibid. vi. 303.

from memory, partly from invention, may have been remodelled up to quite late times, and yet still have preserved their general archaic character.

So far, and so far only, we are disposed to agree with Dr. Schliemann. The name of the town, *Ilios*, pronounced, through the digamma, *Wilios*, seems identical with ἰλη, a company or dense rank of men and animals, and with Ὀϊλεὺς (where the O represents the older F), the distinctive epithet of the lesser Ajax, as the hero who drove and hemmed the enemy into close ground. The tumulus of the god-like hero *Ilus* is mentioned several times in the Iliad, this hero, like another of the same pedigree, Tros,* being supposed, according to the universal belief of the old hero-worshippers, to have given his name to the settlement over which he was king. Another form of the word is seen in Mount Ida, the letters *d* and *l* being convertible, as Ἰδῆ (our *wood*) is another form of ἰλη, *silva*. As for the site of the town on the small hill at Hissarlik, it followed the invariable rule of early settlements, which was to utilize, as the Athenians did, any rising ground or isolated rock that supplied sufficient area for a Pergamos or *burgh*. The old houses were always built of wood, and a town burnt, whether by accident or hostile invasion, left on the site a thick stratum on which a new city arose, perhaps to be burnt in its turn. And as we occasionally dig up in London, York, Chester, and many other Anglo-Roman sites, remains buried from ten to thirty feet below the present levels, so it is almost a matter of course that any mound furnishing a convenient site for a town, would, if thoroughly and deeply explored, yield evidences of having been a human habitation for a very long period. At the same time, we may perhaps hesitate to accept the statement of Professor Virchow, quoted in p. 62, that 'an extraordinary long time must have elapsed from the foundation of the first settlement to the destruction of the last.' Given a period of even three thousand years, we need not feel any great surprise at the discoveries at Hissarlik; independently of the supposed great age of the remains, and the interest attaching to the semi-barbarous treasures of precious metal here found, we may say generally, that where the site of any royal city has not been already ransacked by treasure-hunters, we have more reason to expect success than failure in opening the foundations of it. It was the perception of this truth that led Dr. Schliemann to devote so much time and money to the

* Il. xx. 230.

work of exploration; and though he was lucky in his find, both at Hissarlik and at Mycenæ, the chances, perhaps, were really in his favour. For treasure-seekers and tomb-riflers in general have neither the means nor the patience to clear the whole area of a citadel. To sink a few pits on the known or suspected sites of graves is the utmost which they are likely to effect. The accumulation of *débris* at Hissarlik is fifty-three feet, and the bottom could not have been reached by ordinary diggers.

When, however, the author would have us believe that a number of clay balls—evidently spindle-whorls, and of no more real value than a prehistoric schoolboy's marbles would be, rudely scratched in fanciful patterns, not very unlike crawling insects—contain real inscriptions in a hitherto unknown alphabet, we may well express our incredulity. *Why* should a clay ball have letters made upon it? Even in these days of ready writing we do not read 'Tom Jones his marble' on 'alley-taws,' either in the shop or the street. No! this theory will convince few, albeit Professor Sayce is not the only one who thinks he has found 'Cypriote' letters on some of these balls, of which not less than thirty-two pages of lithograph facsimiles are given at the end of the volume.

The one fact that seems to us absolutely conclusive against the inscription theory is this: the scratches are found in every conceivable form and variety, some resembling twigs, others leaves, others quadrupeds, others, again, the legs of insects. Now it is almost impossible that *some* of these should be real words, the others mere unmeaning scrawls and patterns. All must represent one and the same custom and practice, though in different stages of development, according to the skill or fancy of the designer. The argument is the same as that addressed to the incredulous about human flints found in the drift; we have a *series*, absolutely complete, from the rudest knocking away of angles and flakes, to the polished and sharpened or pointed axe-head, which is manifestly the work of a skilled artist. It is very unlikely that this flint, merely because it is 'rude,' should be nothing more than a mere 'freak of nature,' while another specimen, extremely like it in all respects, except in being a little less rude, should be a work of human hands.

It may be laid down as a rule, that in the remains of prehistoric cities, those of Egypt and Assyria excepted, inscriptions are *never* found. We might as well look for such things at Stonehenge as on the Cyclopien masonry of either Hellas or Italy. Man could build very long before he could write.

Many now doubt the alleged antiquity of the Moabitic inscription, which has been referred to the ninth century B.C. Nor was the sanguine hope entertained by some of finding Hebrew inscriptions in the foundations of Jerusalem ever realized.

It was not unnatural, when once the idea was seriously entertained, that these clay balls contained very early specimens of handwriting, that their use as spindle-whorls should be denied. For how small was the probability that a bit of clay intended only for twisting a stick and a thread should have words incised on it. Certainly, $\tau\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\iota\omega$, 'to the divine general,' was not a very suitable inscription; and to get from the same letters $\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\ \Sigma\iota\gamma\omega$, 'to the divine Sigo'—the supposed patron-god of Sigeum—by the process of reading them in the opposite direction, is a result hardly more satisfactory. If these balls were *not* whorls, what were they? If they were offerings in temples, they are wholly without precedent or analogy from anything yet discovered among prehistoric remains, unless, perhaps, we compare the clay balls with a hole through them and an emblem with cuneiform letters on them, found at Nineveh, and thought to have been used for sealing up doors.*

Another conclusive argument against these scratches being intended for letters at all, is the certain and ascertained fact that the age of stone axes and rude clay pottery was not the age of writing. Nor is the manufacture of such rude implements among savage tribes of to-day ever associated with alphabetic writing. To accept such a view, advocated by Professor Sayce, would be to throw into utter confusion all that we know of the habits and capabilities of primitive men, and compel us to reconsider the whole question, vastly important as it is, of the date, origin, and history of alphabetical writing.

Ilium (commonly, but incorrectly called, 'Novum Ilium'), the Greek city adjoining, and indeed forming a part or continuation of the old and small town on Hissarlik, 'continued to be universally considered and treated as the genuine Homeric Troy.' Modern opinions have rather inclined to Bounar-Bashi, but explorations on that site have shown that it was not the Homeric Troy, but the city of Gergis. The hot spring, described by Homer, must be given up, unless a spring found on the site favoured by Strabo (*Ιλιέων κώμη*), the temperature of which is about 70° Fahrenheit, can be claimed as that described in the Iliad. But Dr. Schliemann satisfied himself by actual explorations on the site that this never could have been the ancient Troy.

* Bonomi's 'Nineveh,' p. 443.

There can be little doubt, then, that the city which Xerxes is said * to have visited in his expedition against Greece, when he 'went up into Priam's *Pergamon*,' and sacrificed a thousand beeves to the Athena of Ilium, was the Greek town then existing, the 'Ilium' of Roman authors. Hissarlik forms, as Dr. Schliemann says, 'the north-western corner of Novum Ilium,' and it was, without doubt, the acropolis of the more extended Greek settlement. That the temple of Athené of Ilium was a Greek temple in the Greek city, and that the account of it in the sixth Iliad refers to it and no other, will be apparent to any one who has learnt the utter improbability of the extravagant antiquity which has been assigned to the poem as we now have it. We were glad to see this admitted by Professor Mahaffy: 'I believe that, whatever the Trojan war may have been, and whatever may have been the accuracy of the details of the Iliad, the conflict was localized by the poet, then and ever after called Ilium, and that no new foundation ever took place.' †

That the old temple of Athené was rebuilt or repaired by Lysimachus, after the death of Alexander, who had adorned it with offerings, or perhaps a new one built, ‡ may be accepted as an historical fact, quite in accordance with the Homeric account. Indeed, Dr. Schliemann found an inscription on the site of the large Greek temple he explored in the Greek Ilium, which 'left no doubt that this was the temple of the Ilian Athené, for it is only this sanctuary that could have been called simply τὸ ἱερόν on account of its size and importance, which surpassed that of all the other temples of Novum Ilium.'

Later on in his work the author seems to embrace the only probable view, that the town presented to Homer's mind was the *Greek town*. Only, to do this, he is obliged to assume that 'in the ninth century B.C. he would probably have found the Æolic Ilium already long established.' Similarly the walls, fortresses, towers, and gates described in the poem are either mere poetical figments (which, of course, is in itself extremely probable), or they refer to the fortifications of the Greek city as they stood some five centuries before the Christian era. In this sense, certainly in no other, there may be some historical truth in the Homeric descriptions, because this brings us within the historic period; although the features of other sites have probably been confused with

* Herod. vii. 43.

† Appendix ii., on the Relation of Ilium to the Ilios of Homer, p. 690.

‡ νεῶν κατασκευαί, Strabo, xiii. p. 593.

this, and a large amount must be written off (as that of the palace of Priam in vi. 240, seqq.) for mere poetic imagination.

The hill of Hissarlik is so small that it never could have contained a city or garrison nearly large enough to satisfy the Homeric descriptions. The site, as one convenient for defence, was early, but at an unknown period, occupied by a colony of Æolic Greeks, who in their migration from the fatherland in European Hellas, brought with them the old Achæan ballad-songs of a great fight waged by their ancestors on the shores of the Hellespont. Portions of the older story are preserved in the long list of towns in the neighbourhood of Bœotia, which must have been composed by a local and European bard, while the general descriptions of scenery, as well as the language, indicate the present composition of the Iliad to be the work of an Ionian poet.

Dr. Schliemann, however, will not hear of any later 'Novum Ilium' being the Homeric Troy. He admits that the Greek city stood on the same site, but he does not believe it had any existence at all when Homer wrote—

As the hill of Hissarlik answers to the indications of the Iliad in regard to the situation of ancient Ilium, the fact that a city of the same name existed here in *later times* (the italics are ours) tends rather to confirm than to enfeeble its right to be considered identical with the city celebrated by the poet. The identity of name is a strong presumption in favour of the coincidence of position. If Hissarlik marks the site of Troy, the Trojan walls lay already buried upwards of twenty feet below the surface of the ground when Sigeum was built in the seventh century B.C.

He adds (as if in a position now to refute a tradition which, after all, seems clearly the right one), '(Novum) Ilium continued to be universally considered and treated as the genuine Homeric Troy.' The utter impossibility of reconciling the remains found in the older site under Hissarlik with any Homeric description, though, as it seems to us, fatal to his theory, does not appear to him to have any weight at all on the other side. The heroes of the Iliad, no doubt, if they existed at all, may have been the barbarians of the hill-fort; but the heroes who wore the armour so minutely described by the poet were assuredly a wholly different race of beings.

The meaning of the name Achilles (in its ancient form, *Achileus*) has not, we believe, been ascertained, nor to what language or race it belongs. The same is true of Priam, Paris, and some other names.* But the name Hector, and that of his son Astyanax, as well as Alexandros, are distinctly Greek, and to the meaning of the word Hector, as 'holder' or 'pro-

* See speculations on their etymology by Professor Sayce, in p. 705, App. iii.

tector,' there is a plain allusion in Iliad xxii. 507. A considerable portion of the ancient Homeric literature, describing the raids of Achilles in the Troad during the ten years' siege, and the achievements of Hector, which were contained in the old Phrygian ballad-songs, had been lost from the Homer which Plato found in use, and which is nearly that which has descended to us. Allusions to these are, however, frequent in the Iliad; and in the 'Rhesus,' ascribed to Euripides, we find reference made to an expedition conducted by Hector against the Thracians, and the reducing of them to the position of subjects to the Thracian king, Rhesus (406-410). It may, perhaps, some day be discovered that the tale of Troy is not an Aryan legend at all, but more nearly allied to Assyrian, Akkadian, Sumerian, or Hittite traditions. Whether a 'solar-legend' or not, is a question which must remain in abeyance till our rapidly increasing knowledge of antiquity provides us with some new facts. It is certainly a marvellous fact which we do know—that nations so widely different as Etruscans, Lycians, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, all had traditions of a 'Trojan war,' and in some form or other knew both the names and the legendary achievements of the ancient heroes who were believed to have taken part in it. It is a tradition nearly, if not quite, as universal as that of the Flood.

A large portion of the volume before us is taken up with minute descriptions, with illustrations, of barbaric pottery. They have nothing to do with the text or the narratives of Homer, and belong to a totally different department of archæology. If Dr. Schliemann had read the chapter on the 'Aboriginal Pottery of America,' in Mr. E. T. Stevens's 'Flint Chips,' he would at once have recognized the identity both of the pottery and many of the stone implements with those found in tumuli in Mexico, Ohio, and Central America. In fact, our own museums contain thousands of specimens of British or Celtic workmanship of the same rude kind, showing that it was not any one people, but an era, and a very long-enduring one (for it has not even yet ceased), that produced these almost universal monuments of uncivilized man. They are found in the cave and the lake habitations; and flint saws, flint scrapers, stone hammers, querns, axes, pestles, grooved stones (perhaps net-sinkers), flint (or jade) arrow-heads, and bone needles (to say nothing of clay whorls), the same in all respects as those from the lower cities at Hissarlik, exist in such abundance from tumuli in all parts of the world, that so much space seems hardly necessary for a detailed description. Whatever be the reason, the fact seems certain that a

great and long-enduring wave of the human race, low in art, but not always low in physical conformation, spread over a large portion of the known world, burning their dead and raising mounds over the remains, feeding now on grain, now—as in the fourth city at Hissarlik—on shell-fish, and using the bones and horns of mammalia for weapons and tools. And that the very same practices continued long into the historic period, and are not wholly extinct even yet, is another fact to be borne in mind by those who build up theories on any new archæological discoveries.

‘Nothing,’ says the author, ‘I think, could better testify to the great antiquity of the prehistoric ruins at Hissarlik and Mycenæ than the total absence of iron.’ Now iron is very often mentioned in the Iliad; its perishable nature, from its tendency to rust away, is, perhaps, sufficient to account for its absence and the much greater prevalence of bronze. The long dissertation in chapter v. on the mythology of the ancients, throws no light on any Homeric passage. Copper—or possibly bronze, though *χαλκὸν ἐρυθρόν*, in Iliad ix. 365, points to the former—was found in the first and the second cities, and it has also been found in the tumuli, or altar-mounds, of Ohio, and in the excavations in Assyria.

With regard to the numerous small clay or marble effigies, apparently female, found in several of the lower towns on Hissarlik, Dr. Schliemann persists that they can represent nothing but the owl-faced goddess called by Homer *γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*, and he compares the cow-faced goddess, described in Homer as *βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη*. Now it may be very well granted, with our present knowledge, that cow-worship and bull-symbolism, whether from the horns of the crescent moon or as typifying lusty strength, were very extensively prevalent throughout the ancient world. It is also clear that *βοῶπις* had so far passed from its original sense when the Iliad assumed its present form that it had become a complimentary epithet of any fair woman or nymph, and perhaps referred to the large and gentle eye and long eyelash for which a cow is so conspicuous. But not only is there no real authority for interpreting *γλαυκῶπις* ‘owl-faced,’ but the supposed bird-face of the vases and statuettes is not a bird’s head and beak at all; it is simply a very rude attempt to represent eyes and a nose without a mouth. Exactly the same rude representation of a human face is engraved in p. 226 of a work before referred to—Stevens’s ‘Flint Chips’—being a stone hatchet found in St. Domingo, West Indies. The true sense of *γλαυκῶπις* is ‘glare-eyed,’ indicating the fierce look of a war-

goddess. It is remarkable that Hesychius does not recognize this arbitrary interpretation of 'owl-faced' at all; he says, *γλαυκῶπις* φοβερά ἐν τῷ ὁρᾶσθαι λαμπρόφθαλμος, εὐόφθαλμος. And this is undoubtedly the only right explanation. It is used of the peculiar feline glare (*γλαυκίῳ*) as shown by the lion about to make a spring.* Thus a cherished theory, vainly supposed to connect Hissarlik with the Homeric poems, falls, as it seems to us, to the ground. Obviously, an owl was called *γλαυξ* from its great glaring eye. Dr. Schliemann's reasoning appears to us unsound, 'Certainly no one will for a moment doubt that Hera's Homeric epithet (*βοῶπις*) shows her to have been at one time represented with a cow's face, in the same way as Athena's Homeric epithet, *γλαυκῶπις*, shows this goddess to have once been represented with an owl's face.' We hold that the one proposition does not at all follow from the other. And it is somewhat farfetched to assume that 'Athena, as goddess of the dawn, doubtless received the epithet *γλαυκῶπις* to indicate the light of the opening day.' It would be more reasonable to say that the relation of the Athenian goddess to the owl (as shown on coins) may probably be due to symbolism borrowed from a bird of the dusk and the night. It certainly requires some stretch of imagination to believe that the rude faces on these pots were intended to represent an owl's face at all, or that the erect lateral projections, which are called 'too fragile and sharp-edged for handles,' were meant for wings. The assumption is about as baseless as that which assigns a date of from B.C. 1200 to 1500 for the manufacture of these vases.

Dr. Schliemann's contention is that all these female figures, found without change of type in all the cities, were purposely made of this rude form because the people 'clung with fervent zeal to the shape of their Palladium, which had become consecrated by the precedent of ages.' No doubt there is a tendency to make idols and fetishes of a certain recognized type, as we see in the Buddhist idols so commonly brought by missionaries and others into this country, and as the Greeks for a long time had their Gorgon-heads with wide mouth and a great lolling tongue. The pictured Madonnas and saints of the Greek Church still retain the Byzantine type of art which characterized them a thousand years ago. These images have some analogy to the portable Italian 'Penates,' and to the little images which have been called 'Teraphim,' found at Khorsabad, and engraved on p. 179 of Bonomi's 'Nineveh.'

* II. xv. 172.

Professor Sayce avows his disbelief of the owl theory. 'I am strongly of opinion,' he says, 'that the rude Trojan figures which Dr. Schliemann believes to represent the owl-headed Athena, are really barbarous attempts to imitate the images of the goddess who went under the various names of Kybele, Omphale, &c.'*

A statement still more rash, and, like the preceding, dictated by the strong desire to connect the remains at Hissarlik with the Homeric poems, is the assertion that 'Homer by his *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* cannot possibly mean anything else than a goblet with two handles.' This is said, not because that is the natural meaning of the epithet, which should signify 'with a cup at each end,' i.e., like a dice-box, but because a great number of terra-cotta goblets were found in the strata of the second city 'in the form of a champagne-glass, with a pointed foot and two enormous handles.' These were found still more abundantly in the three next-following prehistoric cities. Determined to show that this is what Homer meant, Dr. Schliemann says that the ordinary explanation of *ἀμφικύπελλον*, 'a double cup,' seems to him to be altogether erroneous. Why? Hesychius explains it simply by the word *περιφερές*, 'circular,' evidently meaning that such was its form above and below alike, as distinct from any change of shape resulting from projecting feet. Dr. Schliemann says it means a cup presented by one handle and received by the other. We contend that 'two-cupped' cannot possibly bear such a meaning. The negative argument, that 'no goblet with an upper and a lower cup has ever yet been found,' assumes that the present Homeric texts really represent the age of this very ancient city; which is just what so many scholars refuse to concede. Aristotle, who well compared the Homeric cup to the floor in the middle of a bee's double cell, is quietly dismissed as 'wrong in his theory.' Nor is any confirmation of the non-natural interpretation to be gained by the endeavour to identify *δέπας* with *ἄλεισον*, which is called *ἄμφωτον*, 'two-handled,' in *Odyssey* xxii. 9. The following appears to us nothing else than special pleading; 'I could multiply these examples' (to prove *δέπας* the same as *ἄλεισον*), 'but I think them perfectly sufficient to do away with an absurd interpretation of an important Homeric text, and to make the false theory fall to the ground, that there could ever have existed in antiquity goblets with a cup at both ends, and thus identical in form with the vessels which are to the present day used in the streets of London for measuring a

* Appendix iii. p. 694.

penny or halfpenny worth of nuts.' Surely this is a somewhat trifling appeal to sentiment *versus* probability.

We may add that Dr. Schliemann is clearly wrong in referring the root of *κῦ'πελλον* to *κῦφός*, 'curved,' the *υ* in the latter being long; but short in the former.

These two-handled cups would not stand, except, when emptied, on the inverted brim. Consequently, a guest who declined to drain it must either hold it erect himself or pass it on at once to another. Venetian glasses more than a foot in length are still to be seen, which were designed for holding strong ale or sack; the glass, having no foot, was laid on its side when emptied. Illustrations of inverted cups with two large bow-handles are given on p. 372.

It is the third from the native rock, the 'burnt city,' which Dr. Schliemann has undertaken to identify with the Homeric Troy. The foundations of an old house which he laid bare to the north-west of the town-gate he assigns as the residence of the town-chief or king, partly because it is the largest, partly because treasures were found in or close to it. In front of the palace, he says, is an open space, which may have been the Agora. 'This would agree with Homer, who tells us* that the Trojans, young and old, were assembled in the Agora before the king's door.' Because there was a general tradition that Troy or Ilium was destroyed by fire, and this old city shows many evident marks of a great conflagration, it does not in the least follow that this must be the city described by the poet. Any and every town, where the houses were chiefly of wood and the roofs of thatch, would almost certainly be burnt down sooner or later, either from the attacks of enemies, or from natural causes. The Assyrian palaces at Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, and (partially) at Nimroud, were found to have been thus destroyed. Dr. Schliemann admits that the Homeric account† of Priam's palace does not at all agree with these rude and small remains. He says, therefore, and with truth: 'In Homer's time public edifices, and probably also royal mansions, were built of polished stones; he therefore attributes the same architecture to Priam's mansion, magnifying it with poetic licence.' Still, he clings to the idea that this *may* have been the veritable palace of Priam. From the quantity of wood ashes he infers the number of rooms, and he 'does not see any reason why the mansion with its dependencies may not have had even more than one hundred rooms, smaller or larger.'

* Il. ii. 788.

† Ibid. vi. 422.

Any one who will read impartially the Homeric account of Priam's palace, with its porticos and its fifty bed-rooms built of cut and squared stone (*ξεστὸς λίθος*), with twelve others called *τέγες*, perhaps 'ceiled,' will see that the conception belongs to a race far advanced in architecture, and not to makers of clay pots and fetish images.

The number of clay whorls found in the various cities, — 'this really stupendous mass of whorls' — greatly astonishes Dr. Schliemann, and he says that 'for what purpose they were used is a problem not yet definitively settled among amongst scholars.' At the end of the volume he gives us not less than thirty-two pages of illustrations of them. It appears to us that the whole matter is exceedingly simple, and admits of the most easy and obvious explanation: The notion that 'they all, or at least all the decorated ones,' served as offerings to the tutelary deity of the city, to the Ilian *Athenè Erganè* (the worker), seems in the highest degree improbable. What these whorls were, and how they were used, viz., as a weight for spinning round the thread when drawn from the distaff, we know exactly from a passage of Plato,* who describes them as 'hollowed, or scooped out, with a hole right through them.' The description refers to the crater-like depression which most of them show in a ring round the central hole. Plato's words are so explicit that it is surprising they were not pointed out to the author by some one of the many learned scholars who have assisted him in his work. As far as we know, they have not been referred to. Dr. Schliemann found in the various strata more than 18,000 of them, besides many bits of pierced clay, apparently made of broken pottery, which he recognizes as used for spindle-weights. There cannot be the least doubt about it; the same rude contrivance is still used by the country people in Asia Minor (if not, as we are informed, in much more civilized parts of Europe). Sir Charles Fellows, in his 'Travels in Lycia,' p. 201, gives us a sketch of one of these, which he saw in actual use, with the spindle stuck through it. 'The inhabitants,' he says, 'were *all* employed in spinning, winding, or working in some way.' We are too apt to forget, in these days of spinning and weaving by machinery, that the entire female population of an ancient town, young and old, must have been engaged all day long in making clothes for themselves and for the men. Every house and every room would have spinners sitting at their work, and the clay balls, so easily fashioned by little boys, and so

* Rep. p. 616, D.

worthless in themselves, would lie about in numbers, ready to hand in a moment for all who wanted them. There is not the least mystery about the matter; for ourselves we believe neither, as we have said, in the supposed inscriptions nor in the 'dedicatory' purposes of such very ordinary home-made articles. Our faith in the former, at least, is not increased by being told that 'Mr. Lockhart reads *Chinese* characters on some of the Trojan whorls.' The simple patterns upon them, of circles, zigzag scratches, and dots variously disposed, are all of the most childlike kind, just such as little children would make for mother and sisters to spin with.

With these facts and these considerations before us, we confess to some surprise that Professor Sayce* should lend his high authority to this (as we think) very improbable theory of 'Cypriote inscriptions' on these clay balls, adding in a note that he calls them terra-cotta whorls merely for the sake of uniformity, 'not because he believes the objects in question to have been really employed as whorls.' It is something, however, for him to concede that 'some of the so-called inscriptions are merely decorative scratchings.' It may not seem very sound logic, though it has common sense in its favour, to argue, that if *some* are only scratches, probably *all* are only scratches.

We should apologize, perhaps, to our readers, for saying so much on what is, in itself, but a trifling matter; but it has become a very important one indeed from the claim now confidently put forward by distinguished scholars, that we have evidence of handwriting in Greek, or in a dialect closely akin to Greek, some twelve centuries before the Christian era. Hitherto it had been doubted if any Greek writing could be shown to be as early as Solon, or B.C. 600. We here repeat, with some confidence, the remark made by the Reviewer of Dr. Schliemann's 'Mycenæ.'† 'The scratches found on some of the numerous clay whorls at Hissarlik, we do not believe to be writing at all.' If we find, in the Homeric poems, no allusion to writing, but only to 'marks' (σήματα), it is rather startling to be told that specimens of *bonâ fide* handwriting exist very many centuries earlier. It may be remarked that this at once destroys all the force of a favourite argument for the antiquity of the Homeric poems, that writing was then unknown.

In all his reasonings from Homer to Hissarlik and to

* Appendix iii., p. 691, seqq.

† 'BRITISH QUARTERLY,' April 1878, p. 323, note.

Hissarlik from Homer, Dr. Schliemann seems to us to show some confusion of thought. If the 'prehistoric' cities really date 1200 or 1500 B.C., and the Iliad, as we have it, describes naval and military operations, the details of which can be shown from extant paintings to reflect the age of Pericles, B.C. 450, how can the one possibly have any connection with the other? How can two-handled goblets of rude pottery in any way represent the goblet of Nestor, with two golden doves at each handle, and so large that only a strong hand could lift it when full? * The only point really gained by these discoveries for the cause of the Homeric controversy, is a considerable degree of probability that the 'Ilium,' traditions of which were the theme of the great Greek epic of antiquity, was not a purely imaginary, but a real city. Even if this should be regarded as fully established, this does not invest any one of the heroes who are said to have fought there with any historic reality. It only proves, what was antecedently highly probable, from the nature of the site, that settlements had existed on the hill long before the Greek Ilium was colonized. It does not make the reality of a Trojan war in any degree more certain, but rather establishes the impossibility of such a little garrison having withstood any long siege or been able to face any numerous enemy on the adjacent plain.

This prehistoric Troy could not have been the Homeric Troy. For example, not a trace of a sword was anywhere found in the 'burnt city' supposed to be Troy, nor 'even in the ruins of the two upper prehistoric cities.' Swords were found in the tombs at Mycenæ, which many now think were, after all, those of Gothic or Northern chiefs later than the Christian era; an opinion confirmed, not only by the nature of the golden ornaments, but by the distinctly 'Runic' character of the tomb-stones,† the ornamentation of which is as nearly as possible identical with that which we are wont to call 'Saxon.' Now the word *φάσγανον* occurs not less than fifteen times, and *ξίφος* more than thirty, in the Iliad alone. It seems strange that Dr. Schliemann, who here rightly argues that 'the non-existence of swords at Hissarlik, even in the latest of its prehistoric cities, is the clearest proof of the very high antiquity of these ruins, and of the great distance of time which separates them from Homer, with whom swords are in common use'—that he should not see the inconsistency of trying to prove that the two-handled goblets of pottery were the Homeric *ἀμφικύπελλα*, or the golden diadem the veritable *πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη*.

* Iliad, xi. 635.

† Engraved in pp. 91-96 of 'Mycenæ.'

Again, in p. 498, he asks, 'if the six blades of pure silver' (engraved in p. 470) 'are not Homeric talents, have we to recognize the latter in the sixteen gold bars?' (found in a broken crock in the 'burnt city.')

Similarly he affirms (p. 498) that two small spiral gold rings 'must have been used for holding together the locks of the hair, and adds, 'they may, in my opinion, perfectly explain the passage in Iliad xvii. 51, 52, "the braids twined with gold and silver."'

How can this be, if, as the author himself elsewhere says, 'Homer is not an historian, but an epic poet. He does not sing of contemporaneous events, but of events which happened probably 600 or 700 years before his time, and which he merely knew from hearsay.' There seems to us a want of consistency in supposing that a poet who sang so late could have alluded to the details of arms or ornaments which were in use so early.

Again the question presses itself upon him—

Whether this pretty little town, with its brick walls, which can hardly have housed 8000 inhabitants, could have been identical with the great Homeric Ilios of immortal renown, which withstood for ten long years the heroic efforts of the united army of 110,000 men, and which could only at last be captured by a stratagem?

The answer is, of course, if we suppose there is any 'history' at all in the Trojan war, that the thing is plainly absurd and impossible. If, on the other hand, some 'solar myth' lies at the bottom of the ten years' war and the names of Priam and Achilles, then the number *ten* is the usual symbol of the primitive division of the year—that, namely, which gives us *December* as our last month. But Dr. Schliemann says, 'For the Trojan war there is a remarkable unanimity of tradition, a unanimity too decisively marked not to be founded on a positive fact.' Thucydides speaks undoubtingly of Agamemnon and of Erechtheus and Theseus as real kings of Athens; but the traditions of an uncritical age cannot be, and ought not to be, accepted as history. Plato,* in a passage overlooked, we believe, by Dr. Schliemann, but important to his argument, after citing the well-known lines from Iliad xx. 216, 217, observes, 'We affirm then that the site of Ilium was brought down from the uplands to a great and fair plain, and placed on a hill of no great height, watered by several (πολλοὺς) rivers proceeding from Ida above it.' The curious remark is added, that this must have happened many ages after the

* Laws, iii. p. 632 B.

Flood, or men would not have ventured to found a city on so low a hill near to and within the influence of several mountain torrents! Here we may remark that in his map of the Troad, at the end of the volume, the author makes the old channel of the Scamander to have been close under the walls of Hissarlik, whereas it is now considerably to the west of it. He might have appealed to a verse of Æschylus,* where Priam's inspired daughter, Cassandra, pathetically addresses the banks of the Scamander on which she used to play as a child. While, therefore, it is likely enough that in early times the war (whether myth or history) was localized at this site near the Scamander, it is using a very far-fetched argument indeed to contend, that because a few gold cups and trinkets were found in the ruins of the 'burnt city,' that this fact identifies it with the city of Priam, which men used to call 'abounding in gold.'† The very same epithet is given by the poets to Mycenæ, and here also plenty of gold ornaments were found in the tombs.

We accept with full approval the author's comment in p. 517:

The ruins of the burnt Ilium having been completely buried under the ashes and *débris*, and people having no archæological desire for the investigation of the matter, it was thought that the destroyed city had completely disappeared. The imagination of the bards had, therefore, full play; the small Ilium grew in their songs, in the same proportion as the strength of the Greek fleet, the power of the besieging army, and the great actions of the heroes.

In any other sense than this, we repeat, we fail to see that Dr. Schliemann's discoveries throw any light on the Homeric Ilium. Enthusiasm rather than truth is appealed to in the author's aspiration—

May this *research with the pickaxe and the spade* prove more and more that the events described in the divine Homeric poems are not mythic tales, but that they are based on real facts; and, in proving this, may it augment the universal love for the noble study of the beautiful Greek classics, and particularly of Homer, that brilliant son of all literature.

By what process of sound reasoning, we must repeat, can such a conclusion be reached? Because a very old city, or rather cities, are proved to have existed on the hill of Hissarlik, therefore the Trojan war is true, and the heroes who are said to have fought there were real living heroes. There is more of logic at least in this proposition: Because there is no hot-spring at Hissarlik, and the springs of the Scamander‡ are

* Agam. 1127.

† πολύχρυσον, Iliad xviii. 282.

‡ Iliad xxii. 148.

many miles away from it, and because it was quite impossible, from the nature of the ground, for Achilles to have chased Hector three times round the city of Priam,* therefore the narrative is *not* consistent with truth, and is wholly worthless as historical evidence.

Professor Virchow remarks: 'I must say I think it impossible that the Iliad could ever have been composed by a man who had not been in the country of the Iliad.'† He admits, however, though reluctantly, that legends about an ancient war in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont *may* have had their origin here and been transferred to 'the poet of the Iliad, who was a native of some other country.' This, he says, 'is an assumption we have no right to make.' One really cannot deal with disputants of this way of thinking, any more than we can hope to reason with the enthusiast who says, 'I have never called in doubt the unity of the Homeric poems, and have always firmly believed both the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* to be by one author, except, perhaps, the twenty-fourth rhapsody of each poem.' All critical inquiry into the mixed language and apparent modernisms, and even linguistic errors, of our existing texts is thrown away if we are quietly to 'rest content with those immortal epics as they stand—the first-fruits of the noblest literature in the world and the fount of poetic inspiration for all later ages.'

But Professor Virchow makes a true and just concession when he says, in emphatic italics, that '*the Ilium of fiction must, under any circumstances, be a fiction itself.*' But how can we reconcile this with Dr. Schliemann's contention that he found the veritable Homeric δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον? It seems to us that, throughout the whole of this long work, a game of 'fast and loose' is being played: Hissarlik is, and is not, Troy, the Trojan war is, and is not, real history. We may take the words of Professor Virchow as a fair summary of all that has resulted from the recent discoveries: 'Perhaps then Homer's song is not pure fiction, after all. Perhaps it is true that in a very remote prehistoric time a rich prince really dwelt here in a towering fortress, and that Greek kings waged a fierce war against him, and that the war ended in his own fall and the destruction of his city by a mighty conflagration.'

We would gladly have added, if space had permitted, some observations, the result of much careful inquiry into what may be called the 'law of accretion' on the surface of all cities; in other words, into the reasons why the London and York of

* Iliad xxii. 165.

† Appendix i. p. 674.

to-day are built on a level so many feet higher than the Roman towns, and why the ruins at Ephesus and Olympia, the dates of which we know, now lie beneath twenty feet of accumulated soil. Any observer may notice, not merely that the soil in churchyards, which is more easily accounted for, is generally much higher than the floor of the old church, but that almost every cathedral and old manor-house 'stands low,' as it is called when not built on a hill or bank, and has to be cleared from rubbish round the basement. It is rash to assume that remains *must* be immensely old because they lie very deep. There is always a probability that this is so; but it may be doubted if the real reasons of so singular and universal a fact as the gradual rise in all town sites are fully understood, or have been much investigated.

F. A. PALEY.

ART. VI.—*The Bane of English Architecture.*

- (1) *The Pall Mall Gazette*, June 8, 1872; February 4, 1881.
- (2) *The Architect*, April 27, June 15, 1872; October 31, 1874.
- (3) *The Builder*, November 2, 1872; November 8, 1873; October 24, December 19, 1874; January 9, October 23, 1875; June 12, 1880.
- (4) *The Building News*, May 10, 1872; January 22, 1875; November 26, 1880.
- (5) *The Renaissance in Italy. The Fine Arts.* By J. A. Symonds.
- (6) *The Quarterly Review*, October, 1874.
- (7) *The Edinburgh Review*, April, 1875.
- (8) *A Book on Building.* By Sir EDMUND BECKETT, Bart. 1876.
- (9) *The Fortnightly Review*, October, 1876.
- (10) *The British Quarterly Review*, April, 1880.

It is a question, for the men of intellect among the public to decide, whether our English architecture is to be the leading art, as God designed it, for the social and imaginative culture of the working classes, the great 'people' of the land, or whether it shall still, unhappily, remain a mystery for the vulgar, rich and poor; a degradation for the artisan; a business for a pluralist profession; and a toy for vanity.

For several centuries the public throughout Western Europe have been more and more excluded from intelligent and homely interest in the art of building. They have paid most lavishly for quasi-architectural devices, which they are persistently instructed to admire. As each new work pro-

ceeds, the newspapers and magazines are furnished with commendatory notices by *dilettanti* of a literary turn; who indicate, in scholarly detail, and with a tone of wondering admiration, what they call the merits of the architect's design. The public listen vaguely, and accept. Of building art they have no practical or sympathetic knowledge; and though architecture in abundant ugliness surrounds them, and in absurd unfitness harasses their lives, they rest content with, and are possibly a little proud of, their sad ignorance. Building is 'low,' fit only for 'work-people,' quite beneath the recognition of the upper classes and of cultivated persons; they prefer 'fine art.' They learn from connoisseurs themselves what should be most admired, and so of course they know; and, in their vacant, imitative way, they praise, and wonder, and pretend to be delighted. Thus, at festive meetings of the 'Academy' and the 'Institute' exalted personages speak in flattering terms of what they are supposed, by courtesy, to understand; and as each public building is completed, eager curiosity being for a little time aroused,

The hasty multitude
Admiring enter, and the work some praise,
And some the architect.

Indeed, in modern architecture, general authority declares that everything is satisfactory; and, making due allowances, 'whatever is is right.'

And yet the public are not permanently satisfied; although they dance when played to, they have little joy. Their short factitious pleasure is soon ended; and they then revolt, with dumb impatience; being, in respect of building work, quite inarticulate. To supplement this general deficiency, and to assist the public to a comprehension of their architectural affairs, has been the object of some recent essays in 'The Quarterly' and 'BRITISH QUARTERLY' Reviews. These articles have also been the subject of particular discussion among architects and their associates; and, as it may be found instructive to consider what these interested persons have to say, we will proceed to furnish some condensed quotations from their criticisms; not, it should be noticed, from their merely incidental statements or remarks, but chiefly from their serious replies, distinctively *ad rem*. These criticisms and replies will show that what has recently been said respecting modern architecture is, at least in theory, approved by the profession, and that our account of the contemporary architectural system is most strictly accurate and true.

By way of introduction we will quote a non-professional critique, which gives a *resumé* of our contention. 'The Pall Mall Gazette,' referring to an essay on 'The State of English Architecture,' says:

The Reviewer's sympathies lie with the time when, according to his confident statement, the work and the workman were everything; when architecture was the spontaneous efflorescence of the cultivated imagination and ready hand of the mason, and design was the intelligent control of the superior, himself a workman. His conclusion from these premises being that the modern architect, the soft-handed professional person, with his paraphernalia of 'office,' drawing clerks, commission, &c., is an abuse that should be done away with at any cost of vested interests. The said incubus being removed, he anticipates the recovery by the workman of the old inventive spirit, and that the architecture of the future may be safely intrusted to his hands.

'The Architect,' with creditable boldness, says:

The opinions here set forth have an unquestionable foundation in fact. 'The Quarterly' critic is no doubt right in his assumption that architecture has become more a profession than an art. The truth is that the public themselves have created this state of things. People rush after names, and the result is a monopoly by which certain men are rendered incapable of performing efficiently *and honestly* that which each client supposes to be the personal work of his architect; and thus commissions can only be carried through by the help of more or less able clerks.

And according to 'The Building News,' 'workmen should be competent to design their work; an architect should work more in presence of his buildings and less at his desk; and the unhealthy accumulation of practice in a few fashionable offices is deplorable.'

Every one admits that the designer should *assiduously* supervise the execution of his work; and the neglect or compromise of this duty is an essential error. The article mentions five things which prevent our architectural success: these are (1) the influence of the ignorant public; (2) the false position of architects; (3) the overgrowth of certain architectural practices; (4) the non-employment of the workman's mental power; and (5) the custom of building on short leases. The first is enough to ruin our art. The majority of people prefer inferior architecture.

But in 'The Builder' we are told that 'the transparent fallacy which underlies the whole series of attacks is that because every true artist is a workman, therefore every workman is a true artist.' Nothing of the kind; but since, as is admitted, 'every true artist is a workman,' it is evident that modern architects, not being workmen, are *not* artists; and the buildings for which they make drawings, and which they so absurdly call their 'works,' are all, artistically, bad. If

every 'ornamental and artistic' building that has been produced by draughtsmanship, in the last forty years for instance, were destroyed, there would be neither loss nor injury, but rather great relief to art, and corresponding benefit to the community. The grievance is that, under drawing-masters, workmen never can be artists; and it is this fact, so evident in its results, contrasted with the work produced when workmen were all 'free,' that is the condemnation of the architectural profession. Workmen, like the rest of men, are mostly born artistic; and, by a mere law of nature, they would, if left free from draughtsmen's most incompetent control, become, in various degrees of merit, real artists.

Still we have gained the admission that every true artist is a workman; and yet in the same paper it is said that 'art can be but dimly apprehended by any one who speaks of it as labour, enduring as is the toil of the true artist; for art in its essential nature is the embodiment of the conceptions of the imagination; it is the outward and visible form given to the creations of the fancy.' In its essential nature art is labour, or where is 'the toil of the true artist,' whence is the 'embodiment,' and how is 'the visible form given?' Of course art must be labour, vivified; the workman giving it its life. The fact is that these writers are perplexed, and so their arguments are 'fallacies.'

For instance, referring to a quotation of Plato's statement that you could not buy (*πρίαιω*) a master workman (*ἀρχιτέκτονα*) even for ten thousand drachmæ, 'The Builder' desperately says, 'It is convenient to the Reviewer to translate *πρίαιω* into its plain, blunt, literal meaning, to buy; though it must be obvious that it is here equivalent to hiring or engaging.' 'It is convenient' to speak the truth, although this writer seems to think the contrary is obvious. *Πρίαιω* means to buy, and no more means to hire, or is equivalent to engaging, than it means to sell. If it meant hiring, time would be essential to the statement, but no time is quoted; and, for hiring, the verb *μισθόω* would of course be used. The error is an old one, and was formerly committed by 'Athenian Aberdeen;' whose classical and architectural scholarship were equally inaccurate.

Continuing in Hellas: 'It may be possible that the Greek architect was more on the work than the modern one, and that he did not make elaborate drawings beforehand.' Undoubtedly; but this Greek system is impossible for modern architects, and hence the inartistic character of all their work.

Yet, though the architectural profession is thus inartistic and incapable, there is involved in it an influential element of modern business and society; and, though it is in error, and unsound, and certainly is doomed, we hear 'it will die hard.' Discussion may, however, reconcile us to the change, and save the public from the shock of a catastrophe.

The leading architectural papers are indeed preparing for the inevitable end. 'The Building News' declares that 'fashionable architects are overdone with business. Instead of tempting one man to distribute his thought and attention over twenty different works at a time, architecture would obviously gain if each work had the care of a competent designer.' And 'The Builder' contends that 'the architect should be as much on *his building* as possible'—not the contractor's building, but his own; that is, he must be a master-workman—he should not undertake what he cannot personally look after; he should be able to improve his design if necessary; and every artistic workman should have credit for his work; the architect remaining the directing spirit of the whole: which is entirely our doctrine.

These quotations show that the artistic theory of the workman's leadership and conduct of the architectural design is easy to appreciate, and is practically well defined. But this itself appears to be a cause of difficulty. Certain people will accept and modify a statement into contrariety, just as soft wax receives the impression of a seal and then displays it perfectly reversed. We give a specimen, from 'The Builder': 'Would any one but the Reviewer assert that a grand building would most likely be obtained by trusting the works to the combined efforts of a band of masons without a directing head, and with the stipulation that they are not to make any drawings?' The inquiry has the semblance of a well-considered misconstruction. As the writer probably would say, 'It is convenient.' But to let our readers judge of the veracity or otherwise with which we have to deal, we furnish the remarks which have thus clumsily been travestied:—'Of course there was subordination, but the subordination was all within the workman class.' 'The master-workman would *make the plan, arrange the elevations*, and be, in fact, the foreman of the work.' 'He is the ruler of workmen; he must assign to the individual workmen their appropriate task till they have completed the work.' 'At the Parthenon Phidias was the chief superintendent of the works,' as a resident workman, 'the architects, or master-workmen, being under him.' 'This was precisely the state and position of the

medieval master-workman; and, in fact, all true building methods are essentially the same.' 'The workmen worked, after their manner, without *extraneous* tutelage.'

The complete perversion of these clear, consistent, and repeated statements, may, however, have been due to mental failure; but another patient quickly 'lifts his head,' and, with emphatic amplitude, repeats the folly.

Because the word 'architect' nowhere occurs in the records of medieval buildings, nor anything which can be considered its precise equivalent, it is assumed that these great structures arose of themselves as it were, by a unanimous impulse among workmen having no chief instructor, and working upon no preconceived plan. The inference is of course obvious; take away the architect, forbid the making of any preliminary drawings, turn loose a band of 'inspired workmen' upon the site, and the building will 'rise like an exhalation,' and repeat all the glory of medieval architecture in the most natural and simple manner ('Fortnightly Review').

This quotation serves to show with what inverted perspicacity we have to deal; how very 'hard,' as we were told, this curious profession dies. The writer's name, he says, is H. H. Statham.

With much apology and patience we will state once more the true historic architectural method, by which 'inspiration' always came. The real architects, of every age of art, were working men, and not mere draughtsmen, like our modern 'architects,' who are not working men or architects at all. In the great periods of medieval art, the architects could draw but little better than our modern men can work; but they could actually build, which modern architects, pretentious and incapable, only profess to do. They were the chiefs of the workmen, constantly remaining on the work, directing and conferring with their fellow-artisans. Thus when Niccola Pisano,

The great founder of Italian art, visited Siena in 1266, for the completion of his pulpit in the Duomo, he found a guild of sculptors, or *taglia-pietri* (stone-cutters), in that city, governed by a rector and three chamberlains. Instead of regarding Niccola with jealousy, these craftsmen only sought to learn his method. Accordingly it seems that a new impulse was given to sculpture in Siena; and famous workmen arose who combined this art with that of building. The chief of these was Lorenzo Maitani, who *designed* and carried to completion the Duomo of Orvieto during his lifetime. While engaged in this great undertaking, Maitani *directed a body of architects*, stone-carvers, bronze-founders, mosaists, and painters, gathered together into a guild from the chief cities of Tuscany. We must give to Maitani, the master spirit of the company, full credit for the sculpture carried out in obedience to his general plan. The Duomo of Orvieto, by giving *free scope* to the school of Pisa, marked a point in the history of sculpture.

It would be difficult to find elsewhere even separate works of greater force and beauty belonging to this, the architectural, period of Italian sculpture. The subjects selected by these *unknown craftsmen* for illustration in marble are in many instances the same as those afterwards painted by Raphael and Michael Angelo in Rome; and *nowhere* has the whole body of Christian belief been set forth with method more earnest and with vigour more sustained ('Renaissance in Italy—The Fine Arts').

How different in spirit, and in method and result, from modern work. We beg the student to read once again, and even to commit to memory, this picturesque, historical epitome of the artistic, architectural method, which raised up such 'famous' working-men. No doubt these workmen were, like Bezaleel and Aholiab, 'inspired.' The thing appears impossible to modern architects; such inspiration they are sure has not occurred in their time or in their experience.

We have been told by some philosopher* that 'architecture is a graphic art,' an art of drawing, therefore, not the art of building, as the word expressly means; and architectural work is superficial only, done on paper or on boards. We consequently understand that London is an aggregate of scenes, not buildings, and we are all, as in a theatre, pretending to believe in their solidity. Each house, it seems, is but a show of architectural drawings, and we do not enter, but inspect it. Wilars of Cambray, the medieval artist, who, as Professor Willis told us, could not draw, was therefore not an architect, and the cathedral that he built never in fact existed. This kind of metaphysic may be current among architectural 'Professors,' but by unsophisticated people architecture is supposed to be a plastic art, the chief development of solid form. Our drawing-masters might go on for years designing; but without the workman all their efforts would not give us practicable buildings.

Houses were made before drawings, which, like tools and scaffolding, are only helps to build. The architect's design is not the thing, but only an account, extremely superficial, of the thing proposed; 'the *work's* the thing,' and workmen are the real architects. Again: although a carver frequently makes sketches, more or less elaborate, as tests of form, his special work is not accounted graphic; he is a carver who can *do* the work; his art is evidently plastic. On the other hand, although a painter may use solid figures as his guides, his painting is not therefore plastic art; his previous sketches also are but memoranda. Were he to do no more than sketch and draw he would not be a painter, but a draughtsman,

* 'Edinburgh Review,' April 1875.

like our architects, and his productions would not be pictorial, but would, like theirs, be classed as ‘graphic’ only. Thus, then, we find, by studying their own apologists, that modern architects are drawing-masters only, graphic composers, totally devoid of real architectural or plastic art.

The constant use of drawings is indeed an evidence of practical ineptitude:

The French architect has made very pretty drawings of the mosque here, both outside and in; it is a very good specimen of modern Arab architecture, and he won’t believe it could be built without ground plan, elevations, &c.; which amuses people here, who build without any such invention (Lady Duff Gordon’s ‘Last Letters from Egypt’).

The old masons, ancient and medieval, sometimes made rough outlines to assist them in their work, but then these outlines were *their own* preparatory mason’s work. Thus on the lead and granite roofs of some French buildings we still find the outlines traced by medieval workmen. At Mycenæ,

Below the sculpture at the foot of a tombstone, we see two spiral ornaments imperfectly scratched in the stone, as if the artist had made a trial sketch of what he was going to carve on the tablet. Our present artists make their sketches on paper, but the early Mycenaean had neither paper and pencil nor pen and ink at his disposal, and so he made his trial sketch upon the stone itself, but on its lower part, which was to be sunk in the ground, and was therefore hidden from the eye (Schliemann’s ‘Mycenæ’).

We have, it seems, obtained encouragement and help from the light literature of draughtsmanship; now let us listen to the eloquence that cheers the ‘Institute’ and the ‘Association,’ which appear to be the senior and junior houses of the architectural Profession.

At the Association, a few years ago, Professor Ker—imagine a ‘Professor’ Chersiphron!—assured the meeting that ‘he found the profession of architecture most unpopular—the most unpopular profession of modern times. He considered its position most critical, and he found the reason of this unpopularity in the prevalence of Fashion in Architecture. What is to be done? He would recommend increased attention to the stone and mortar work in architecture. In proportion to the skill in mere draughtsmanship, just in this proportion he thought he detected the loss of the solid qualities of good design.’ Yet this discerning *dictum* curiously controverts the ‘graphic’ notions of the writer in ‘The Edinburgh Review.’ But the ‘Professor’ is, in what he *says*, essentially correct; the more there is of draughtsmanship and ‘graphic art’ the more the plague of pluralism spreads,

and architecture sinks into a business in the wholesale way, conducted by commission agents, 'architects of eminence.'

And yet our architects are not especially to blame; they are but items in society. Their calling, or profession, has been long established as a 'business,' and the world approves; it ministers to vanity, and that is what the world requires. Moreover, the Profession is not an affair of common sense, but an elaborate system of performances; that strike the imagination of the public, just as circus horsemanship surprises little children. That a man should ride one horse, or undertake one building, is a common-place affair, quite useful doubtless, but not striking. Whether his building or his horsemanship are good or bad the public do not know; but as they very much admire the equestrian who, in some straddling way, pretends to ride three horses at a time, so architects are valued, not according to their work, but to their reputation for a marvellous professional width of stride. A clever man may inefficiently and awkwardly control as many as three simple buildings or three ambling steeds close side by side, but how can he pretend to compass and conduct some ten or twenty? Yet a cleric, or a corporation, or indeed most men, think it an advantage, something even of an honour, to have one of these ridiculous performers in their pay. The clergy are especially absurd in this respect; among themselves such pluralism has been almost universally abolished; and it is not said that formerly, when half a dozen benefices were in one control, beneficence resulted. But a dean or rector will be actually proud to say that his cathedral, or his chancel, has been 'splendidly restored' by some excessive pluralist; believing that this vanity of his is somehow to his credit. Such men listen to the common chatter about 'art,' and probably have joined in it, until they think that art is meant for *their* particular delight and illustration. Thus they never see nor understand that art cares nothing about them; that all its interest is in the workmen who produce it; and that when these working men attain to full possession of the good that art provides for them, its influence overflows, and charms and glorifies the rest of humankind.

There used to be a story of an 'architect of eminence' whose bill, a startling one, was criticised by a Right Reverend Father. The divine remarked that the account was equal to a curate's yearly salary. 'That,' said the architect, 'is true enough; but then, my lord, you must remember that among architects I am a bishop.' It was a clever answer, but not

true; the man was but a pluralist, with architectural clerics, curates, we might say, in charge at all his works; and it was said that he, like others similarly known to Fame, gained his chief introduction to that prating damsel through the help of an unrecognized assistant draughtsman.

In a discussion at the Institute of British Architects on 'The Hope of English Architecture,' a prepared critique began with the acknowledgment that 'the Reviewer had apparently been influenced by a conscientious desire for the reform and advancement of the building art, and that regard for the public good had prompted him to write;' and it further said that 'if there had not been a substratum of truth in his strictures upon modern professional practice no reply would have been necessary.' The late M. Viollet-le-Duc is then largely quoted; thus: 'He says that in the fourteenth century an architect was "*un homme de l'art que l'on indem-nise de son travail personnel.*" People who wished to build provided materials and hired workmen; neither estimate, nor valuation of the work, nor the administration of the funds appears to have concerned the architect.' A wise and sensible relief; 'the man of art, whose payment is for his own labour,' will be, generally, less efficient than his neighbours in the faculty of number, and in genius for commerce and finance. The master of the work, or *operarius*, was the man who, in the middle ages, undertook all inartistic duties; and in our own time the multitude of worthless architects might possibly be utilised for this inferior business.

In the discussion at the Institute it was properly explained that, 'if the principles of construction are not now uniformly respected, it is because they are not understood by the people. Yet the ruling principle of every *useful* art was preached twenty-four centuries ago. "What!" said Aristippus, "can a dung basket be beautiful?" "Of course it can," said Socrates, "and a golden shield can be very ugly, if the one be well fitted for the purpose and the other not."' A dictum much misunderstood by those who do not recognise the play upon a word. *Kalós*, as a generic term, means not merely beautiful, but excellent in its way, or for its purpose; and was applied by Socrates, much as the word beautiful is applied by us, to many things devoid of beauty. Socrates was fond of paradox; he liked to startle people. He had also the Athenian gift of humour; and would have been amused to find that architects of any kind or period were ready to associate dung baskets with their buildings in the element of beauty.

Continuing the discourse, Professor Ker was of opinion that 'the workman of the present day was being made too much of; and they ought not to contribute to raise him to a false position, from which he must some day or other fall.' A word of cautious sympathy, induced perhaps by serious, professional self-contemplation. On the other hand, although two years before Professor Ker 'had found the profession of architecture to be most unpopular,' it is now 'only writers in Reviews, &c., who write of what they do not understand, who expressed any disrespect of architects.' Professor Ker however, had already told the Institute that architects themselves 'have a habit of ridiculing each other's efforts. No one would venture to exhibit a design of any kind, in any style, without calculating to a certainty upon exciting the derision of the whole body of his colleagues.' The Architectural Conference, to whom this statement was addressed, quite philosophically took it 'in extremely good part; it commended itself to the general mind as a palpable hit;' and yet the Reviewer has been said to be too indiscriminating in his censure. Architects, of course, do laugh at one another, for they must at times perceive, and even understand, the drollery of their position; but the public also might consider who it is that pays for the amusement.

After the Professor comes an amateur, Sir Edmund Beckett, who, with customary frankness, tells the Institute what 'perhaps it was not a pleasant thing to hear, that the public were not satisfied with the present state of architecture.' The President, the late Sir Gilbert Scott, also 'thought that when they looked at the forms of architecture which the whole world pronounced to be wonderful, there could be no doubt by what manner of men they were originated and carried into execution. The writer of these reviews had done something in directing their attention to the difference between the old workman and the architect of the present day; the points of difference he had drawn proved clearly that there was no very great distinction between the architect and the workman in those days.' But the difference between the old workman and the modern architect is total and extreme; it cannot be 'exaggerated.' The old masters produced 'forms of architecture which the whole world pronounced to be wonderful;' the modern architect is said to 'excite the derision of the whole body of his colleagues.' The old masters did not 'bring disgrace upon architecture;' nor were they 'destroyers of architecture, and the disgrace of the age,' as Sir Gilbert Scott assured us 'an immense

multitude' of architects now are. The Reviewer never used expressions more severe and general than these; and, when compared with such professional self-accusation, all our criticisms are but weak, and reticent, and gentle.

The reason is that we have hope, and so can easily be moderate; but at the Institute there is despair. Sir Gilbert Scott admitted that 'he did not know how in the world the case was to be met, though he had thought about it a good deal. He confessed he did not know what the hope of architecture was.' This being so, might not the Reviewer's 'hope' be welcomed?

It is, then, well established and accepted at the Institute of Architects, that medieval architecture was entirely designed by working men, and not by 'gentlemen' or draughtsmen; that all these craftsmen's work was good, and in its higher qualities almost sublime; but that of modern work a very modest minimum is passable as a pretentious imitation of the repudiated workmen's style, and all the rest falls off to multitudinous disgracefulness. We quote the late President again:

One of the most marked characteristics of the production of the great periods of architecture is that *no really bad* architecture is *ever* to be found among them. Who ever heard of a work of the Greeks, at the great period of their art, which they would presume to call bad architecture? While in the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the same masterly skill, and the same studious handling, are found in the simple village church as in the noblest cathedral. Nay, one is often disposed to uncover one's self in humble reverence before the work of some unheard of carpenter or mason in an obscure village. No contrast could be more marked than the difference between the present state of things and that which prevailed at the great eras alluded to. Instead of each work in its style displaying the same knowledge and instinctive sentiment, the same careful, wise, and thoughtful handling, the reverse of this is actually the case. From each of our art camps productions are put forth of the highest and most contemptible character; while, I fear, a large number of the buildings which will represent our period are of that negative kind which, being neither hot nor cold but only lukewarm, will excite but a sickly emotion.

This concluding sentence is however too extensive in its scope; it fairly states the quality of what are called the best, the exceptional few, of our contemporary works. Their worth is 'negative;' they are not badly built nor incorrect, but they are wholly destitute of true artistic character and power; 'lukewarm and sickly.'

Then, replying skilfully on the whole discussion, the discerning author of the paper, said:

There must have been truth in the article on 'The State of English Architecture,' for only the truth stings; and I am confirmed in this opinion by the knowledge that many architectural assistants—Associates of the Institute, who have done, and are still doing, good service to their masters—believe much of that article to be true. I am convinced that in many instances the actual system of practice does not conduce to artistic excellence, nor is it fair to the junior and subordinate members of the profession. I believe that members of the Institute might introduce a practical reform.

Another reader at the Institute immediately showed how such reform is to be made. 'It might be an improvement if we had a greater number of competent men, among whom our great works might be distributed, so that to each the architect might give his whole time and thoughts.' Here is the whole requirement stated in two words—competence and distribution—so that men of sense may give their constant thought, and practical ability, to one single building work; and thus produce a work of real art.

Some few months later Mr. Beresford Hope, a reputed connoisseur, who seems often to address the Institute, was quite emphatic on 'the craze of the day, "the workman-architect;" the idea that Ignorance should be divinely and miraculously gifted with the power of producing more beautiful things than Education and Instruction. It would take a good many articles in "The Quarterly Review" to convince him that the workman would become a heaven-born Phidias when he had no capital at all.'

We have more than once or twice, in sheer compassion, put aside quotations from the Fellows of the Institute of Architects. The Profession, in a way that Mr. Fergusson explains, has evidently a deteriorating influence on the minds of those connected with it; and for all who are engaged in its injurious toil we have the pity that experience compels. But for the self-complacency of connoisseurs there need be small consideration. For some forty years or more these gentlemen have been ubiquitous in public architectural affairs; the busy advocates especially of church, and abbey, and cathedral restoration in the flashy, sumptuous style. Often of high character, accomplished, well-conditioned, and acknowledged leaders in the world of 'taste,' but in the world of art deluded sciolists, their influence on architecture has been thoroughly injurious. They have reduced it to a show of pedantry, and trumpery church ornament; and it thus becomes for them a means of personal distinction, and of a peculiar kind of social prominence; they represent the dangerous little knowledge to which more abundant ignorance

defers. Their custom is to make professional and other architectural meetings opportunities for much 'amusing' oratorical display; and being dilettante in ecclesiology they, often very quaintly, pose as friends and special champions and defenders of 'the church.' Yet, with their gentle flock of clerical admirers, they are constant dupes of the Profession; the chief patrons of that jobbing pluralism which has now become the bane of English architecture.

Several months before, as if prophetically to anticipate our obscurantist connoisseur, the late enlightened President had told the Institute that the old craftsman architect or master was no craze; that everywhere and always he was most divinely gifted; that his artistic knowledge was complete; that his instruction and his education in his work were perfect; and we may add the obvious remark that what the workman always was until oppressed by connoisseurs and clerics he may yet become again. Sir Gilbert Scott may also possibly have thought what we presume to say, that 'Ignorance' is evidently not divinely gifted; and that our connoisseur's emphatic belief that any craftsman destitute of 'capital' could possibly be heaven-born, is strikingly in character. Few other men would have the genius for such an estimate of heavenly worth, and for so broad an explanation of the local claims and the celestial influences of 'capital.' An ancient craftsman, most divinely gifted, used to say of heaven, how hard it was for men of capital to enter there.

Had he not so frankly told the Institute of his defective powers of apprehension, Mr. Beresford Hope's objection would appear strong evidence of lamentably irreligious education, or of careless, not to say neglected, Bible reading. In the earliest page of sacred history we find that Adam was 'put into the garden of Eden, where was every tree that was pleasant to the sight, to dress it,' as an artist, 'and to keep it,' wholly without capital. But it is further said that when he listened to the woman, whom the serpent, the first connoisseur, had tempted, and had tasted of the tree of knowledge, he was changed. He ceased to be a heaven-born genius; his eyes were open, and vain knowingness began. The fallen artist workers were then driven from the pleasant garden, and compelled to till the 'cursed ground,' and made, like modern connoisseur-afflicted artisans, to 'eat in sorrow,' and to live in shame.

Considering their own abundant incapacity, the objection to the workman's 'ignorance' comes very curiously from connoisseurs; who ought at least to know that they themselves

are only conversant about the gossip, or 'the things of art,' and not with art itself. They have not even learnt to make a Gothic window or a door; and yet, in compound ignorance, they assume that those who can do this are their inferiors. The workman is directly on the road of architectural knowledge, and the connoisseurs and draughtsmen are entirely off it. Learning and science never made an architect, though now and then they have developed a composer. They are both distinct from art; and when connected with it may, by foolish use, be made unspeakably injurious. The workman at the grand climacteric of art had very little learning; scarcely any that was studiously acquired. The technics of his art were his almost by birth, or by unconscious, childish habitude; and in the history of art nothing is more evident and interesting than the workman's carelessness about the past; his ignorance of archæology; his indifference to all he *knew* of former work; and his amazing persevering impulse to *make* all things new. He was a poet, not a sciolist; a maker of imaginative work, of which our connoisseurs are very proud to know the glossary, and something of its date and history. The knowledge of these *dilettanti* is but scientific, 'that in which all men agree: knowledge therefore at its lowest term; but the individual expression of the poet is the highest,' the expression of the man himself and not of his scholasticism. He develops thoughts that other men may know; he does not 'know,' he *sees*, and so produces elements for knowledge, widening creation. In architecture all this individual expression is by work, and so the craftsman, liberated and allowed to think, and to create while working, is the only hope of architecture. Connoisseurs and draughtsmen are the men of science; architectural therefore only 'at the lowest term.'

A few years since the Ordinary of Newgate wrote an interesting letter to 'The Times' commending a new workmen's club at Westminster; where, as he said, the Hall had been recently 'built by the working men themselves; and 'not only so, they were their own architects.' This transaction was referred to in 'The Quarterly Review' as 'the latest instance of true building master workmanship; the workmen, as in times of art, conducting their own work without a drawing-master's interference. The Reverend Ordinary's statement that 'the building is very handsome' was judiciously omitted; but that 'the plans and elevations had been beautifully drawn by one of the members' was said to make this workman's 'little front more satisfactory and respectable than the Charing Cross Hotel or the Royal Academy façade.'

For several centuries the workmen have been banished from the realms of art, and systematically hindered from their old, intelligent co-operation in artistic building work. At length there is a slight but hopeful indication of a change; like medieval masters, they design and work together by themselves. Of course, their brother 'artists,' the 'superior class,' were quick to recognize and welcome this endeavour to improve the working men's condition; and to cheer the first aspiring effort of the men who 'do the work' for which they 'get the praise,' and by whose aid they gain their own position in the world. Here was an opportunity for manifesting in a gentle way their own superiority. Unhappily they missed it. At a special meeting of the Institute, assembled to discuss and to repudiate 'The Hope of English Architecture,' the workman's feeble but spontaneous undertaking was received with derision by the whole body, just as we have heard they treat a fellow architect's professional designs; and thus ingenuously they showed themselves to be 'inferior.'

The critic's circumspect approval of the method of this workman's work has been described as 'admiration' of the architectural result, and as adducing the small front as 'the one successful effort of modern architecture.' We are dealing with a class of men who 'may not use their intellects;' and so are possibly unable to distinguish between 'effort' and 'success,' or to perceive that when a method is approved there is no necessary reference to result. All that was said in the Review might be advanced without the slightest knowledge or examination of the building. This was designed by working men in somewhat of the medieval working master's way, and thus is evidently far 'more satisfactory and respectable' than the neighbouring productions of the drawing-masters' Institute. Indeed some delicate apology is due to the Portcullis Club for the degrading and unkind comparison. The working members of the club did not deface a dignified and monumental composition, like Lord Burlington's well-studied elevation, nor erect an imitation of a royal monument and a memorial cross as an hotel advertisement, and tavern sign.

Returning to the Institute, we find the late President thus gravely cautious: 'With regard to the question of vernacular architecture, they should each do the best they could, according to the ability God had given them.' Under the present 'graphic' system no one knows what latent architectural ability our modern architects possess. In many a drawing-master's office there may be some undiscovered Phidias or

Vischer who in a workman's shop might be developed as a real artist; but God has certainly not given even men like these ability to make a dozen buildings at a time, all works of art. Still further, the late President most candidly declared that, 'as it is, five pupils out of six sent to architects are worth nothing in the world; and'—let the public note this thorough and authoritative condemnation of themselves and of the present system—'they stood as good a chance of getting on as any one else.'

A second connoisseur, Sir Edmund Beckett, a most friendly correspondent of the Institute, considers that the late Sir Gilbert Scott's evasion of the question is a 'declaration that the idea of vernacular architecture ever again existing is absurd.' And he adds, 'The present confusion or universality of styles, which we must take as a datum or fact beyond contending against, may be a cause of the decline and almost disappearance of any public architectural criticism.'

Very true; since modern buildings are but inartistic and chaotic compositions, each beholder may object to or approve of them exactly as his individual whimsy dictates. Critics can regard with thoughtfulness, and judge with great respect a work of veritable art; but inartistic, imitative buildings are mere matters of scholasticism or caprice, and then of trade; and, save as warnings, not worth notice. Criticism has in them no valid occupation; they are things of what the connoisseurs call 'taste,' of costliness and luxury, of fashionable names or styles, and even of a grim or sumptuous ecclesiology. Many a draughtsman has attained to what is reckoned 'eminence' by sanctimonious pandering to the silly, wholly inartistic High Church school.

The candid mentor also wrote to the assembled architects:

Whatever you do, don't call yourselves 'artists.' An artist is a man who executes, whether he more or less designs besides; and ranges from a Phidias or Apelles down to a ballet-dancer or a cook. You are artists in respect of your drawings, but not in respect of the buildings made from them; and experience has shown that there is no connection between the power of drawing nice architectural pictures and the power of producing fine buildings.

Sir Edmund Beckett is a ready writer and a lecturer on building. In his books there is abundant useful information; he might even claim to be the recognized Vitruvius of the period. Among other things he tells us:

Critics may be right in saying that the modern and increasing severance between working and general superintendence, and designing, tends not

to exalt architecture, as its professors pretend it does, but to degrade it more and more into a trade for making money by the help of clerks. But the public, who will not take the trouble to understand a little of these subjects for themselves, must take architects as they are. In spite of all that is said at 'opening festivities,' and other occasions when people meet to glorify one another, nobody can hear building talked about among friends without seeing that there is a deep and settled conviction that the much talked of 'Hope of Architecture' is 'little but despair.'

To this condition, then, the connoisseurs have brought us. But Sir Edmund Beckett is himself an architect; he has 'substantially designed sundry churches, and other buildings of considerable size.' Of these the plans are good enough, the 'graphic' elevations are sufficiently 'correct,' and all the work is solid and well done; the buildings are however wholly destitute of true artistic feeling, they are coarse and dull. The railway churches at Peterborough and Doncaster might have been designed by some ambitious, unimaginative engineer, without artistic faculty or power, who had gathered his details from books, with no perception of propriety or scale; thus illustrating with peculiar force Sir Edmund Beckett's dictum, that 'there is no connection between the power of making architectural drawings and the power of producing fine buildings.'

Two designs for the restoration of the west end of St. Albans Abbey Church have recently been published. One is by an architect; and is as weak as any other product of the Institute; mere accidental features being made essential elements of the design. But the rejected elevation seems a work of power and graceful fancy when compared with the design accepted from Sir Edmund Beckett. This design is just the sort of thing that some 'small architect' would set his youngest clerk to do, to keep him out of further mischief. The whole plan is wrong as a restoration of the west end of the church; which needs, what the old builders, it appears, intended to supply, two towers extending north and south entirely beyond the line of the aisle walls. The nave is so protracted, westward, that the end seems almost to be lost in distance. The eye, in memory at least—and memory is always acting as a most efficient element in architectural appreciation—does not retain a sense of limitation; and the long nave appears to be, without an obvious termination, undefined. The towers would give this mark of limitation; they would also make the west front half as wide and, on an average, half as high again, as in its present form; thus rendering it a suitable façade and frontis-

piece for so important and so large a building. The towers would also be distinctive features to associate with the larger tower at the cross; and thus would bring the structure into unity as a completed composition.

To Sir Edmund Beckett there is due the greatest credit for his generous care of the cathedral, for his wise suggestion of the high pitched roof, and for the structural improvements that he has directed; but the present scheme too painfully reminds us of the fact that nature has its equitable limits for its gifts to individual men. A most successful advocate, a copious correspondent, and an accurate horologist might well be satisfied that the constructive faculty is added to his numerous accomplishments, and might have left this western front to artisans, whenever they are found, who, though without a quarter of his general ability, should have creative power in intellectual and imaginative work in stone. Distinctly he has missed his way; his new design is utterly beneath the lowest criticism. But Sir Edmund backs his enterprise with an unlimited supply of funds; and as he is, moreover, hopelessly unconscious, and artistically undiscerning, it is difficult to blame a man so zealous, and in such a painful case. Indeed the clerics in authority are the great culprits; they are trustees for the nation, and the sanction they have given to this most ridiculous and yet presumptuous scheme is certainly a violation of their public trust. The three western doorways at St. Albans are unique and exquisite examples of progressive medieval art; worth, unrestored, far more than all the labour to be spent upon the west front of the church; in fact a new west end contrived expressly to enclose, and so preserve them would be the most judicious and appropriate completion of the building. To 'restore' these portals would be mutilation and destruction. Were the authorities at Bloomsbury to allow some wealthy connoisseur, entirely without a plastic artist's insight and ability—'an artist,' as Sir Edmund Beckett warns us, 'in his drawings only'—to inflict his incapacity upon the Elgin marbles, and 'restore' them, they would but equal the diocesan chancellor and the cathedral clergy at St. Albans in their stolid infidelity to a great artistic trust. Sir Edmund Beckett tells the world that his design is popular; but then we have just heard, on good professional authority, that 'the public actually prefer inferior architecture.' Sir Edmund, therefore, might judiciously beware.

There was at Doncaster some years ago a dignified and simple parish church, the work of master masons, built in an artistic way. This church has been destroyed; and in its

place there is an architectural full-sized model, made to show what modern connoisseurs and architects consider an eclectic, sumptuous imitation of the style of medieval masonry; and manufactured with whatever finery might make a pretty building. In the sphere of art, according to Sir Edmund Beckett's valuable letter to the Institute, it is entirely without worth; but still it is a leading case in connoisseurship, and professional design.

Let us now recapitulate. We learn from special advocates of the Profession, at the Royal Institute, that modern architects are 'not artists' in respect of their buildings, and that these buildings are for the most part 'sickly and lukewarm'; that 'five-sixths of those who enter the profession are worth nothing in the world'; that, notwithstanding, 'they are good enough' for anything the public want, or give themselves the trouble to understand, and that consequently a national, artistic, architectural speech is utterly impossible, and criticism is absurd; that without capital no working man can be divinely gifted, and from this it follows that the 'Hope' of English architecture is expressly 'with the capital'; that our present architectural practice is injurious, and that drawing-masters have degraded architecture to a trade; that though 'an immense number' of our contemporary architects are 'destroyers of architecture, and the disgrace of the age, the public must yet take them as they are'; and that the late President, Sir Gilbert Scott, was in despair.

But besides all this, it is judiciously admitted that 'to each work an architect should give his whole time and thoughts'; that the old workman who did this built nothing bad and most things excellent; and that, although the state of science in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was comparatively low, these medieval master-builders, strikingly in contrast with our modern draughtsmen, always 'show instinctive sentiment and knowledge in their art'; and further that 'The Quarterly Reviewer has done something in directing attention to this difference between the old workman and the modern architect.'

These are the candid statements of the architectural Profession and their friends. We have the case against the present system perfectly established by its most conspicuous votaries; who acknowledge that the undirected medieval master workman was the author of the works that all the world for centuries has rejoiced in. Why cannot we adopt the workman's perfectly efficient system now? The mere inquiry, after our protracted contemplation of a moribund pro-

fession, gives a sense of cheerfulness and life. We really have a hope, 'not seen as yet,' but perfectly substantial; and the abolition of the drawing-master's trade will be the pledge and earnest of a general architectural revival.

A recent article in 'The Builder,' criticizing 'The Profession of an Architect,' supplies the latest evidence of the substantial concord between leading advocates of the profession and the THE BRITISH QUARTERLY Reviewer. Superficial readers may discover in it only symptoms of hostility, but these are trivialities. Wherever truth is absolutely on one side, the adversary has, in equity, some license; no one complains; he must say something, and he commonly convicts himself, adding new volume to the overwhelming testimony that he seeks to controvert.

Our accurate quotation* of the contrast that Sir Edward Watkin indicates between George Stephenson's good simple work for mere day wages, and the 'professional' charges of a modern engineer appears to be a grievance. 'The special difference and expense attending the Metropolitan Railway it was of course convenient'—we have had this phrase before—'to leave out of sight.' As if they could be out of *mind*. But then Sir Edward Watkin wrote for ordinary people; he has only failed to make the matter clear to the 'unintelligent' profession. Possibly Sir Edmund Beckett can inform 'The Builder,' or the Institute, by letter, how Sir Edward Watkin's shrewd comparison should be applied; and he might use the Tay bridge as a convenient illustration of professional responsibility, and of its method, and success.

'The Builder' also takes exception to our solemn illustration of an 'architectural lamp-post.'† 'To pick out some apparently stupid thing, its surroundings not being referred to, that some architect has done, and represent it as the common practice of architects, is in plain English little better than lying.' The 'plain English' is beyond the scope of our remarks; but, like previous quotations from 'The Builder,' it has all Sir Edmund Beckett's gracefulness of thought and style. However, if the writer in 'The Builder' had attended to Sir Edmund Beckett's teaching, he would have known that modern buildings when designed by architects are 'not artistic,' they 'certainly are not satisfactory,' and 'no one goes to see them.' All of them are consequently 'stupid things;' to 'pick out,' therefore, would be needless; any random specimen will do to illustrate the 'common practice of architects.' As to the special lamp-post, we are told that 'it is intended not

* See BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1880.

† Ibid.

merely to carry a lamp but as a termination to a balustrade, and anything that was not tolerably bulky would look exceedingly weak.' Our readers when they pass Trafalgar Square will recognize in the stone monumental lamp-posts and the little coping wall, the approved professional proportion of a 'termination to a balustrade.'

We may however take another lamp design, from the great architectural gewgaw in the Euston road; a bunch of fine large lamps set on the high, projecting corner of a balustrade. This seeming galaxy is all a sham, and wholly useless, save as an expensive daylight show; not one of its five lamps is ever lighted. It is placed, indeed, exactly where no light can be required, and as far towards the moon as possible. Is it not 'stupid,' quite professional; and fit to match the lamp-posts in Trafalgar Square? Yet no one has objected to it; and the hotel design throughout is just as full of unperceived absurdity. But what could the poor drawing-master do? It was his 'business;' he had fifty other buildings to make sketches for. Sir Edmund Beckett says he was 'the greatest of modern Gothic architects,' and here we have a specimen of his most conspicuous work. He evidently had abundant capital, and so, as Mr. Beresford Hope would say, he might be most 'divinely gifted;' yet his work is worse than nothing, a display of senseless ornament, intended to delight the tavern speculators and the 'tasteful' public. The poor parish lamp looks far more 'satisfactory and respectable.'

'One of the Reviewer's main charges against modern architects is that they are paid much more than there is any reason to suppose the mediæval architects were paid; and for this cause he evidently regards the modern architect as a base and grovelling personage.' No; the objection is that modern architects—the great majority of whom, as their late President has told us, are 'worth nothing in the world,' but are



PROFESSIONAL LAMPS,
FOR DAYLIGHT ONLY.

'destroyers of architecture and the disgrace of the age'—get any pay at all. Even the 'lukewarm, sickly' few receive immensely more than they are worth. The medieval master had fair pay for 'wonderful' artistic work; the building work of modern drawing-masters, men 'not alive to their profession,' is entirely 'inartistic,' as Sir Edmund Beckett has so clearly shown. Yet for each inartistic building they receive a rate of payment far beyond what satisfied the medieval artist. And besides 'The Builder' does 'admit, and with regret, that there is not a little to be said in regard to the practice, by architects who have attained reputation, of taking more work than they can possibly give proper thought to, or can even see to themselves at all, and having it done *en masse* by a number of subordinates.' It is not merely, as is further said, that 'there are small architects who do dirty jobs,' for all our architects are small; but they are 'architects of reputation' who are thus disreputable; and what contractors say about 'commissions' taken, even claimed from them, by 'architects of known respectability' is very much in keeping with this 'regrettable,' but quite 'admitted practice of architects who have attained reputation.' Those who lead in the profession, and are 'eminent,' are thus, to use the diction of 'The Builder,' 'in the unsatisfactory position of a man who is *credited* with work which he cannot himself find time to design or look after; and is precluded from giving his buildings that degree of thought which he ought to consider as rightfully demanded from him.' This acknowledged system of 'unrighteousness,' and 'falsehood,' and 'dishonesty'—we collect the imputations of apologists for the Profession—is 'compensated for' by multiplied percentages; and the system and its 'compensation' do together constitute success in the profession of an architect. Indeed the architectural profession is entirely founded on the hope of prompt participation in this practice. Its result is, chiefly, that the quiet, able men, who might be artist-builders, real architects, are overlooked; and that our buildings, public and domestic, are, as works of art, 'worth nothing in the world.' Impressed with this pernicious and 'disgraceful' state of things, 'The Builder' says: 'The practice of architectural design by proxy exists to far too large an extent; and if the critic had directed his shafts mainly against this he might have done some good.' And now we seek especially to satisfy this conscientious, humble-minded invitation.

'The case of Crossland v. Outhwaite, tried at Kingston, February 2, 1881, before Lord Coleridge and a special jury of

the county of Surrey, is of some public interest from the light which it throws upon the charges made by professional architects. The plaintiff in this case sought to recover from the defendant a sum of about £300 in respect of plans and drawings made and work done by the former in his capacity of architect for the latter. It appeared, however, in the course of the trial, from the evidence of the plaintiff himself, that the plans were prepared not by that gentleman, nor even under his personal supervision, but by another person whose name was attached to the drawings. The plaintiff, indeed, endeavoured to explain this strange discrepancy by asserting that the actual draughtsman of the plans was employed by him as his clerk at an annual salary of £200, and that it was by no means an uncommon thing for architects thus to avail themselves of the services of other persons in the preparation of plans, while considering themselves fully entitled to be paid as if they had devoted their own personal attention to the business. This theory, which Lord Coleridge designated as novel as it was dangerous, is not, let us hope, 'one which is frequently carried into practice. It would appear, indeed, from the evidence of the plaintiff, to have received some kind of sanction more or less formal from the Institute of British Architects. But, as was pointed out very forcibly by the learned judge, it is not competent for a number of gentlemen meeting together in Conduit Street to impose terms upon the British public which are totally at variance with elementary propositions of law. The jury, without requiring a summing up from his lordship, refused to adopt the extraordinary version of the duties of an architect propounded by the plaintiff.' (*'The Pall Mall Gazette.'*)

Then, referring to the taking of 'commissions,' *'The Builder'* does not foolishly deny a well-known fact; but gently says: 'We have always failed in endeavours to obtain precise statements when such charges have been broadly made.' Most probably; and no doubt, before the late Commissions issued, all the representatives of Oxford, Macclesfield, and Gloucester, would have made a similarly relevant reply to a suggestion that their several constituencies were venal. But in the way of business, and the profession is 'a business,' a 'commission' is not held to be a bribe; the word is wholly different; and thus extremely pious persons, who are greatly shocked at bribery, will take and give 'commissions,' and resent the imputation of unrighteousness. Nor are the higher grades of what is called success at all times kept within the path of honour and of honesty. Inferior men in point of talent may

be sea-green incorruptibles; and others, though accounted eminent, may be, in 'business,' quite unsound. Indeed to be a pluralist is something of a commendation at the Royal Institute of British Architects; and men get medals when they 'take more work than they can possibly give proper thought to, or can even attend to themselves at all.'

In January, 1877, 'The Times' published a copious and interesting correspondence on the subject of 'Commissions.' From this correspondence we will make a few condensed quotations, as they illustrate the practice of the architectural profession. First, Sir Edmund Beckett, with his usual ready testimony, writes: 'The best class of agents of all kinds, probably a small majority of the whole, repudiate the practice of taking commissions as dishonest and unjustifiable.' And 'A London Parson,' having 'had experience in church building, believes it is an undoubted fact that the architect not only gets his five per cent. commission from his employer, but also a commission from various tradesmen for every article of furniture, from an organ to a hassock; and may be from the builders also. Until architects are more honourable, their profession will always occupy a secondary rank, even if it be not regarded as among trades rather than professions.'

Then come four letters from the Institute. One 'Fellow,' with absurd omniscience, declares that he is 'sure no such practices are carried on by members of the Institute;' a cautious, inefficient limitation. Another 'Fellow' says that 'whatever some individuals may have done, such a practice would, according to the rules of the Institute, insure the expulsion of the offender.' There must be then 'a practice' among architects to which these 'rules' refer; and yet the third Fellow rebukes the 'London Parson' for stating 'his "belief" in the "undoubted fact" that architects do such things;' and further says that 'the Institute not only condemns such—incredible—conduct as it deserves, but would expel any member who practises it,' while the fourth Fellow,—the 'President,'—declares that the *practice—which 'according to the rules of the Institute insures expulsion—is absolutely unknown to architects as a body.'* But why, if there are no transgressors, are the rules? Undoubted virtue needs no threatening law. There is suspicion even at the Institute.

The tradesmen then give evidence, distinctly, of the fact:

As Builders and Contractors we may be allowed to know something of the matter. We do not allege our 'belief,' but we state our experience—

and we are sure the building trade generally can bear out our statement—that the practice which the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects repudiates not only exists, but is common; and that architects are not above receiving commissions on goods supplied for works executed under their direction. It is quite usual for architects to name in their bills of quantities and specifications certain firms by whom particular goods are to be supplied, or certain portions of the work performed; and the firms so named allow a large 'discount' on all orders so received. Perhaps some architects draw a distinction between 'discounts' and 'commissions.'

Again, Sir Edmund Beckett writes:

I have no wish to depreciate the dignity of the Institute—to which perhaps a tenth of the British Architects belong—or its pre-eminence over other such societies which are not so Royal. But the practical question just now, is not their dignity, but their power to prevent even their own members, and *a fortiori* architects generally, from doing that which they corporately denounce, but which the contractors, who are infinitely better witnesses, declare is common, and that all the building trades will say so. After all that has been lately published, it is simply idle and ridiculous, if not something worse, for architects to go on publishing their rules against a practice which they know very well they can do nothing to prevent, and which those who suffer from it say is becoming impossible to withstand, and is destroying all legitimate and moral business. They do not tell us of a single member they have even tried for it, much less of any one they have expelled; and if they did, what particular harm would it do him, or how much less would he demand his bribes afterwards?

They do not see too that any quantity of such negative evidence from 'respectable' members of their own body proves nothing to the point. The only evidence worth having is from those who are forced to pay, not from those who say they do not receive?

Can it be that this so 'practical' and well-informed Sir Edmund Beckett is the writer in 'The Builder' who has 'always failed to obtain precise statements when such charges have been broadly made?'

The correspondence ends with reiterated negations, 'proving nothing to the point,' from the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects; and then 'The Times' 'deplores the state of things.'

'The Builder,' in its article of June 12, 1880, says that 'the charge of taking commissions from tradesmen, as generally made, is remarkable equally for impudence and ignorance.' If our readers can find time to refer to this article and to the letter we have quoted from Sir Edmund Beckett, they will probably be led to the conclusion that in the two publications the writer is the same; the versatile Sir Edmund merely

Shifting his side (as a lawyer knows how),

when specially retained ; and showing thus what credit should be given to professional denials.

These denials are in fact conclusive evidence of what has recently been said about the low morality and intellectual deficiency of the profession. An exception has however just appeared ; we welcome and record one instance of good sense and honourable feeling. Mr. John McLachlan, in his Presidential Address delivered at the meeting of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, on the 17th November, 1880, said :

It is within my own knowledge that there are men belonging to our profession who habitually undertake work for a nominal fee to the client, but who make the same client pay the amount of three or four fees by manipulating the items in the schedules with the contractors in such a way as no client can detect. The thing is scandalous and disgraceful. The commission which appears in so many lawsuits as being paid to architects is the surreptitious, underhand, disgraceful bribe applied by manufacturers, patentees, and other proprietors of building appliances, to have their goods introduced into buildings. The leaven of this corruption works in divers ways. Some men, calling themselves architects, have so arranged that large slices of emolument should be hidden in the estimates, ultimately to pass into the pocket of the architect. Such a form of wickedness is conscious of its blackness, and so keeps out of sight. If the architect will in plain words inform his employer that on the £100 roof which he has just designed he has pocketed £25 of commission, irrespective of his fee, I shall believe he is acting as an honest man. Let us act as upright men, and I venture to think that, in course of time, we shall take a more honourable position in society.

It seems then from this Presidential dictum, and the 'London Parson's' absolutely coinciding testimony, that for the present architects should diligently seek 'the lowest room.'

The reason why the drawing-masters can, as we have seen, by pluralism and percentages, obtain 'whatever sums their grasping natures prompt them to demand,' is that the public are so 'perfectly unfurnished with the knowledge of the subject'—we continue with 'The Builder'—that they are imposed upon ; whereas the medieval public were habitually well instructed, and could so distinguish art from imitation that the latter had no chance. Art only was accepted ; and becoming plentiful, and therefore cheap, the hideous waste of temporary, fashionable imitations was prevented. It is true that, as 'The Builder' says, the Poet Laureate receives a greater fortune from his works than Milton ever gained ; but then he is a poet, and deserves the payment. Mr. Tennyson does not collect the English classics, and with paste and scissors make commercial 'sketches' for dramatic or idyllic poems as the orders come, and leave them, in a way 'The Builder' deprecates, to be 'carried out in a semi-mechanical system by a

number of clerks and pupils; becoming practically a mere man of business, and in filling his purse emptying a great deal of the dignity of his calling.' The book-making world has no pretentious class to be compared with modern architects. The public can read books, and do in time appreciate an author's worth or worthlessness; a few well-written pages quickly doom Montgomery's 'Satan;' but there is no homely comprehension of artistic work to which an architectural critic may appeal. There is no architectural vernacular; the public are pretending to use Greek, Italian, Early English, Norman French, and half a dozen other architectural idioms, of which they know a little less than of their correlated literary languages; and then they grieve that there is no advance in architectural art. As reasonably look for 'Areopagitica' or 'Comus' from a Zulu or a Bengalee.

How hard it is to get broad principles of truth well lodged in narrow minds. We deprecate the evil influence of draughtsmanship, and thereupon 'The Builder' says that drawing is 'proscribed,' and that 'a mere stonemason is the Reviewer's notion of an architect.' Each statement is of course untrue; in our discussion drawing has been kept entirely distinct from trading draughtsmanship. The one is the occasional and subject help of architectural art; the other has become its treacherous and dominating substitute. It is quite possible to have a 'beautiful' design and yet a worthless building; while from rough sketches, such as Honecort's, coarse in execution, and apparently repulsive in design, a true poetic workman could produce a building full of exquisite originality and art. In due subordination drawing may be useful to the workman, but, as Professor Ker, in his wise moment, said: 'In proportion to the skill in draughtsmanship just in this proportion seems to be the loss of the solid qualities of good design;' the details and the carving are mechanical and poor just as the draughtsmanship is elaborate and clever.* This is all true, but nothing has been said to justify the notion formulated by 'The Builder,' and imputed to ourselves, 'that such a building as the Parthenon could have been produced without careful delineation and even calculation beforehand.' This absurd suggestion may commend itself to specially dull people; others will discern its fallacy and folly. There was, certainly,

* Sir Edmund Beckett, as a lawyer, would be able to inform the Institute, and to assure Professor Ker, that architecture is not the sole sufferer from excessive 'draughtsmanship.' 'Some day we shall learn the great truth, that pleadings'—by 'draughtsmen'—'are the curse of the law, but the blessing of lawyers; that is, all pleadings beyond the simplest statement of the real case' ('The Quarterly Review,' Jan. 1881: 'The Ritualists and the Law,' p. 235).

an outline drawing for the Parthenon, to give the general proportions and the common character of style ; but all the special beauty of the building was emphatically masons' and carvers', and not draughtsmen's work. The drawing for the Parthenon design might easily be done in half a day, and at our usual scale for drawings none of the peculiar artistic merit of the building would be indicated. All the curves of mouldings, entasis, and stylobate are purely building work ; and were set out, full size, by the chief master workmen, with the grace and delicate refinement that the men of plastic art invent, and add to their mere graphic studies. They are at the building, and they see where form, beyond the draughtsmen's lines, and various, expressive modulation should be given. Modern architects do not create but only copy all these things, and so are only imitative draughtsmen ; but by real artists they were all *worked out* ; and workmen, and not drawing-masters, formed the subtle curves which give the Parthenon its architectural charm. The upward curvature of the plinth courses was detected at the building, not from any drawings, by the present scholarly surveyor of St. Paul's ; and he has recently exhibited its value at the western front of the Cathedral. In our illustration of the Parthenon this curvature may be observed in the foreshortened view of the east stylobate ; but, viewed in front, although this rise is *felt*, it is not obvious, nor easily perceived without artistically trained attention.

Architecture rises into art, precisely as the sculpturesque controls and dominates the graphic element, and when the thoughtful lapicide and carver most completely rules and guides intelligent artificers and draughtsmen. At the Parthenon the carver Phidias ruled, and like the Italian Maitani, this most 'famous workman' 'directed a body of architects and stone carvers.' Thus, it was to Phidias and others of his handicraft, and not to any draughtsmanship, that the surpassing merits of the Parthenon are due. If it were otherwise, how is it that in our own day of drawing-masters, the 'superior class,' we have no buildings correspondingly superior to the Parthenon ; or even to St. Stephen's Chapel, once at Westminster, or to the Abbey choir ? Money without stint is wasted upon 'ornamental' buildings ; graphic, wholly inartistic, and of merely meretricious, transient charm. Perhaps if we again acknowledge the 'inferior class,' and, as at Westminster and Athens, let a working man direct our work, we might have buildings far less costly, and yet permanently beautiful.



ENTASIS, AND CURVATURE, PERFECTED BY WORKING MEN.

No work of labour has so constant and beneficent an influence as building art upon the character and happiness of men. By nature, man is gifted in the noblest way with aptitude for building. All men, in whatever state, are born in some degree artistic, and they naturally show their rising mental power in thoughtful and imaginative building work. Each nation, from some local accident perhaps, has its peculiar form, or 'tongue,' by which the infinite variety of character of human nature is expressed in art; but all these languages of work, Egyptian, Greek, Byzantine, Norman, Arabic, and Gothic, not to mention less familiar forms of building, were vernacular, and 'understood of the people.' Thus they have produced expressive works of art; true monumental buildings; things to be preserved; created gems; developments of life, in which not manhood only but the Godhead is reflected. Through predominating drawing-masters we have lost all this, and we have gained the Albert Monument, the Hyde Park trophy.

In our discussion, therefore, it is reassuring to perceive that we are very much at one with the late President of the Institute of Architect, Sir Gilbert Scott, who said:

At all great periods of art, however different and even contrary may be the artistic sentiment expressed by the remains, the almost super-human productions, of various ages, one fact is common to them all; the fact that they were all the works of men who, from the humblest to the most exalted, were devoted *heart and soul*, absolutely and unreservedly, to their art; and with whom personal advancement and social position were as dust in the balance when weighed against the perfection of the arts to which they had sworn allegiance. Until we can resuscitate among ourselves the same glorious enthusiasm it is vain to look for another great period of architecture.

But considering some recent efforts to resuscitate this 'glorious enthusiasm,' it was hard to find the late President continuing thus:

Another promoter of the evils we deplore is the prevailing style of architectural criticism; for, much as our profession is held up to scorn, one rarely sees a word against the offal of our art, which is the great disgrace of our age. Nearly all which appears is against those who are enthusiastically aiming at a high standard of art. These are singled out for depreciation; yet this obviously has the effect of encouraging those who employ inefficient architects, and of making the public more satisfied with their own want of perception.

The question, as thus stated by Sir Gilbert Scott, turns on the expressions 'work' and 'art.' What is the work of modern architects that so arouses their exceptional enthu-

siasm? Is it the same work that the old artist masons, none of whom were 'inefficient,' were engaged in *'heart and soul, with no regard for social position or for personal advancement?'* The late President informed us very candidly that *'we must look on architecture as a business,'* and, in our time, business is not understood to be conducted quite without an eye to social position and to personal advancement. In fact an architect is said to become 'eminent' as he advances his position, not in art, for he is 'not an artist,' but in society, which, as Sir Gilbert Scott declared, has not the slightest sense of art. The modern architect 'can be an artist only in his drawings,' but the old mason, as an artist, worked in stone, and not on paper; and so when the modern architect enthusiastically aims at a high standard, his ambition is entirely distinct from that of the old master masons. It really is by competition draughtsmanship, and not by building work, that he attains to his 'superiority.' He does no work, 'is not an artist in his buildings,' but by his well-prepared and cleverly selected stock of patterns he obtains from people who, as the late President himself declared, 'scarcely perceive the difference between good architecture and bad,' an undiscovered number of commissions, and the consequent 'advancement.'

Again, in the old workman his enthusiasm led to constant personal attention and devotion *heart and soul*; but in the modern architect it stops at admiration. Thus in former times the 'master' lived at home, and with his work, a life of sympathy and dignified affection; but the modern architect deserts his own reputed art, and trades upon her degradation.

Possibly some architects are not at ease when this is pointed out. They strive professionally to obtain a seeming credit for their ill-conditioned art; and lavishly bedeck their buildings with expensive ornament, to make them fit for plutocratic good society. But by the test of real art such buildings have no character at all; and when Sir Gilbert Scott referred to 'architectural offal,' that which first occurs as worthy of the appellation is the recent meretricious decoration of cathedral choirs.

We consequently do not find that any modern architects are aiming at a 'high standard of work;' none therefore, for such effort, have been 'singled out for depreciation.' We have quoted those things that are prominent, and on this account alone; buildings are meant to be observed, and surely not in silence, nor without full liberty of judgment. Architects should never feel aggrieved when they are criti-

cised ; they would hardly wish to be neglected. Criticism, even trenchant and depreciating criticism, is a favour ; and, by those who are aiming at a high standard, should at least be borne with equanimity.

It may be said that our system has not failed ; that our architecture is in a very satisfactory state ; that the recent criticisms are false, and that if the public are dissatisfied with us, as we are told, it only shows their ignorance and unreasonableness. I do not think it would be wise for architects to rest content with such assurance. It would not tend to restore the confidence of the public in them ; and indeed none of them believe it ; for though each may consider his own works excellent, he thinks other new works faulty, and far inferior to old ones. Architects should remember that, unlike painters and authors, they have hitherto almost escaped public criticism. Those who had the necessary knowledge felt they could not with propriety criticise unfavourably the work of professional rivals ; and amateur criticism was generally valueless from ignorance. A great deal of the architecture produced is, it must be confessed, very bad. (*'House Architecture.'* By J. J. Stevenson, Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects.)

For these gentlemen, so grievously neglected by the critics, there should be all fair consideration in their graphic work ; but they perversely fail to comprehend and to accept the workman's sovereignty in building art. They talk of 'common workmen' as if these alone were found incapable ; but we have common architects ; and if their own opinion, and the judgment of the public, on the architectural profession and their works may be accepted, they are, also, very slightly valued. Though it is quite true that, as an architectural system, the Profession is 'held up to scorn,' this would be but a futile undertaking if their buildings were artistic. Members of the Institute should bear in mind the teaching of their friendly connoisseur, that they are never artists in respect of what they are supposed to build, but only in respect of drawings. Even architects can hardly be enthusiastic about these. The late Sir Gilbert Scott's delusions—self-delusions—about architectural enthusiasm, must have raised a smile in many a serving draughtsman's face, when he remembered how *he* made the drawings which the 'architect of eminence' had used to gain professional success.

In criticising works by the Profession we endeavour to ignore the individual architect ; but such abstraction is impossible when verbal utterances are referred to. The late President, Sir Gilbert Scott, who is in reminiscence specially before us, was a man of eminence both as an architectural grammarian and as a man of business ; but, besides, he was distinguished from his nearest rivals by his freedom from their

High Church sentiment, or affectation. A particularly 'canting' style of church work has become the demonstration of a class of sacerdotalists among the clergy, who contrive to captivate poor, silly women, and still sillier men, by tales about their 'sacraments' and 'orders.' In their churches, by an absurd inversion, the officiating minister is dominant; and, in each circumstance and act of outward worship, men and women show that they have given their intellects into the keeping of the Church, and so, apparently, have lost them. The associations of this school of priestly draughtsmanship are very deleterious to architects, who frequently become small-minded, intellectual dwarfs, unable to look over the enclosure of their petty schism.

The late President had always kept himself above this class of men; though in his way ecclesiastical, he was not subjectively clerical. But possibly instead of this, for all men have their trials, he suffered greatly from the plague of pluralism; which, as we have seen, has now become the bane of English architecture. To this cause it may be due that, notwithstanding all his increased knowledge and experience, his later buildings were decidedly inferior to some that he erected nearly forty years ago. The church at Camberwell, as a design, is very much above the college chapels at St. John's and Exeter. His buildings are, however, but scholastic forms, with little of the incident, and nothing of the touch, which indicate the vivifying spirit. Thus they do not live; they have no future, and they cannot be, to just anticipation and discriminating foresight, dignified or venerable.

This, Sir Gilbert Scott had no doubt come to feel; it was a sad experience, after forty years of arduous work, to find that all was without hope. No feeling is more painful than despair, and so we warn the younger members of the Institute, that they may save themselves from ultimate despondency. Their late President was, as he assured them, quite enthusiastic about art; and yet his buildings never were, artistically, a success; although the medieval masters, also with enthusiasm, did so well. Here are resemblances in condition, with decided contrasts in result; there then remain the separate methods to consider, and in these the student may be able to discover where, and how, the modern draughtsman fails. The essential want is, evidently, abnegation. The old masons were devoted to their work; with modern architects the opposite occurs, their work is made a means *for* them. The medieval masters were not pluralists, but always resident upon their work, to *do* it, not design it only. In 'the church'

the working clergy have been freed from pluralism, and are now upon the footing of the medieval masons; cannot our architects of eminence begin a similar reform? Might they not now, without delay, adopt the method of these constantly successful men; and each, with perfectly well-founded hope, 'devote himself *heart and soul*,' of course with fitting wages, *to one work*. For the commissions they may thus abandon or decline they need have no solicitude; each work can be entrusted to the care of one of the 'young men,' or their successors, whom the late President assured us 'he could name of the highest promise, and who were actually languishing for architectural employment.'

All the world however is not perfect; motives are mixed, and help is necessary even for the virtuous. A gold medal, given by Her Majesty, is on occasion offered by the Institute to some reputed architect or connoisseur. The effect, it seems, is nugatory; when the medal is declined no harm is done, and when it is accepted no great benefit to any one appears to have resulted. If another principle of distribution were adopted, and the medal were presented to the architect who had *declined* the greatest number of commissions, good might come of it. We venture to commend this new suggestion to the Fellows and Professors at the Institute. Most men are anxious for distinction; here might be an opportunity and hope for some; the competition would not probably be too severe.

What we have said in this discussion has not been induced by an unfriendly or antagonistic spirit, as appears to be supposed; but, on the contrary, by our especial care and sympathy for art, and our compassion for the architects, who spend their lives in practising the 'Imitative Styles.' They know too well how hollow all the eminence of the Profession is; how vain the pedantry of clerics and of connoisseurs; and how absurd the aspirations, 'so artistic,' of the 'cultivated public.' These things contemplated daily, without hope, must be a constant misery to those of the profession who have minds above their 'business;' and our great desire has been to see these gentlemen relieved, in hope at least, from such unblest, ridiculous associations. True, we are wholly unacquainted with the members of the Institute; but this obscurity affords us special freedom in the scope and sentiment of our remarks, and gives no opportunity for any seeming interruption of our general benevolence. Our criticism is reserved for architectural works, but sometimes, when apparently invited, it regards, with scrupulous amenity, the utterances of authori-

tative public names. These names we often recognise with much respect and thankfulness; to these contemporary architects, and *dilettanti*, we are very much indebted for the energy with which they have promoted the Profession, and have thus so amply solved the question of its value as a method and a means of art; they have done all that is, professionally, possible in their attempts at art; we cannot hope that anything more scholarly will be achieved. But, having thus beheld the climax of professional potentiality, we find ourselves 'unsatisfied;' and, like the little angels on the Albert Monument, are only straining upward in a very futile way. Had we not better start again from solid ground, and seek some other course to the artistic empyrean?

Our pluralist Profession is indeed played out; it has entirely performed whatever it may call its 'work,' and now it stands before the world artistically impotent and in despair. It cannot possibly advance in an artistic way; but, for a show of movement, it has learned to practise something like an architectural goose step; first one foot, and then another, is brought forward, and we have alternate demonstrations of the various styles, Gothic or classic, each, as Professor Ker assured us, 'in its turn.' Can this absurdity continue? Is it not sufficient that three generations of young men have, in our time, been brought to a ridiculous and 'languishing' condition? May it not be something other than 'a fierce spirit of hatred' that induces us to tell the devotees of the Profession, many of them young and full of eager expectation, what a mean and disappointing course of life they have before them; and that causes us so perseveringly to point these wanderers to the only way that leads to architectural success? A way which, if they diligently follow it, will be in truth a life of happiness and freedom, and of self-respect and reasonable hope.

J. T. E.

ART. VII.—*The Irish Land Question.*

- (1) *The Agricultural Commission Report.* 1880.
- (2) *The Irish Land Commission Report.* 1881.
- (3) *New Views on Ireland.* By CHARLES RUSSELL, Q.C., M.P., 1881.
- (4) *Confiscation or Contract?* 1881.
- (5) *A Life's Work in Ireland.* By W. BENICE JONES. 1881.
- (6) *Why there is an Irish Land Question and an Irish Land League.* By T. M. HEALY, M.P. 1881.

THE Irish problem is in its inherent and absolute conditions the most difficult in modern politics, but the difficulty has been immensely enhanced by every conceivable complication that can be gathered around it. Perhaps it is only a fresh instance of the historic perversity that runs through the affairs of Ireland—a perversity often more provoking to its friends than to its enemies—that at the very moment the most friendly and powerful of governments is preparing to grapple with the vices of a bad tenure, the masses of the people should organize a conspiracy against the law, supported by deeds of the utmost violence and cruelty, and that their representatives in Parliament should insult the English people by attempting to paralyze and discredit almost the only authority which we genuinely revere. It is, indeed, a strange irony of fate that a Cabinet containing such statesmen as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Forster, should be obliged to preface its remedial legislation with measures of coercion to restore the authority of law which a long course of injustice has deeply undermined. The conduct of our Irish fellow countrymen has not only tended to estrange a people, three-fourths of whom are heartily resolved to do them justice, perhaps to do for them what they could not do for themselves, even if they had an independent parliament, but it has armed their Conservative enemies with fresh arguments to prove that no legislation will ever satisfy the demands of a nation which shows itself, in spite of all concessions and reforms, steadfastly irreconcilable. There can be no doubt that even among English Liberals there is a sort of unexpressed feeling or conviction that there must be some moral separation between the two countries, some dislike which all the legislation of the last fifty years has not removed or even softened, a dislike unaffected by justice, by fair dealing, or even by sympathetic consideration, which leads to the hopeless feeling that all

effort is thrown away, and that the union of the two countries is one that can never prosper, though it can never be dissolved, for the very reason that, if this temper is incurable, separation would be more dangerous than union. It is some feeling or conviction of this kind that leads many Englishmen to say that it would be almost better to make no concessions, and to fight against separation, than to advance in such an endless progress of concession without result and reform, without gratitude or conciliation.

This language, however, which is as much that of despair as of irritation, is, we believe, wholly unjustifiable. It cannot be well founded so long as English and Irish live together in all the cordial relationships of life, so long as Irish Roman Catholics find their leaders and their heroes among Protestant patriots, and so long as Englishmen think themselves well represented by statesmen and lawyers who are Irish both by lineage and title. It would be unstatesmanlike to give way to this hopeless mood, when it is felt that, come what may, Great Britain must live for all time to come, side by side with Ireland, in friendship or in enmity, with the two peoples intermixed by history, by language, and by social circumstances, past all possibility of separation. It is only just to Ireland to consider dispassionately the circumstances that have led to all the serious agrarian disorders of the past year. It is impossible, in the first place, to deny the existence of a real and justified agrarian discontent, and the history of the country shows that its political and social economies have been always so blended and intermixed that they act and react on one another in such a perpetual chain of cause and effect that there is no analysis subtle enough to make the distinction between them.

Now, ever since the day the Land Act was passed in the autumn of 1870, the Irish peasantry have been suffering without redress from the evils of a bad tenure. The first act of the landlords was to ascertain the limits of their power under the new law, and they were not long in discovering that it was still in their power to raise rents to the highest point without the least check from the law, so long as the tenant was reluctant to abandon his holding, and that in case of his appealing to the Land Court, they cared nothing for the insufficient fine imposed for eviction so long as they could procure a tenant willing to take the farm on condition of paying this fine along with an increased rent. The report of the Irish Land Commission, lately published, expressly states 'that on some estates, and particularly on some recently

acquired, rents have been raised, both before and since the Land Act, to an excessive degree, so as to absorb the profit of the tenant's own improvements.' It further states 'that some landlords, who previously were content to take low rents, appear to have begun a system of rent-raising when the Land Act was passed, either because they judged that the former forbearance was not suitable to the new relations which legislation had established between themselves and their tenants, or because the profits of agriculture just then were high, or because the high price fetched by tenant-right under the stimulus of the satisfaction engendered by the passing of the Act made them think that they had hitherto been mistaken in letting their land so cheaply.' Many landlords attempted to force leases upon their tenantry that would have involved the utter confiscation of their tenant-right; while men like Lord Leitrim, who had no love for rack-renting, harassed their miserable tenants with a mad caprice that too often had a tragical ending. Evictions rather increased than diminished. When we take into account the old system of land-tenure in Ireland, so different from that which has existed for two centuries, the traditions and recollections of the conquest, the ignorance and inability of the peasantry to look beyond their own experience to considerations which involve the welfare and progress of the country, the sufferings and total destitution that often followed ejection from their holdings, we can well understand how the contempt of the landlords for the just rights of the people has been the cancerous malady running through all recent Irish history.

Effort after effort has been made during the last ten years, both by Ulster Liberals and Southern Home Rulers, to secure a legislative revision of the Land Act. For three years Mr. Gladstone was too busy with his other great reforms to be able to re-touch his own handiwork; besides it was necessary to await the growth of an important body of decisions affecting the respective rights of landlord and tenant that was slowly taking shape in the Land Courts. A brief period of agricultural prosperity followed, and the voice of complaint was but little heard. During the six years of Tory rule the bad seasons came, and, according to the statement made by the Land League, no less than twenty-eight appeals were made in vain to Lord Beaconsfield to protect the peasantry from spoliation and misery. Not only was every appeal for redress summarily rejected by the compact body of Tory squires under the direction of the Ministry, but Mr. James Lowther, the very worst Irish chief secretary who has ever held office, lost no

opportunity of repudiating the principle of the Land Act as synonymous with confiscation and robbery, and poured contempt upon every form of Irish agitation.

The depth of the distress caused by three bad harvests is now beyond dispute. Dr. Hancock's statistics show that during the last four years the aggregate fall in the deposits of the Irish banks has been £4,494,000, which is rather more than one-eighth of the total deposits of the highest year known. In 1876, the deposits were £34,240,000, and at the end of 1880 they stood at £29,746,000. In a limited district of Mayo and Galway, which supplies labourers for the English harvest, Dr. Hancock estimates the loss of wages alone as amounting to £99,524 for the last four years. This is the district where the agrarian disorders have been most prevalent. Now the famine that threatened in the third year exposed the great bulk of the peasantry, especially in Connaught, to the risk of eviction, and it is now well known that many landlords took advantage of the distress, not only to evict needy tenants, but to raise rents as if the times had been most prosperous. Meanwhile, the 'Tory Government still turned a deaf ear to all appeals for a reform of the Land Act. One never knows how dangerous a thing it is to let the heart of a nation sicken through deferred hope.

The accession of the Liberal Government to power, with Mr. Gladstone as its head, inspired all classes in Ireland with bright hopes. But when it became evident that no Land Act could be passed in the few brief months of a hurried session, and when the Government declined, at Mr. Parnell's suggestion, to pass a brief Act protecting tenants against eviction till the land question could be definitively settled, a widespread fear took possession of the Irish peasantry that the relief promised in the Midlothian speeches would come too late to secure them against eviction, as the landlords would be left for another year quite untrammelled in the exercise of their legal rights. The Government, however, deemed it just to introduce the Compensation for Disturbance Bill to compensate tenants in certain necessitous districts who should be evicted for non-payment of rent. It was only an attempt to apply to these districts a thoroughly wise and just provision of the original Land Bill of 1870 which was summarily rejected by the House of Lords.

How the House of Lords rejected this Bill, as well as indeed every other Irish Bill presented to them in 1880, except that for lending money on cheap terms to the landlords, is now a matter of history. The effect of their action was simply this,

that any landlord could evict a whole country side without a penny of compensation. A really inhuman landlord could clear his land of tenants he did not like at less cost to himself than he would have incurred in clearing it of these tenants in more prosperous times. If a landlord wanted to take an immense acreage into his own cultivation, he could not do it in ordinary years without giving his tenants so much an acre for evicting them. But he could now get rid of them without any payment at all, merely because they were unable to pay their rent. But this action of the House of Lords had a still more important effect than that of arousing the deep resentment of English Radicals. *It threw the Irish peasantry into the arms of the Land League.* Mr. Gladstone was now admittedly powerless to help them for at least a whole year, and the feeling of despair in their minds was further deepened by the conviction—not, perhaps, so well grounded—that he might not be able even then to overcome the reluctance of the Peers to pass a really comprehensive and effective land measure. People of other countries usually suffer till they are relieved by law, and it is natural to condemn the impatient and turbulent discontent of those who cannot wait for the future because they suffer severely in the present. But the Irish situation was altogether as peculiar as the temper of the people, and goes far to explain the extraordinary history of the last six months.

We cannot but think that under circumstances so peculiarly trying the Irish people were singularly unfortunate in their choice of a leader. Mr. Parnell is undoubtedly a man of great ability and resource, especially in his complete command of the forms of the House of Commons, and in his quick insight into the momentary situation; but he wants many of the best qualities of a great leader. 'The Spectator' says truly that 'his tactics lately have not been the tactics of a man up to the situation, either in force of intellect or in force of passion.' It was specially unfortunate that the peasantry should entrust their cause to a politician who did not wish to have the land question settled at all by Parliament. Not six months ago he expressed his satisfaction at the thought that the present Government could pass no satisfactory land measure; he rejoiced, indeed, at the rejection of the Disturbance Bill by the House of Lords, and would, he said, have voted against it himself, if he could not have counted on the Peers 'to do his dirty work for him,' because he expected that it would take at least five or six years to succeed in his agitation for the separation of Ireland

from England. That is, he intended to use the land question as a lever to settle the political question. A wiser politician would be glad to take the Land Act as a substantial installment of justice, and then agitate for a separate parliament. It is this attitude of Mr. Parnell, as well as his persistent obstruction, that has so deeply discredited the cause of the Irish peasantry, who have virtually placed their destinies in his hands. Yet his utter failure as a popular leader and as a parliamentary tactician may ultimately turn out to their solid advantage. He has led his party into a ditch; he has not been able to fulfil his promises that he would dictate his own terms to Parliament; he has brought about a restriction upon his own powers of mischief both in Ireland and in England; and he has sacrificed his 'private police' of the Land League by committing them to unconstitutional courses, without being able to protect them against the severities of the Coercion Bill.

It was easy to see that, under the guidance of such a leader, with all his assumed ability to hit the exact line between wind and water in relation to the question of legality, the Land League would take a very wild and high-handed course, attempting to overthrow the authority of law and strike at established order and opinion. The scheme of the League was threefold—first, to stop all evictions, or, if they could not be stopped, to persuade or deter tenants from taking the vacated farms, so as to make the land worthless to the owners; secondly, to reduce all rents to the level of Griffith's valuation till such times as the landlords might be bought out; and thirdly, to abolish rents for the present in all cases where the tenant is unable to pay. It is unnecessary to say how effectively the League has carried out its purposes. It has virtually stopped eviction in many parts of Ireland, as we learn by the fact that in the four quarters of 1880, the number of evictions was respectively 554, 687, 671, 198, the number lessening in the last quarter in proportion to the power of intimidation exercised by the League. It has also checked, at least, for the present, the payment of excessive rents. Mr. Parnell boasts that he has struck off five millions sterling from the fifteen millions' rental of Ireland. It has also stopped the payment of rents in an enormous number of cases to the great derangement of all departments of Irish trade. But these three feats have been accomplished at a tremendous cost to the Irish community. We need not recite the story of outrage, assassination, threatenings, maiming of dumb beasts, which have followed closely upon the track of the League's operations. Disobedience to the

law is a disease of the most infectious type, and propagates itself with the most extraordinary rapidity and in the most unexpected quarters. The outrages may have been exaggerated, but they admittedly exceeded all former example, and the fact is undisputed that a hundred and fifty-three persons are at present under personal protection, that is, have two policemen constantly with them, and eleven hundred and forty-nine are constantly watched over by the police. The people are demoralized by the license that prevails as well as by the terrorism exercised over all who dispute, however justly, the stern decrees of the League. They are taught by the League that they are themselves to be the final judges of their own obligations, for it neither suggests nor establishes any sort of authority to which this immense class-conspiracy is to be subject.

It was clearly impossible that the Government, no matter how well disposed to Ireland, could overlook this attack upon the law or look on unconcerned at the outrages that tracked its progress over the country. Had they done so, they would have abdicated their most sacred functions and become criminal accessories to offences which they declared either their unwillingness to repress or their incompetency to punish. The Conservatives no doubt blamed them for not resorting sooner to coercive measures. But the defence of the Government is a perfectly fair one, that they deemed it wiser in the first instance to exhaust all the powers of the ordinary law, in accordance with the first principle of the Constitution, that despotic power shall not be used to set aside the law till the law has failed to protect public order. It was this conviction that led them in the first instance to prosecute Mr. Parnell and the Land Leaguers for conspiracy. Had they succeeded, there would be no necessity for repressive measures; but the only effect of the prosecution was to make the Land League more powerful and irresponsible than ever. There was no remedy now but coercion. We all of us frankly admit the mischiefs of coercion, which not only demoralizes the character of the permanent legislation and administration—relaxing, as Sir Robert Peel said, the energy of the ordinary law—but it puts down, along with the deadly violence of crime, the healthy activity of legitimate agitation and the evidence of well-justified discontent. Had the Government assumed coercive powers in last October, in hope of an indemnity from Parliament, or called Parliament together in November to obtain these powers, and succeeded in putting down all opposition to law, Parliament might now be assured by all sorts

of advisers, especially in the landlord interest, that Ireland appeared to be perfectly content and that there was no need of an agrarian change. Nobody says that coercion is a cure for the deep-seated evil of Ireland, much less that it will remove the hatred that exists between landlords and tenants. It may, indeed, intensify that hatred. None feel more than Liberal statesmen the permanent attendant evil of coercion, that it tends to make the law hateful, because order appears to be sought for the sake of a class and not for the community; and it is this traditionary conviction that the law is an enemy which every repetition of the appeal to coercion deepens in every fresh generation of Irishmen. But the present Government coerces out of hopelessness, not out of anger, and we may be perfectly certain that in such hands the provision for arbitrary arrest will be so limited as not to interfere seriously with the guarantees for the perfect liberty of every law-abiding citizen. The measures passed by Parliament are intended not as a substitute for liberty, but for a despotism most arbitrary and irresponsible. We join every true friend of the peace and liberty of Ireland in hoping that the peaceable inhabitants may receive full protection from these measures of needful rigour, and that the returning tranquillity of the country may soon dispense with the necessity for its continuance. The outrages have been largely diminished both in number and in gravity. But there is no evidence that coercion will end the social war in Ireland. It may stop outrages, but it is powerless against passive resistance and the resort to social outlawry which will be more or less fatal to the collection of rent. There is a 'Boycotting' that no coercion can prevent. There is no law in existence to compel a butcher or baker or grocer or trader of any sort to sell his goods to an obnoxious agent or tenant, and we believe that the only effective cure will be a thorough and immediate reform of the land laws. The landlords will not get their rents till Mr. Gladstone has finally settled the question.

There are several circumstances in the existing situation, however, which are of a more hopeful character, and justify the expectation that the difficulties of immediate legislation as well as of ultimate administration in Ireland will quickly disappear. It is satisfactory to know that there is at present a singular absence of crime not of the agrarian kind. It is equally satisfactory to learn that, as the effect of the removal of religious inequality eleven years ago, the question of the hour is not complicated by religious differences. The leader of the Land League is a Protestant, his lieutenant is a Roman

Catholic, while the planners of outrages are quite insensible to religious opinions in their attacks upon life or property. Then the very outrages themselves, with all their unseemly incidents, go to show the real depth of the evil to be remedied, the real badness of the existing tenure. Then the landlords themselves have been, in a great measure, converted by the untoward events of the last six months to more liberal views of the land question. They were unanimous in approving the action of the House of Lords last year in rejecting the Compensation Bill, but they have now come to see that there is no hope for them except in a Land Act that will thoroughly settle the question, even at the sacrifice of their nominal power as owners of land. Many Ulster landlords of Conservative views have been converted to the three F's, and such Liberal peers as Lord Monck, Lord Powerscourt, and Lord Emly, have expressly formulated this demand in the interests of Irish prosperity. Then, happily, men of all political parties in Ireland, with, perhaps, the exception of the Parnellites, the Ulster Liberals and Tories—the latter with some exceptions—and the moderate Home Rulers represented by Mr. Shaw, will join heartily with the whole Liberal party of Great Britain in demanding a final and thorough settlement of the question on principles already substantially acknowledged. Thoughtful men of all parties desire a certain finality, a certain security for the landlords' rent, and a large increase to the number of persons interested in defending property.

But the cause of land reform has likewise been very signally promoted by the considerable literature that has grown up around it during the last nine months. The landlords, though lately disposed to make concessions of an important character, have nevertheless used the press extensively in furtherance of their views, especially to show that the case of the tenant is not nearly so strong or plausible as it is made to appear. We do not think it necessary to notice the work of a landlord like Mr. Bence Jones—perhaps the most unpopular man of his class in Ireland—because he rejects conclusions accepted by the bulk of landlords, and believes in the English tenure as the only one fitted for Irish tenants. The very grievance of Ireland is that a notion of absolute property in the soil as appertaining to the rent-taker—a notion confined to Europe and Great Britain alone—should be forced upon her by the power of England. It is impossible to reconcile the Irish and English ideas of land tenure. The most important publication issued in the interests of the Irish landlords is a pamphlet entitled 'Confiscation or Contract?'

which has had a very wide circulation. Few Ulster landlords, we should think, would subscribe to all its positions. It maintains that the landlords are not responsible for the present condition of Ireland, and attributes the dislike of the landlord class to agitation. It is impossible to believe, however, that agitation could produce the existing state of things, which is itself the most indisputable evidence that a system established more than two centuries ago, and receiving every conceivable aid from legislation, has been an utter failure. No unprejudiced man can believe that landlord authority, in its present form, tends to social order. We may admit, with this pamphlet, that no legislation can make the climate other than moist, the population other than too thick in certain provinces, or the people other than too poor for the larger cultures; but it does not therefore follow that legislation cannot check the evils that have arisen from a greedy and arbitrary landlordism. This pamphlet argues for the maintenance of the existing system as against fixity of tenure, and pleads that any attempt to reduce the power of the landlords will involve the confiscation of their property. It is impossible to see how this can be if landlordism should be abrogated by purchase. If landlordism is to remain, there must necessarily be a confiscation of power; but nobody now questions the right of the State to determine what power one citizen shall exercise over another; but the Liberal party are fully resolved that there shall be no confiscation of the property of owners in the settlement of this question. On the whole, we cannot see that the landlords have made out a case to justify the Government in disregarding the demands of the tenants for a secure tenure and fair rents.

Perhaps the most important and influential communications from Ireland, in the interests of the tenants, were those written by Mr. Charles Russell, Q.C., M.P., in the columns of 'The Daily Telegraph,' and since published separately in a volume. They excited more attention than other contributions of the same sort published during the last year. Mr. Russell is an Irishman, who began life as a solicitor in Belfast, and has since risen to eminence at the English bar. His letters show a more intimate knowledge of the country, and a truer appreciation of the remedies by which the hardships of the people may be removed, than all the communications forwarded by 'special commissioners' to their respective journals. He writes both with sympathy and with truth, and his letters need to be studied with care if one would understand the existing crisis in Ireland. They refer, no doubt, to the single district of Kerry, but they may be justly regarded

as representing the condition of the whole south and west. They force upon us the conviction that all confidence between landlords and tenants is at an end, that landlords and agents take every opportunity, especially under 'the silent system'—that is, at a change of tenancy—to raise rents while doing comparatively nothing for their estates, and that tenants live in terror of their landlords, without the least motive to industry. It is not the first time that public journalists have turned attention to the severities practised on the Lansdowne property. Eleven years ago we had occasion to refer to them in this Review.* The present Marquis was then too young to know much of the practices of the late Mr. Walter Steuart Trench, and probably knows as little of the present miseries inflicted upon his tenantry by the present Mr. Trench, which Mr. Russell has now with great moderation of statement exposed to the world. But he cannot shirk his responsibility for a system of oppression at once unjust and inhuman. It is customary on this Kerry property to make the tenant in entering on his holding acknowledge a year's rent which he does not owe, of course to facilitate eviction. It is further proved that the Kerry landlord can raise rent, as he actually does, till there is nothing left to the tenants but a bare subsistence, while improvements are never made by the tenants from the knowledge that they would be immediately followed by a rise of rent. Mr. Russell submits a number of valuable suggestions for the settlement of the land-question. Liberal politicians will agree with his proposal to abolish limited ownerships, life-tenancies, entails, trusts, and all those complex estates which, by the ingenuity of lawyers, are carved out of the fee. No timid compromise will avail here. The choice lies between retaining the old system, which has landed the country in chaos, and introducing principles which have been adopted in other civilized countries with the greatest advantage. He would give every tenant who has been ten years in possession a right to demand from his landlord a fee-farm grant of his holding at a rent to be fixed at once and for ever, and also give him power to buy up his rent at any time at twenty-five years' purchase. The extinguishment of the copyhold tenure in England affords a precedent for the present proposal. An Act was passed enabling either the lord or the tenant to compel the other to a final settlement, the terms being fixed by arbitration and confirmed by the Copyhold Commission. The passing of the Act was long opposed, and the cry of confiscation raised as

* 'The Irish Land Question,' p. 8. Jan. 1870.

it is now in Ireland. Mr. Russell's proposal is not different in principle from the main part of that laid down by the Land Tenure Committee, comprising such landowners as Lords Monck, Monteagle, and Powerscourt, who would give every tenant a grant at fee-farm at once, and by statute, at the existing rent, subject only to such alteration as the proposed Land Court might permit. It is a great advance in opinion to find such a committee proposing that no notice to quit for any purpose whatever should have any validity without the sanction of the Land Court. Mr. Russell's proposals are certainly worthy of grave consideration in present circumstances, and will no doubt be often referred to in the debates on the Land Bill. But the most important contribution made to our knowledge of all the curious complexities of the Irish Land question is undoubtedly due to the two Commissions of inquiry appointed by the late and the present Government respectively.

The Agricultural Commission appointed by the late Government and presided over by the Duke of Richmond, one of the largest landowners of the United Kingdom, was chiefly Conservative in its composition. But it contained also a few Liberals, such as Lord Carlingford and Mr. James Stansfeld, who accepted the appointment with the express intention of devoting their attention to the Irish division of the inquiries. The Commission agree with the other Commission in holding that the relationship of landlord and tenant in Ireland is neither *de jure* or *de facto* the same as that in England. They state that the grand difference is, that in England all the improvements are as a rule made by the landlords, whereas in Ireland, with a few insignificant exceptions, they are made by the tenant—a fact which landlords like Mr. Bence Jones and Lord Annesley should lay to heart, as they have persistently asserted the very contrary. But the report of the majority unfortunately stops at this point, and sees no way of conciliating the respective rights of landlord and tenant. They are constrained to say, however, in view of the fact that 'the improvements and equipments of a farm are very generally the work of the tenant, and the fact that a yearly tenant is at any time liable to have his rent raised in consequence of the increased value that has been given to his holding by the expenditure of his own capital and labour, that the desire for legislative interference to protect him from an arbitrary increase of rent does not seem unnatural; and we are inclined to think that by the majority of landowners legislation properly framed to accomplish this end would not

be objected to.' As a guide or instruction to Government, this mild suggestion of a tribunal to criticize or limit rents fixes the low-water mark of possible legislation. Only one member of the Commission—Professor Bonamy Price—dissents from this suggestion. A true economist once said that 'he who knows nothing but political economy does not know political economy,' and the attitude of Professor Price on this question aptly illustrates the truth of the remark. He repeats the old phrase about freedom of contract, forgetting that no such thing exists in Ireland, except in a fractional proportion of cases, and that by the admission of the Commissioners themselves, whatever has been done to the soil has been done by the tenant, whose interest in it cannot be extinguished by the mere lapse of time.

The Liberal Members of the Commission, including Lord Carlingford and Mr. Stansfeld, found themselves under the necessity of presenting a separate report. They make strong statements about the discouragement of industry arising from insecurity of tenure, and the fear of increase of rent restraining all successful energy, lest its natural fruits should be lost. But there is also the perception that cases of such injustice 'affect the feelings and motives of countless occupiers beyond the sufferers themselves, and form the main vice of the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland, for which legislation has not yet found a sufficient remedy.' The necessity is shown for founding a Court to settle the question of fair rent upon appeal from either landlord or tenant, and a cordial belief is expressed that such a tribunal, armed with large authority, would succeed in exercising with substantial fairness a direct arbitration. While declaring in favour of free sale, they also point out that for the present, and till easier social relations grow up, it may be necessary to retain the claim for compensation for disturbance created by the Act of 1870, with special reference to the smaller holdings of the south and west. The full recognition of fixity of tenure, subject only to an appeal to the Land Court, is also ungrudgingly given, being well understood to be a point of vital moment in all parts of Ireland alike. Important suggestions are also made for the composition of the Land Court.

The other Commission, known as the Irish Land Commission, was appointed last year by Mr. Gladstone, to inquire into the working of the existing Land Acts, and to suggest what changes may be necessary to improve the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland. Its members were Lord Bessborough, Baron Dowse, Mr. Kavanagh, Mr. Shaw, and

the O'Connor Don. Politically considered, the Commission consisted of one Conservative, two Liberals, and two Home Rulers; while, socially considered, three were landlords, one was a banker, and another a judge. Their report, which was issued immediately after that of the Agricultural Commission, was signed by four out of the five commissioners, Mr. Kavanagh, the Conservative, having presented a separate report. The Commissioners held sixty-five sittings all over Ireland, and examined seven hundred witnesses, of whom eighty were landlords, seventy agents, five hundred tenant-farmers, and the remainder clergymen, county-court judges, solicitors, and land-valuators. The report is the most masterly and complete statement of the land question that has yet been made, being a marvel of lucidity, condensation, and thoroughness. It describes with minuteness the origin, nature, and circumstances of land-tenure in Ireland, more particularly of the tenant-right in Ulster, and points out in the clearest terms that while the Land Act of 1870 recognized to some extent the proprietary rights of the occupier, it has utterly failed to remedy the main grievances of which he complains—arbitrary increase of rent, insecurity of tenure, and restrictions upon the sale of his interest in his farm; while in some instances it shows how clever but unscrupulous landlords have evicted the tenant, paid him all the compensation the law prescribes, sold the farm to a new tenant, and made a handsome profit out of the transaction. All these points were carefully brought out with illustrative instances, in an article published last year in this Review, which also anticipated by several months the leading suggestions offered by the Commissioners as a remedy for the evils of the existing tenure.* The Commissioners are of opinion that these evils are not to be removed by any amendment of the Land Act of 1870, nor by extending the Ulster custom to the rest of Ireland. They say significantly: "To enact for all Ireland the Ulster custom in its most prevalent form, as stated by the best authorities, and embodied in the decisions of the Courts, during the last ten years, would be indeed possible but absurd. As it stands, it has failed, even in its native soil."

The fifth section of the report is the most important because it submits the proposals of the Commissioners for the reform of the existing tenure 'on the basis known as the three F's; that is, Fixity of tenure, Fair rents, and Free sale.' The fixity of tenure ought to be accompanied, they say, by certain condi-

* Article on 'The Irish Land Question,' July, 1880.

tions—a fair rent, which, according to our own article in July last, in case of difference between landlord and tenant, is to be decided by arbitrators representing both parties; the free sale is to be accompanied with the condition that the landlord is to be empowered to object to a solvent purchaser on reasonable grounds only. This, with the gradual establishment of a peasant proprietary on the general principles recommended by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's committee, is the main proposal of the Commissioners. The report expresses the belief that these recommendations will not be 'any great interference with the practical power of a landlord over his property, with his way of managing it, or with the present income he derives from it, but a good deal with his nominal rights and with his sentiment of property.' It anticipates the objection that these proposals interfere with the 'freedom of contract' by stating that 'freedom of contract, in the case of the great majority of Irish tenants, large and small, does not really exist.' The report incidentally disapproves of any scheme of enforced emigration, or any attempt on a large scale for the reclamation of waste lands out of public funds.

We shall now proceed to make a few remarks upon this important and comprehensive scheme, with the view of pointing out the defects which seem to us to mar its completeness and efficacy. We shall first consider the views of the Commissioners on fixity of tenure, which are stated in sections 40–47 of the report. The general principle they recommend is that of 'giving legal recognition to the existing state of things.' 'Occupiers,' they say, 'have, as a general rule, acquired rights to a continuous occupancy, which in the interests of the community it is desirable legally to recognize;' and they think that 'a farmer should no longer be liable at law to displacement of his interest in his holding, either directly by ejectment or indirectly by the raising of his rent, at the discretion of his landlord.' They say quite correctly that in most well-ordered estates a virtual fixity of tenure exists, and that the change would practically not be great after all. But the conditions which they are disposed to attach to the tenure would in our judgment go far to destroy its fixity, by entitling the landlord, on the violation of any one of them, to evict the tenant and resume possession. The Irish people like broad and simple effects, and are rather impatient of complex and detailed legislation, and it would therefore be desirable to make the new measure as simple as possible. These are the conditions that the Commissioners attach to the tenure—

(1) Sub-division or sub-letting of the farm, without the landlord's consent in writing. (2) Persistent dilapidation of buildings, and systematic deterioration of the soil, after a notice in writing from the landlord to desist. (3) Conviction for any serious criminal offence. (4) Persisting in any right not necessary to the due cultivation of the tenant's holding, and from which he is debarred by express or implied agreement with the landlord. (5) Unreasonably refusing to allow the landlord to enter for purpose of mining or taking minerals, quarrying or taking stones. (6) Unreasonably refusing to allow the landlord to enter for purposes of cutting or taking timber or turf. (7) Unreasonably refusing to allow the landlord to enter for opening or making roads, drains, and water-courses. (8) Unreasonably refusing to allow the landlord to enter for viewing the state of the holding, hunting, shooting, fishing, or taking game or fish. (9) Not only so, but the Commissioners add that 'We propose that the landlord should retain a right to resume possession of a holding, or of any portion thereof, for special reasons, on payment of the full selling price of the tenant's interest.' 'This would apply in case of land being required for labourers' cottages and gardens, and in case of many exceptional lettings, but not to letting for ordinary agricultural purposes.'

We must honestly say that if this long string of conditions is attached to the tenure the fixity will be virtually at an end. Fixity of tenure on conditions which enable an unscrupulous landlord or a sharp agent to harass a respectable tenant at every turn is no fixity at all. The conviction of a farmer for crime would be a serious enough misfortune in itself for his family, without its involving the forfeiture of their ancestral holding. A landlord could easily find reason for objecting to the mode of cultivation pursued by a tenant; while in all the four cases of 'unreasonable' refusal to the entrance of the landlord here specified, a tenant might be exposed to considerable injury or annoyance, and if he should resist it would not be difficult to prove that he was 'unreasonable' in his resistance. A landlord might trespass on the farm to cut down trees, or give authority to somebody to cut turf on land for which the tenant was paying rent; but unreasonable resistance on the part of the tenant would be another legal cause for eviction. Surely a remedy at common law would be sufficient for such offences without putting in the hands of a despotic owner the extreme weapon of ejectment. Failing all this, the landlord having a dislike to a particular tenant because he had voted against him at the county election, could serve him with a notice to quit on the plea that he required the land for exceptional lettings, and resume possession in payment of 'the full selling price of the tenant's interest.' The conditions are, in fact, far too numerous, and their only effect would be to destroy the sense of security in the tenant's mind, to keep him in a constant state of dependence, and make him feel he was as much as ever in the power

of his landlord. Why should poor Irish farmers be tormented with such absurd exceptions? We infinitely prefer the simple recommendation of Mr. Shaw, who is opposed to these conditions, when he suggests that 'no tenant of an agricultural holding ought to be disturbed in his holding by his landlord so long as he fulfils the conditions of his tenancy, viz., pays his rent, does not waste or dilapidate, and does not unreasonably divide or sublet.' In our opinion, fixity of tenure ought to be clogged by no conditions that are not absolutely essential to the rights of the landlord, and these are sufficiently protected in the recommendations of Mr. Shaw.

It appears to us that masterly and excellent on the whole as this report is, it is rather unsatisfactory in its suggested method for determining a fair rent. The sections of the report which treat on this subject are those from 48 to 65 inclusive. 1. The present rent, where there is no demand on either side for its alteration, may be assumed to be a fair rent (Section 49). 2. Where the landlord and tenant fail to agree between themselves as to a fair rent, it is to be left to a court of local arbitrators, one to be chosen by each party with power to name an umpire (Sections 50-52). 3. As to the principles on which the arbitration is to proceed, the arbitrators may go back to any time not exceeding thirty-five years, when it is admitted by both sides that the rent was fair, and then consider the various matters which since that time entitle it to be increased or diminished; and the principle is distinctly laid down in Section 55 '*that a rent which was paid at any time within the last twenty years, and which continued for not less than ten years to be regularly paid, shall be in all cases taken to be such a starting point.*' 4. 'There are holdings where the fair rent thus estimated, and however estimated, will be *above* the existing rent.' Such cases are those in which a landlord himself has made the improvements, and these are admittedly not numerous. Instead of raising the rent on such farms, the Commissioners recommend that the cost of the improvement shall be a first charge on the tenant's interest, and that the landlord shall be empowered to recoup himself for his outlay on the first occasion when the tenant-right of the farm is sold (Section 56). 5. When the rent is once settled by arbitrators, or, failing them, by the Land Court, it ought to remain unchanged at least for thirty-one years, after which time it would, at the request of either landlord or tenant, be open to revaluation once more (Section 59). 6. In all such valuations the tenant is to have the benefit of improvements made at his own expense, and if

value is added to the farm by circumstances to which neither of the parties has contributed, the estimated value thus added is to be divided between them (Section 61). 7. The existing government valuation—that is, presumably, Griffith's—is not a trustworthy standard for the settlement of rents; yet a new valuation ought not to be made, because 'to interfere with rent, except where a dispute arises, is to raise more difficulties than are solved' (Sections 64 and 65).*

Such are the main positions laid down by the Commissioners for the settlement of rent, and it is only just to say that the effect of these recommendations, as estimated by themselves, will not be to lower existing rents. They say in another part of their report that the alteration they suggest in the law will not in most cases interfere with the present income the landlord derives from his property. This is not certainly a result that will be agreeable to the majority of the people of Ireland. The feeling over nearly the whole country is that the present rent is not a fair rent even for prosperous times, that is, a rent which, in the face of American competition, the high rate of wages, and the periodical failure of crops, the farmers are able to pay. Tenants on the richest lands and on the best managed states in Ulster have been asking for reductions, some, so much as fifty per cent., and have told even good landlords, such as Lord Lurgan and Lord Downshire, that at the present rental they are not able to live.† English landlords have been obliged in many cases to reduce their rents one-third and one-half on account of foreign competition and

* Griffith's valuation is not a fair test. It was made for taxation purposes, not for fixing rent, and it went on the principle that all the improvements made by the tenant were the property of the landlord.

† The growth in value of Ulster estates may be estimated by the fact that the rental of the Marquis of Downshire eighty years ago was £29,000 a year: it is now £100,000. On the portion of the Hertford property, which is now owned by Sir Richard Wallace, the rental has been raised fivefold in the same period. Yet the tenants created all this value by their industry and capital. In a memorial lately presented to Mr. Gladstone by the tenants of Lord Dufferin, and published in the Irish newspapers, in reply to statements made by their distinguished landlord before the Land Commission, they say that since the expiration in 1838 of leases granted by Lord Dufferin's ancestors, the rents which were from 7s. to 12s. 6d. an acre have been raised to £2 2s. the Cunningham acre, and 'neither Lord Dufferin nor any of his predecessors ever expended a single shilling on the said townland in improving the soil or in the erection of buildings.' They deny their landlord's statement that a large portion of improvements effected before his time were landlord-improvements, and have no hesitation in saying that Lord Dufferin and his immediate ancestors must be classed with the worst rack-renters in Ulster; for when opportunity arose they were ever ready to add to our burdens and reap the fruit of our improvements by unjust increases of rent.' It is not strange that the memorialists argue that his lordship's suggestions made before the Land Commissioners 'would only add to the misery and misfortune of the tenant-farmers of Ireland.'

bad seasons ; and it is difficult to see why foreign competition should reduce the value of land so much in England, and yet in Ireland, where the tenants themselves make all the improvements, and are impoverished by rack-renting, the present incomes of the landlords, notwithstanding such competition, are to be left unimpaired. Besides, the present rents were for the most part imposed by the landlords under circumstances in which, as the Commissioners themselves admit, no freedom of contract could have existed. If the land question is to be settled without some provision for the reduction of rents, we believe that the condition of Ireland will be but little improved. But we have a graver objection to make to the scheme of the Commissioners. Any improvement made by a tenant more than thirty-five years before the time of the valuation—say, the building of a farm-house, which would be good for fifty or a hundred years—is not to be taken into account in estimating the value of the tenant's interest. But not buildings only, but drains, fences, and reclamation are often good for much more than thirty-five years. If the recommendations of the Commissioners are adopted, tenants will get no benefits from them for more than thirty-five years, at the end of which time, or at the next valuation after, they must be accounted as belonging to the landlord. In a case of this sort, if the tenant has made no other improvement, his interest would be at an end, and he would have nothing to dispose of by sale. We cannot see how all this differs from a lease for thirty-one years at the present rent, with a right to claim revaluation by arbitration instead of by a landlord's valuation. The proposals of the report for determining a fair rent are the most obscure and unsatisfactory part of it, and, if adopted as they stand, would lay a foundation for much litigation and heart-burning.

A very important question is suggested by the separate report of Mr. Shaw upon the expediency of valuing all the just rights of the landlord as they now stand, and fixing a fair perpetual rent upon each holding. The point is one upon which wide differences of opinion will exist among the friends of the farmers themselves and to which the landlords will in all probability take most exception. Mr. Shaw declares in favour of a perpetual rent for each holding, as opposed to a fluctuating rent fixed by periodical revaluation. He thinks that a changing rent will bring landlords and tenants into unpleasant collision with each other, while, as the term approaches for the periodical revision, the tenants will be tempted to allow the farms to run down, improvements will be discouraged, or, if made, tenants will find it impossible to resist the impression

that these improvements will form the ground of any increase that may be made to the rent. There would also be a great and increasing difficulty for any valuator, however honest, to disentangle the interests and estimate the various elements of value. On the contrary, by fixing the rent once for all, the strongest motive is given for improvement, all uncertainty is removed, and after the feelings excited by the first valuation have calmed down, there will be little room for further misunderstanding. Mr. Shaw is conscious that his scheme is open to objections. To the objection that a fixed rent would make the landlord a mere rent-charger and take away all motive for him to improve his estates, he shows very fairly that their outlay, even in their own showing, has been very small, and that, while they have profited by the national prosperity, they have contributed little to promote it. Besides, they are generally so largely encumbered that they are not able to do much in the way of substantial improvements. He meets another objection that the landlords would be surrendering the right of a prospective increasing rent by saying that rents are more likely to fall than to rise. We may justly regard the American competition as a cause likely to operate permanently against British agriculture, so that the landlord, and not the tenant, would gain by perpetual rent fixed at the present figure. Yet Mr. Shaw, though he prefers this method, would not enforce it in cases where landlords and tenants would both prefer a system of periodical revaluation. On the whole, this would be the more reasonable plan, with a provision added that the revision should not occur except at long intervals, and that the tenant should not be called to pay an increased rent upon his own expenditure. The valuator ought to consider likewise the prices of labour and the character of the seasons.

The O'Connor Don, in a separate report, suggests that the land question might be settled by the State advancing money to enable the tenant to purchase from the landlord his farm in perpetuity *at a low rent*. The proposal would be fair to the landlord, as it would compensate him for what he is asked to surrender, and give him a preference share or first charge on his estate, secured to him in the most perfect manner, while it would give the tenant fixity of tenure at a low rent. But the great objection to it is that a very large sum of money would have to be advanced by the State to carry out the scheme.

We regret that the report of the Land Commissioners does not make any official suggestion regarding tenant-right in

grazing-lands, where an unreasonable increase of rent has often obliged a tenant to relinquish his holding and sell all his stock at a loss, the land judge being precluded from granting him any compensation. Nor does the report touch the case of town-parks, where sharp agents have laid on rents far beyond the value of the lands, taking advantage of the fact that townspeople who make their money by trade are better able to pay than farmers, and cannot dispense with the accommodation. Before the Land Act was passed, these town-parks like other agricultural holdings, were subject to tenant-right, but the Act abolished this right, the sequel being that in many instances the rents have been increased and the improvements confiscated without the tenant having had any remedy at law for the injury thus inflicted.

Little attention has been given to the constitution of the Land Courts that must henceforth intervene between landlord and tenant in the adjustment of rent. We should recommend the fusion of all the existing Land Courts into a supreme Land Court, with local divisional courts, and, according to the plan already suggested, invest these courts with power, on application either from landlord or tenant, to settle a just rent according to the agricultural history of the estate and the holding, and to make it, according to the wise suggestion of the Irish Land Commissioners, a fixed rent for the period of not less than thirty-one years.

We do not deem it necessary to offer any suggestions upon the scheme for turning occupying tenants into owners, as all parties are now agreed as to the expediency of trying the experiment, and as the recommendations of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's committee, which are substantially accepted by the Land Commissioners, will probably mark the lines upon which this part of the new measure will proceed. We believe this scheme will have a thoroughly conservative effect upon Ireland; for although it can only be gradually and partially realized, it must add many thousand peasants to the class which has a direct interest in upholding the rights of property, and in aiding instead of defeating the law. It will likewise more than revive that ideal relationship to the actual territory in which he lives which is the profoundest sentiment in the breast of an Irishman. The tenants will be free from the first day from all the 'worrit' of landlords and agents and from all annoyance, except from refusal or inability to pay the stipulated rent. They will have a full sense of property, and will be as likely as the French or Belgian peasantry to develop the fierce industry which characterizes the class of peasant-

owners. Parliament need not fear a conspiracy to refuse payments to the State. The purchasers under the Irish Temporalities Commissioners have behaved remarkably well under all the disastrous vicissitudes of three bad years. Mr. Godley, the secretary, testifies that out of the annual payment of £131,000 due the Commissioners for interest on money advanced to the 4,000 or 5,000 peasant-proprietors whom they have created in Ireland, the arrears due in the winter before last amounted only to £7,450, or less than six per cent. of the annual interest. There were 411 persons in arrears on the last day of 1880, owing an aggregate amount of £8,431 19s. 2d.; but when it is remembered that no abatements have been made like those made by private landlords, the result is exceedingly satisfactory. We believe with Sydney Smith that it will be a real political advantage to give the Irishman a stake in his country.

We have thus touched upon the leading points of the difficult problem which our Ministers have undertaken to solve in the present session of Parliament. We shall not attempt to forecast the fate of a measure which has been so seriously delayed in its introduction by the tactics of an unscrupulous party; but if Mr. Gladstone can carry some such bill as we have outlined in these pages, he will have accomplished one of the greatest legislative achievements of his life. We have already mentioned a number of circumstances which encourage the hope that the House of Commons will deal in a comprehensive spirit with this vital question. There is a natural anxiety to know in what spirit the House of Lords will approach its discussion. On four different occasions they have shown themselves on questions of land to be, as Lord Derby has described them, a true House of Landlords. When an Artificial Drainage Bill for Ireland was sent up by the House of Commons in 1829, the Lords dropped it, though they passed an Arms Act in the very same year. The Commons passed Lord Stanley's Compensation to Tenants Bill in 1845, but the Lords gave it such a vigorous opposition that it, too, was allowed to drop. When Mr. Napier, an Irish Conservative lawyer, sent up four Land Bills for Ireland in 1854, the Lords passed the first three Bills, which were in every sense landlords' Bills, giving relief and powers to owners of settled estates, but they had no hesitation in throwing out the Tenants Compensation Bill, which would have given some relief to an oppressed tenantry. It is true that they passed the Land Bill, 1870, but not till they had shorn it of several most important provisions, which, if passed, would have prevented some of the worst agrarian excesses of

the winter. We all remember how summarily, almost contemptuously, they threw out the Compensation for Disturbance Bill last year. The rejection of the Irish Land Bill of this year would be a tremendous event. It would not be the mere waste of a session ; it would not only bring the two Houses of Parliament into angry collision with results destined to be long memorable in the history of our constitution, leading, perhaps, to considerable changes in the composition of the Upper Chamber itself, but it would utterly sacrifice the interests of the Irish landlords, who would find themselves unable to get their rents from an infuriated tenantry, while it would throw the country completely into the hands of agitators, and give an immense impetus to the movement for a Home Parliament in Ireland.

We know of no objection to the passing of an effective land-measure so potent as that urged by the Conservatives, that it will be utterly powerless to allay the discontent of the Irish people, that it will only prepare the way for a fresh agitation, perhaps for a still more formidable attack than has as yet been made upon the union of these kingdoms. Mr. Parnell himself has suggested the form of the objection by frankly admitting that he hopes by getting rid of the landlords to dissolve the last link with Great Britain. We need hardly say that to any project of this sort we are steadfastly and implacably hostile, not only because it would be an almost pusillanimous surrender of empire and duty, but because it would involve the utter ruin of Ireland herself to place her at the mercy of all the crude conceptions, the futile dreams, and the bitter passions of the least cultivated, the least advanced, and the least energetic portion of her people. We cannot bring ourselves to believe, however, that the presence of the landlords is any guarantee for the continuance of the Union ; it is our conviction rather that they have endangered it more by their greed and their oppressions than all the agitators of the last fifty years by their violence and perversity ; on the contrary, we believe that a nation of peasant proprietors would be angrily conservative in relation to any agrarian change, and far less likely to pursue revolutionary courses. But just because we refuse to concede a Home Parliament to Ireland, we feel ourselves bound to do her the amplest justice ; if justice is persistently denied, the Union must be in danger ; but it is perfectly secure so long as Parliament is not afraid to legislate courageously for the maintenance of the people's rights. There are many Home Rulers like Mr. Shaw, who are fighting for Home Rule while

they can get no justice for Ireland on any other lines, but would probably acquiesce in the Union if they could get a sound land law and a satisfactory system of local government. To say, therefore, that we ought not to concede the present demands of the Irish people, to say that the last state of Ireland will be worse than the first, notwithstanding all our concessions, is to say that a lever can be as powerful without a fulcrum as with a fulcrum. It is quite possible we may fail utterly to win back a people whom we bitterly wronged in the past—a people nourishing a hereditary feeling of hatred and disaffection, which is the most hopeless of all, because it has no seat toward which our attack can be directed; but our manifest duty nevertheless is to do justice. We must do what is right and wise unflinchingly, and let loyalty follow if it will, while we refuse to purchase loyalty either by folly or wrong. The Government, therefore, can afford to maintain the calmness of power and wisdom; unswayed by passion, unmoved by temper, not dispirited by disappointment, careless alike of ingratitude or unjust reproach, its opportunity is at hand to scatter abroad over Ireland seeds that will germinate in a glorious harvest of peace and prosperity. It will be able likewise to impose the new order of things with an authority that shall wrest the government of the country out of the hands of class conspiracies of all sorts, and gain for the principle of law the dignity and strength of impartial justice. T. C.

ART. VIII.—*Independency and the State.*

It is with societies and Churches as with men; to know their ideals is to know the best part of their character. What they aim at being and achieving is a far better index of their spiritual qualities and capabilities than what they actually are and do. Their ideal is their own, and for it they are directly and altogether responsible, but in their actual being only so much of it is realized as the conditions of time and the conflicts or limitations of place permit. Yet history ought to be a process of realization—ought to show the action of the ideal at once within and without the society or Church. Where there is life there must be as much power in the organism to modify the environment as in the environment to modify the organism; and where it fails to do so, it must, if social, be one that has weakened or paralyzed its energies

by futile fantasies rather than braced and directed them by noble and realizable ideals. Not that impracticable ideals are bad; on the contrary, they may be better and more helpful to the world than the most successful scheme. The dream of a golden age, the vision of a city of God floating before the imagination of man as a glorious possibility towards which he must with all his energies and through all his ages continue to work, certain that, though it ever retreats, it is yet being ever approached, is, in its power to repress the worst and quicken the best in him, a more potent factor for good than all the economical methods or schemes hitherto propounded for accumulating or distributing wealth. These may show certain conditions of well-being, but the other tends directly to the creation of the men who at once make and enjoy the conditions. While, then, the ideal of a society or Church is the best revelation of its character, it is not to be measured by the degree in which it has been realized, but by the degree in which it has ameliorated the conditions, political, social, intellectual, moral, and religious, amid which it has lived, and yet remains an unrealized idea, capable of inspiring with new enthusiasm in the cause of human happiness—in behalf of the wronged, but against the wrong.

Now, it were too large a matter to discuss Independency from this point of view; yet this is the only point of view from which it is possible to do justice to its meaning and mission. It is here that its positive character comes out; what it is as a polity, and a polity that seeks to have the reign or kingdom of God realized on earth, not in an ecclesiastical organization, identified with religion and worked in its name, but by the regeneration of men and the consequent regeneration of the families, the societies, and the States they constitute. The great concern of Independency is men, the making of men, and through them the making of a new heaven and a new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousness. It works through the individual, but not simply for the individual, seeks his good as a means rather than as a mere end in itself. It believes that its polity, instituted and administered by Christian men, is the most flexible and educative of polities, the least capable of being perverted from spiritual and ethical to formal and interested ends, the most able to exercise Christian manhood and teach it how to apply Christian principles to all matters alike of policy and practice, and the best qualified to keep the sensuous elements and accidents of religion in the background, while holding its living truths and creative ideals ever to the front. In the controversies

and conflicts of the hour the deepest and most determinative principles are seldom remembered; yet without the principles the controversies are simply bitterness and pain. Here it is our purpose, without descending into the arena of living ecclesiastical strife, to discuss Independency and its ideal in relation to the English State and people.

But in order to discuss fairly and intelligibly this question, we must deal with one or two preliminary matters. The polity of a Church must be judged not simply from the standpoint of the Church as a society organized on the basis of common beliefs, but still more from its relation, on the one hand, to the religion, and, on the other, to its ends, both proximate and ultimate. The best polity for a Church as an aggressive and proselytizing, or political and ambitious society, may be the worst for the religion as a series of Divine truths and principles, facts and doctrines, creating and governing the spiritual and moral life of man. The system most successful in multiplying members may be most disastrous to the faith that works by love towards perfect obedience. Hence we must not allow statistics or standards of social or commercial utility to determine the value of an ecclesiastical polity; we must look at it through the nature and ends, spirit and purpose of the religion. The best polity is the polity that best interprets and realizes these.

But while this defines the standpoint, it is necessary to limit the discussion. What concerns us here is the relation of a given ecclesiastical polity to the State. But we shall best discover what this is by first determining a few general principles.

Note, then, that religion has a definite relation to the State, but a relation that in the Christian is almost the exact antithesis of the one common to almost all ancient religions. They were, as a rule, national, not universal; stood as an indissoluble element of the collective organism, inseparable from the history, customs, corporate being, and action of the nation. In Greece and Rome religion was not so much a concern of the State as a part of it, an element of its being, a function, a feature, of the body politic. The two had risen and grown together, and the people owned the gods just as they owned the fathers and the fatherland. The religion represented the dignity of the State, symbolized the Divine guidance and protection, but did not command its morals or exercise authority over its conscience. Services of the gods did not mean moral obedience; worship did not involve clean hands and pure hearts. The gods were as faulty and fallible

as the men, and were jealous of their own honour, but not of human conduct. The ancient State thus contained religion and cared for it, resenting neglect of the gods as an insult and evil to the city, its laws, and customs. But Christianity introduced an essentially different notion of religion, and so of its relation to the State. The religion was a revelation, the creation of a God who was the God of no single people, but the Creator and Sovereign of all. As a revelation it was revolutionary and authoritative; did not come to preserve the old, but to create the new, to work changes everywhere and in everything, to bring earth, alike as regards its kingdoms and its persons, into harmony with the will of God. The States it was to change it could not allow to command; incorporation into them had been its death. And this relation of independence and authority was not an accident of its birth, but a permanent necessity to it. What is absorbed by the State cannot stand above the State clad in the authority of the righteous and reigning God; and can as little extend beyond it, save by the extension of the State, either through conquest or political arts and ways. Let us suppose Plato's Republic, the most perfect ideal of a Church-State ever imagined, realized. The State is a kingdom of God, its great end being to educate men to virtue and happiness, to open their senses and turn their eyes towards a higher and more spiritual world, to exalt and ennoble its citizens by the vision of a blessed immortality. To accomplish this it needs kings who are philosophers, and philosophers who can be made kings, able not only to rule in wisdom, but to distribute throughout the commonwealth the wisdom by which they rule, till every citizen becomes as wise as they. But how unite the two functions? Philosophy can seek and speak the truth only so long as independent; once it becomes an adjunct of kingdom its freedom is gone, and, working for hire, is changed into sophistry. Then, for the king to teach philosophy and enforce its doctrines were for the king to abolish it; it exists only for the spirit and by the spirit that is free, must be freely loved and served to be loved and served at all. Philosophic despotism would be fatal to philosophy, because fatal to freedom. An infallible despot were a calamity to man, for he would repress reason rather than exercise it. And these things are a parable; the religion absorbed into the State is annihilated. It must remain distinct and independent that it may speak with authority and without favour, be, as it were, the will of God living and active in the earth.

But to be independent of the State is one thing; to have

no concern with it another. It is because its concern is so great that its independence is a necessity. The State is not simply the sovereign or the government, but the corporate people, making laws, administering resources, dispensing justice, acting among the nations like a colossal individuality. Now, it is a notion as old as Aristotle that for individuals and states the chief good is one and identical, to be realized in each case on the same conditions and by the same means.* For each it is the happiness that consists in doing well possible only as a life of action, but action as created and regulated by philosophy.† We need but to modify his idea to express the truth. The end of the State is the happiness of all its citizens, but this can be reached only as citizens and State move together, have unity of life and action, the same standard of right, sense of duty, qualities of motive, and measure of conduct. If the bases of public and private morality, the ends of public and private action, differ, then the unity of State and citizen so necessary to the happiness of both is impossible, and the life of regulated and righteous conduct the same. Now, a common basis of morality and common ends of action are possible only in and through religion; the commanding influence of a faith that can unify individual and corporate life by unifying their principles and ideals of conduct. But to do this the religion must be the sovereign of both person and State. Any theory that gives to the State the right to determine and regulate the religion, denies to religion authority over the State, reduces it to a mere component part of the civil organism, allowed a place for purposes political and social. A religion of absolute truth cannot permit any State to settle, legislatively or otherwise, its right to live; it can command the State only as its right to live is independent of the State. But this independence carries more with it than may at once be seen. If the polity, the institutions, and agencies which religion creates, and through which it works, become dependent on the State, her own independence is but a name. Where the spirit is denied the power to determine the forms and vehicles of its life it is enslaved.

But this raises another point. While the religion must be free to create its own polity, this polity must be a matter of cardinal importance alike to the religion and the State. Where religion appeals to faith and lives by persuasion, it can act on the State only through the citizens, *i.e.*, only as it is able to create from among them a society governed by its

* *Ethica Nic.* I. ii. 8.

† *Pol.* VII. iii. 7.

principles, obedient to its laws, and constituted according to its polity. To reverse the process, and attempt to act directly on the citizens through the State, were to work an essential change in the religion, to lift it out of the category of the rational and ethical, real only as it wins the intellect and penetrates the conscience, into the region of the instituted and statutory, which stands and binds only by virtue of a legislative or legal decree. But this were a change equal to the abolition of Christianity. To believe it because it has been legislatively imbedded in the constitution is simply to conform to the civil order, is not to believe and obey the religion of Christ. But conformity to an ecclesiastical polity, which does not spring out of faith in the religion, or even necessarily imply it, is a disaster to the moral nature of man, and the death of all the spiritual and ethical elements in the religious life. If, then, the normal order is to be followed, and the action to be on the State through the citizens, the cardinal place of the polity is at once apparent. It represents, on the one hand, the method in which the religion works, is the vehicle that bears and distils its influence, important for its own sake as well as for what it carries; and, on the other, the political ideal of the religion, the society and social order it would create, its power to organize the moral activities and direct the lives of its people. The polity is thus, as it were, mediation between religion and the State, the summary of the agencies and means by which the first endeavours to translate its principles of truth and righteousness into the laws and conduct of the second.

The position in which the polity stands makes it necessary that it be measured by a double standard—its relation on the one side to the religion, on the other to the State. The ideally perfect polity is, as we have seen, the one that best expresses the spirit and serves the ends of the religion, able to make its humanest and most sovereign principles and aims play most powerfully on the heart and conscience of the State.

Now, as regards the first relation, it is hardly too much to say that an elaborate polity means a decadent religion; the moment the body and its conservation become the chief concerns the soul begins to perish. And this is explicable enough. Highly organized systems or societies have too many interests to be altogether magnanimous, are too deeply committed to an established order, and too jealous of possessed rights, to be purely religious in spirit or moral in aim. The ethical systems that have most affronted at once morality and religion have been those constructed in the

interests of an ecclesiastical corporation, laboriously built up and administered on the notion that it was identical with religion. The stupendous crimes which have been done in its name have sprung from the same confusion, the idea that the polity men elaborate and administer is or incorporates the religion of God. Indeed, the problem of the Christian ages may be said to be—to find a polity that will allow the spirit and truth of Christ to live as spirit and as truth, working in gentle strength and humble dignity as He worked, penetrating and commanding the State not by becoming a State, but by penetrating and commanding the men who compose it. The political system whose main thought is, ‘Salvation through me,’ or ‘only through my agents and agencies does God distribute His grace,’ is but the apotheosis of a human institution, the more faulty for its claim to be Divine because it is the more certain where it is so esteemed to deprave and pervert the moral sense; but the political system whose main concern is to be the home and school of spirits directly related to God and immediately responsible to Him, which as a system confers in its own right no grace, works no salvation, but professes only to speak truth to the conscience and to urge the heart to the love of God, is a system that by its very institutional simplicity magnifies the religious principles and ends for which it lives. Kant has well remarked that where a Church has been so organized as to create artificial orders and virtues, a clergy that as a clergy are more sacred than the laity, the inevitable tendency is to spread moral unreality through all the regions and phases of life; ‘unobserved, the familiarity with hypocrisy (*Gewöhnung an Heuchelei*) corrupts the honesty and fidelity of the citizens, draws them into the sham performance (*Scheindienst*) even of civil duties, and, like all ill-applied principles, produces the precise contrary of what was intended.’ *

And at this point the significance of the second relation—that to the State—becomes apparent. That Church polity which tends least to the creation of unreal virtues, most to the production of a religious spirit at once sanely active and socially dutiful, must be the polity which creates the best sort of citizens for the State. And the polity which tends least to the creation of an *imperium in imperio*, a State with separate interests and divided allegiance within the State, and most to the enunciation and enforcement of the religious principles that secure order and liberty, justice and progress

* ‘Religion innerh. der Grenzen d. blossen Vernunft,’ p. 365, vol. vi. (Bartensteine’s edition, 1839.)

in law and politics, is the polity which most contributes at once to its happiness and permanence. If Church and State are ever made rivals, if the claims and duties, the interests and aims of the one are ever set in radical opposition to those of the other, then deep wrong is done to both, and the urgent need is, if the first be the wrong one, reformation, but if the second, revolution. Bossuet said* 'The Church of Jesus Christ sojourns as a stranger among all the peoples of the world; she has no particular laws touching political society.' But a doctrine of this sort stands in profound contradiction to the mind of Christ, whose kingdom was like a piece of leaven, permeating the mass in which it was hid till the whole was leavened, whose society was to be the light and salt of the earth. Bossuet's doctrine is infidelity of the worst kind—infidelity to the moral aims, the rights, prerogatives, and purposes of Christ the King. The Church that renounces its duty to the State renounces its allegiance to Him, and her best virtues, hardly distinguishable from vices, become altogether of the selfish or monkish sort, 'fugitive and cloistered, unexercised and unbreathed,' more afraid of being soiled by the world than inspired by the love that would save it. It creates, too, a deplorable schism in the spirit and conscience of man; lays the basis for those political theories that degrade the statesman below the churchman, enable the ecclesiastic to demand absolute obedience to his own laws and to enforce it by the sanctions and sanctities of the Divine. M. de Tocqueville expresses, in a letter to Madame Swetchine, his astonishment that Christian priests so rarely appeal to the grand passions and associations of patriotism, to the love of fatherland and people, with the duties and hopes they involve. Devotion to these was to him a species of religion; to see indifference to them esteemed a virtue by the religious was to him a puzzle and a shame. His large-minded patriotism made him feel, with the tragic poet—

καὶ μείζον' ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρὸς
φίλον νομίζει, τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ λέγω·

and his natural piety was shocked at the idea that the Church could despise love of country, and demand its suppression, or even sacrifice. But what he lamented was only the logical result of the doctrine which made religion culminate in a polity, which had ends altogether its own, and was organized and administered on the notion that the religion existed for

* 'Panégyrique de S. Thomas de Contorbéry.' Œuvres, p. 583, vol. xvi. (Versailles edition.)

the polity rather than the polity for the religion. The very perfection of the splendid political organization men call Catholicism was fatal to the pure and silent yet creative action in man and State of the principles and facts that constitute the religion of Christ.

But is not this evil cured, this cruel isolation and selfish concern for its own interests made utterly impossible, when the Church is not identified, but allied with the State; not lost in it, but legislatively connected, while still remaining a Church, or incorporated with it? This is a point to be determined by the other member of the relation—Can the Church when so associated best serve the religion? This question was, by anticipation, answered in the discussion as to the relation of religion to the State. In order to serve religion, a society must be free to obey it, to follow the guidance of its own native and immanent spirit. To be allied with the State is not only to love the freedom necessary to the healthy and spontaneous development of the religion alike in thought and action, in principle and practice, but also so to bind the ecclesiastical to the civil institutions as to make both civil, bring both within the operation of the laws and passions that govern secular politics; to turn the churchman from the teacher and preacher of righteousness, who measures the conduct of men and nations by the laws of the eternal, and speaks that he may quicken the conscience to censure of wrong and approbation of right, into the mere politician who judges all parties and principles and movements by their relation to the cycle of institutions he calls his Church. The inevitable tendency is to magnify the polity, to lose sight of the religion of Christ, with all its fine moral humanities, in devotion to what is but a federation of ancient societies, too heavily burdened with inherited interests and privileges to speak with the freedom and act with the magnanimity proper to the Christian spirit. The men who think a State without a Church were a State without religion, only show that they have need to regard the question not as one of established institutions, but of principles and the history which illustrate their action. State Churches are not the best Churches for the State unless they are the best Churches for religion, for the creation of the nobler and more generous civic virtues, of the wisest and most elevated political principles, for the generation of the forces latent in the Christian faith, most promotive of national freedom, progress, and happiness. And these are points we may well leave history to determine.

Now this brings us to the question with which the discus-

sion started—the relation of Independence and its ideal to the English State and people. Here is a given Church polity, a given theory as to how the Christian society ought to be constituted that it may do the will of Christ, what in the three hundred years during which it has been struggling after realization in England has been its action and the tendencies of its action, so far as they concern civil and political progress? The question is too large to be answered exhaustively within our limits, but enough may be done to illustrate the principles and positions maintained in the preliminary description.

It is necessary that we clearly conceive the problem, at once political and religious, that was exercising the mind of England at the time Independency was born. The Reformation had come and worked a more radical revolution than men knew. It had disturbed not only the old order, but the very basis on which it rested. The disturbance seemed reduced to a minimum in England, where the ancient framework stood, and the royal was simply substituted for the papal supremacy. But the moderate change only the more complicated the political situation. It forced the sovereign into a radically false position, one fruitful of the gravest constitutional questions. The wars of the Roses had made no end of king-makers, and the fall of the barons had been the rise of the Crown. A feeble aristocracy means a powerful monarchy, and so the wars that weakened the ancient nobility helped to create the Tudor despotism. This appeared to be fitly completed when to the civil the ecclesiastical supremacy was added, and the sovereignty of Church and State united in one head. But consciences are ill subjects to rule, especially policies, at a time when, and after a sleep of ages, they had been so deeply stirred as in the sixteenth century. It was but natural that men who had denied the old and awful authority of a pope should doubt the new and provisional authority of a king. The very degree in which consciences were moved created variety of belief, and out of the variety come questions as to the right the sovereign had to prevent or conduct, stay or further, the work of reformation. The new order had its apologists and its critics, the latter assailing it either because it had gone too far or did not go far enough. The former apologist was Richard Hooker, a name honoured by all who love the pure and beautiful in spirit, and admire noble thoughts clothed in speech that is like rich and stately music. The party wishful of more radical change is best represented by Thomas Cartwright, a figure large and noble

enough to stand, unashamed, alongside even Richard Hooker. In their theoretical principles they radically differed, in one important point in practical politics they agreed. The Anglican laid the basis of his argument in nature and natural law ; but while it remained there, it was too general to have any special relevance to his case. History and expediency, the rights of a society endowed and guided like the Church, the principles of order implied and illustrated in all realized polities, the powers that must be possessed if life is to be expounded and maintained, furnished him with his main pleas in defence of the Church. But the Puritan turned from nature and history, from human polities and expediencies, to what was to him the final and infallible authority—the ideal that stood before Him in the Word of God. According to it must the Church be constituted. But he found it in the Old Testament rather than the New, in the Mosaic theocracy rather than the apostolical *ἐκκλησία*. His dream had been realized in the State of Calvin rather than in the Churches of Paul and John. But while they thus differed they here agreed—both recognised the authority of the king. The Anglican was satisfied with the religion he had established, but the Puritan aimed at persuading him to establish another. Neither contested his power, yet they recognized it with a fundamental difference. The Anglican confessed a real royal supremacy, but the Puritan regarded the king as only the minister of the Divine will and word, which the Church had to interpret for him. There both stood, the one pleading that the instituted order was well, but the other that it was idolatrous, corrupt, evil, and ought to be abolished, that another and more scriptural might occupy its place. And while they argued what many thought, the work of God stood still.

For men of sensitive consciences, intensely in earnest about religion, fearful of idolatry, jealous of Rome and of everything that looked or inclined thither, zealous for manners and morals, purity of life as well as the purity of the faith, found themselves oppressed and paralyzed by the polity and order which had been instituted in the reformed Church of England. And so they began to ask—Has this Church been rightly constituted? By what warrant, according to what standard, has it been done? Did the apostles consult Cæsar before they founded Churches or wait on his will? If they had done so, would Barnabas and Paul, would Peter or John, have ever planted the Churches of Asia and the islands of Greece or Italy? And was Cæsar allowed to determine their constitution, to make and administer their laws? Then, how

were the Churches formed? Was it by processes of comprehension, or by conversions and out of the converted? Were they not selected societies, composed of men who had been persuaded to become obedient to the faith? And were not the apostolic idea and method the alone right? Was it possible that, unless the one was followed and the other realized, the religion of England could be the religion of Christ and His apostles?

These were the questions that created Independency. Its cardinal idea was, on one side, its doctrine of the Church, on another, its conception of religion. In the first there were three determinative elements. A Church is (1) a society of the godly, or of men who believe and piously live; (2) is capable of extension only by the means that produce faith or create godliness, and (3) is autonomous and authoritative, endowed with all the legislative and administrative powers needed for its maintenance and order. And the conception of religion contained the same ideas—godliness was a matter for the individual conscience; its consecration and extension the duty of every Christian man, obedience to it, performance of all it enjoined his most personal concern, for which he was directly responsible to God. In these ideas Robert Browne, Barrow, Greenwood, Francis Johnson, Henry Ainsworth, John Robinson, Henry Jacob, and all the early Independents, agreed. They believed that every society of godly men gathered together in order to worship God in Christ was a Church. They believed that the kingdom of God was to come not by the action of the magistrate or the political inclusion of whole parishes, but by the pure preaching and godly living of the faithful. They believed that societies so created and constituted were independent, over them in matters religious neither bishop nor presbytery nor magistrate had any authority to exercise coercion or control.

Now, it would be interesting to compare this independent polity, in its first crude conception, with the Anglican and Genevan polities. Here, for example, is Hooker's fine statement of his idea—

We hold that, seeing there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the Commonwealth, nor any member of the Commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England, therefore as in a figure triangle the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the self-same line is both a base and also a side; a side simply, a base if it chance to be the bottom and underlie the rest: so, albeit proportions and actions of one do cause the name of a Commonwealth, qualities and functions of another sort the name of the

Church, to be given to a multitude, yet one and the self-same multitude may in such sort be both. *

How comprehensive and large-minded this seems! What a splendid idea of a Church—immense, complex, varied, rich with a nation's resources, and strong in the strength of its massive and masterly genius, especially when placed alongside the mean and ignoble 'company of believers,' or 'covenanted society of the faithful,' which was all the despised Brownists had to offer in its place! But fill out the two ideas, and then let us see which is the sublimer. Were the Church but a State, were it laden with no universal and eternal truths richer and diviner than the thoughts of any people; did it bear no transcendental ideas and ambitions of a range so infinite as to shame into insignificance the aims and aspirations of the most exalted nations; did it care no more for character than the State cares; were its honours reserved for capacity and favour rather than saintliness, then Hooker's idea might be as noble as the other is poor and mean. But the Church of England is infinitely more than even the commonwealth of England. To Hooker each was but a polity, a political system into which the English people had been formed or organized. He says, indeed, 'We name a society a commonwealth in regard of some regiment or policy under which men live; a Church for the truth of that religion which they profess.' † But the fundamental points in his distinction he forgot in his discussion. To profess a religion is a personal act, must be voluntarily and consciously done to be done at all; but this was precisely what could not happen or be allowed to happen in Hooker's theory of the Church. To him 'one society is both the Church and commonwealth,' ‡ and, as a necessary result, 'our Church hath dependence from the chief in our commonwealth.' But this was to transform the profession of religion into a matter of loyalty, and to identify Nonconformists with rebellion. Responsibility to the king supplanted responsibility to God, godliness became a species of political obedience, and the Church was emptied of its transcendental and ethical ideals that it might be organized into a system which was all the more civil that it was so intensely sacerdotal.

But now let us turn to the idea that looks so mean beside Hooker's majestic conception. Independency said, A Church is a company of believers, a covenanted society of the godly.

* 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' vol. ii. p. 382. (Ed. 1825.)

† Ibid. p. 386.

‡ Ibid. p. 389.

But what did this signify? Did it not articulate a conception of God, of His methods and ends, of the dignity of man, of an unrealized but realizable spiritual order, far sublimer than was expressed in Hooker's ecclesiastical ideal? The systems must be judged not by their immediate and sensible attributes, but by their inherent principles, essential tendencies, and ultimate results. The Anglican emphasized the idea of the Church, its unity, authority, order; but the Independent emphasized the idea of religion, the personal relation of God to the soul and the soul to God, aimed at making it feel in every moment, for every act, directly responsible to Him, embosomed in the Infinite, a child of the Eternal, able to use all sensuous things, even such as were sacred, as means of discipline or instruments of godliness, but never as necessities for the spirit. The Anglican dwelt fondly on the notion of political uniformity and a political obedience, a uniform law in Church as in State, with its graded orders and regulated ministries, each created and sanctioned by acts political while ecclesiastical; but the Independent loved the dream of spiritual unity and moral obedience, held enforced uniformity to be the mother of hypocrisy and all unrealities, fiercely hated the ecclesiastical conformity that too often allowed, and even rewarded, a faith without godliness, strenuously disbelieved in the sanctity of sensuous forms in religion, and orders created or dignities conferred by ordination, and as strenuously believed in the sanctity of saintliness and the priesthood of universal Christian men. The Anglican made obedience to the Church a question for the magistrate, bound the sovereign and the Church in relations that placed the sovereign above its discipline and placed the Church under his authority; but the Independent made obedience to God the distinctive characteristic of the religious, the Church independent of the magistrate, the sovereign able to exercise no authority over it, with no standing in it as a prince, only as a man, as such amenable to it for his conduct, liable, like other men, to censure for ungodliness, or to honour if he did well. The ideals were opposites, but Independency had throughout incomparably the nobler, where understood appealing most mightily at once to the conscience and imagination of man. It seized with unexampled force the ethical significance of religion, bound godliness to faith, and made conformity to the Divine will the supreme condition of continuance in the Church. It held in the loftiest scorn the systems that magnified office, that revered dignity rather than character, that enforced Church

discipline as if it were a matter of civil law, and was more jealous of the order of the magistrate than the honour of God. And with all the blended energy and patience of large conviction, it laboured in obscurity and amid reproach to make religion the concern of the religious, to persuade the godly to live unto God and for man, to form themselves into brotherhoods, to live in amity towards each other, in fidelity to the State, and in righteousness towards all men. And they so believed and lived in the hope that thus the kingdom of God would most surely come, and His will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

And, now, what was the action of this ideal on the English State? The point whence its action must be studied is this—it introduced a new conception of the relation of religion to the magistrate; of religion, I say, rather than of the Church. It was a denial of the magistrates' authority over religion, an assertion of its authority over him. These stood indissolubly together, were but the negative and positive aspects of the same idea. Religion was too Divine a thing to be used by any mere political person for political purposes, to be ordered and administered in the methods and for the ends of the mere statesman; it was an authority so absolute and universal as to require equal obedience in all persons and estates, as to be incapable of accepting any homage other than godliness. Over against the Anglican idea of conformity to the ecclesiastical institution it placed the idea of conformity to the Divine will, with all that is implied as to the supremacy of conscience, the sacredness of personal convictions, the right of the individual reason or judgment, the inviolable sanctity of the region where God ruled and man obeyed. This was an idea that made religion a new force in the State. It was equal to its political enfranchisement. Hitherto it had been imprisoned, as it were, in a body politic. By Catholicism it had been identified with the papal system, and the often immoral will of the Church had been enforced on men and states as the will of God. By Anglicanism it had been incorporated in a State Church, which made spiritual too nearly the equivalent of civil obedience, and too much respected or depended on the sovereign to be able to assert the supreme right and authority of religion. But with Independency all was different. The polity was unable to command or coerce in the State, and it declared the State could not command or coerce in religion the pious and tender conscience of the godly. It could not become an organized political unity without ceasing to be. Corporate action was so impos-

sible to it that it escaped the fatal temptation of the Free Churchman, that he be permitted to legislate for a State that he will not allow to legislate for him. The strength of Independency was, as it were, its weakness as a body. It had no ecclesiastical ambitions; its ambitions were all religious. In the Churches, godliness was the great thing; its creation and development their supreme duty. Men who believed were bound to be good; good men were the salt of the earth, needful to its weal. Happiness was possible only as holiness was realized; and as to the pure all things were pure, so the righteous man must be righteous in everything, a saint while a citizen, a citizen while a saint. And so Independency forced to the front the idea that the convinced, pious, God-fearing man was the best citizen, that his duty was to make the State as religious as himself, which it could be, not by enforced conformity, but by becoming just in its laws, upright in its judgments, righteous in its conduct at home and abroad. As its Church was a society of saints, its State ideal was a nation of righteous men living and acting righteously. Cromwell's model army, composed of men of spirit, convinced, devout men, who fought as unto God, expressed the mind and pursued the method of Independency. Its strong and true belief, sublime as true, was, Create righteous citizens, and the State will realize righteousness; and with less than righteousness everywhere it could not be satisfied. For as Milton, its great poet and prophet, has fitly said, 'A commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look, what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole State.'* The whole life, public and private, penetrated and regulated by religion unto righteousness is the Independent ideal.

But the obligation to godliness for the nation and individual alike was not the only thing Independency emphasized; it emphasized no less the immediacy and inviolable sanctity of the relations in which religion and conscience stand, and ought to be allowed to stand, to each other. While it affirmed the lordship of the conscience over the magistrate, it denied the lordship of the magistrate over the conscience; and so by placing religion, not as organized polity, but as the authoritative and normative principle of life, over the State, refused to the State the right either to institute or regulate, to alter

* 'Of Reformation in England,' book ii. p. 11. Works (Ed. 1834.)

or control the religion. Lecky* has argued that toleration is the child of scepticism, possible only in an age when men have grown conscious of the difficulties that beset belief. But here he errs. Toleration is not only possible, but necessary, the moment religion is made a matter for the conscience rather than the magistrate, but impossible the moment it becomes an affair of the magistrate rather than the conscience. The period of most victorious certainty in the Christian Church was also the period when it most strenuously pleaded for religious freedom. The Fathers before Constantine understood that men compelled to embrace a religion were only coerced into hypocrisy, and they reproved the persecutions of Rome by affirming the supremacy of the conscience. So Tertullian argued† that to take away religious liberty and forbid free choice of worship was to promote impiety, for no man, much less a God, would care for a compulsory, which could only be a hateful because hated, homage. And again, he maintains‡ that it is a common human right and prerogative of nature that every man should worship God according to his own convictions; that it is no religious thing to compel to religion, which must be spontaneously embraced to be embraced at all. And the older faith had in the hour of fatal transition its witnesses in the noblest of the then Fathers. So Athanasius: || ‘It is an evidence that men want confidence in their own faith, when they use force and constrain men against their wills. It is the devil’s method, because there is no truth in him, to work with hatchet and sword.’ And Hilary of Poitiers lamented § the degeneracy of the days when the Divine faith was recommended by an appeal to an earthly name, and the name of Christ made to seek the protection of a crowned head, as if He Himself had become impotent and helpless. Finely he told Constantius: ¶ ‘You govern that all may enjoy sweet liberty; only by permitting each to live wholly according to his own convictions can peace be restored to the Church,’ ‘God is the Lord of the universe, and requires not an obedience which is forced;’ and he even charged** the emperor with burdening the altar of God with the gold of the State. And Lactantius †† in a noble and eloquent passage, argued that only reason, never compulsion, availed in religion, which could be defended not by slaying,

* ‘History of Rationalism in Europe,’ vol. ii. p. 56 ff. (5th Ed.)

† ‘Apologeticus,’ c. 24.

‡ ‘Ad Scapulam,’ c. 2.

|| Hist. Arian. § 3.

§ ‘Contra Arianos,’ ii. 594. (Ed. Veron. 1780.)

¶ ‘Ad Constant.’ lib. i. c. 1.

** Ibid. i. 10.

†† ‘Instit. Div.’ v. 20.

but by dying ; not by wasting, but by suffering ; not by injustice, but by fidelity. Nothing was so much a matter of free choice as religion : where the heart does not love to serve, there it is not.

Now the Fathers who so argued believed religion to be spiritual ; what they argued against was its materialization by the power over it being transferred from the spirits where it lived and reigned to the imperial cabinet, where intrigue held sway and churchmen lost in the game of politics the simplicity of their early faith and character. An imperial policy disguised in ecclesiastical terms and forms can never be tolerant ; a spirit devoted to godliness, hating as radically evil and futile all ungodly methods and means for promoting it, can never be intolerant. Independency, as an endeavour to realize the most ancient and least political Christianity, broke with the coercive policy which the political incorporation of Church and State had made inevitable. The first English Independent declared that 'to compel religion, to plant Churches by power, and to force submission to ecclesiastical government by laws and penalties, belonged not' to the magistrate. The Lord's people were 'of the willing sort,' driven by 'conscience and not the power of man.' And so he held that magistrates had as such 'no authority over the Church,' but 'only to rule the commonwealth in all outward justice.'* And these principles, as fundamental to Independency, found in its earliest literature more or less complete expression. Barrow and Greenwood maintained that 'Christ was the only head of His Church ;' that 'His laws no man may alter ;' that while it was 'the duty of the prince to inquire out and renew the laws of God,' yet in matters of religion conscience must be obeyed, 'though all the princes of the world should prohibit the same upon pain of death.'† John Robinson argued that 'civil causes' could never 'bring forth spiritual effects,' and that 'compulsive laws' might create hypocrisy, but never the spirit that 'received the word gladly.'‡ Henry Jacob, when he returned to found the Church in Southwark, pleaded with King James for toleration, prayed that pious tender consciences might be left free to serve God in their own way. In his very notion of the Church the principle was contained which had been so well and boldly stated a year or so before by the Anglo-Dutch Baptists :

* Robert Browne, 'Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Anie,' pp. 11, 12, 15.

† Dexter's 'Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years,' Lect. iv.

‡ 'Works,' ii. 488.

'The magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and conscience.'

The history of toleration in England has still to be written. Here it is not possible to trace even its main outlines. One thing is certain, whatever may have been the dream—so sadly contradicted by his practice—of Sir Thomas More, it was as an actual and realizable ideal the creation of Independency. The two branches into which it so soon divided, the Congregational and Baptist, may have at first differed as regards the rigorous statement and vigorous application of the principle. The Church of Helwys was more thorough-going than the Church of Jacob. The tracts of Busher and Murton were more logical and unqualified in their notion and doctrine of religious liberty than were the expositions of the scholarly and scholastic Ainsworth, or the discussions of the sober and large-minded Robinson. Hanserd Knollys and Roger Williams held and suffered for a toleration far more complete and comprehensive than was desired by Philip Nye or Thomas Goodwin. Many things may help to explain the difference. The Baptists learned much from their Dutch friends, both Arminian and Mennonite, while the Dutch theological affinities and relationships of the Congregationalists tended altogether in an opposite direction. But these are points that do not concern us: this alone does—the toleration, qualified or unqualified, was in each case based on the new ideal of religion and the Church. The new ideal of religion proclaimed the rights of the individual conscience; the new idea of the Church its duties and obligations. The main matter was no longer uniformity, but reality—not the organization of religious forms, but the conversion of the soul and the regulation of the life by truths directly believed and completely obeyed. And the significant matter is that, save on this ground, toleration can never be, and has never been, logically claimed and defended by a man believing religion to be true. In the history of liberal religious thought in England, no three names are more honoured and more worthy of honour than those of William Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, and John Locke; but churchmen though they were, each is an illustrious proof of our thesis. Chillingworth's great service was to oppose to the idea of the Church and its authority the idea that 'the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants.' And this religion is one that authority cannot interpret, only 'right reason,' i.e., it must be interpreted by

the conscience for the conscience. Taylor's great argument for freedom—'Liberty of prophesying,' as he finely calls it—is based on the nature of faith, and toleration is made dutiful because faith is rational, lives by persuasion, not by politics. His work convinces in the degree that it limits the authority of the Church and affirms the rights of the reason. The Church, he says, 'has power to intend our faith, but not to extend it, to make our belief more evident, but not more large and comprehensive.' She has no power to declare any article 'necessary which before was not necessary. By so doing she makes the narrow way to be even narrower, and chalks out one more path to the devil than he had before.' Locke's plea for toleration started from a conception of the Church he owed to Independency, was cogent in the very degree in which it logically developed and applied the conception. Take away the ideas of the essential voluntariness of religion and the religious society, and you take away the very basis of Locke's argument. Independency, then, prevailed over its enemies. The whole movement towards religious liberty has been a movement towards the realization of its ideal. The moment Chillingworth forgot his notion of the Christian religion, and acted in behalf of the ecclesiastical polity he believed, his theory broke down. Taylor the Churchman was a radical and embodied contradiction of Taylor the apologist for freedom. The Independent idea is the only sure basis for a theory of toleration, and in practice its only complete realization.

It was our original intention to exhibit the decisive moments in the struggle for existence and acceptance of this double Ideal, but our limits meanwhile forbid the attempt. Only two points have been selected to illustrate the action of Independency on the State and people of England, but these points are cardinal and vital, alike in the regions of religion and politics. The principles it embodies have been progressively victorious principles, ever securing more recognition and authority in the State, and ever making it a roomier and healthier home for reasonable and religious spirits. By what seems an act almost of inspired foresight, Independency set about creating the ideas, forming the societies, and realizing the conditions best fitted to make religion a living moral power in the State, and to make the State stand in its proper relation to religion. And Providence has crowned its history with a success that more than rewards its two centuries and a half of obscurity, civil disability, and ecclesiastical conflict. Its success is not a thing

of statistics; figures could in no way represent it. It is embodied in the legislation, in the civil rights and religious liberties so slowly and hardly won, in the civil duties so strenuously fulfilled, in the public opinion and public conduct of the English people. History has proved that the State inimical to religious freedom is the worst enemy to religion, that to tolerate only one Church is to do the utmost injury to the Church of Jesus Christ, and the English have learned this lesson perhaps more perfectly than any other people. But what has possibly most helped them to learn it was the birth in their midst, now almost three centuries ago, of a theory as to the religion and the Church which raised the moral element to its rightful place in religion, the conscience to its legitimate authority over the man, and claimed for conduct and character their due honour and influence in society. For the principles that make for righteousness they needed independence of the politics that never serve religion so ill as when they determine its forms that it may the better serve their ends. May not the Churches which have earnestly laboured to embody this theory claim to be in the most eminent sense the true National Churches of England?

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

A Popular History of the United States. By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT and SYDNEY HOWARD GAY. Vol. IV. Sampson Low and Co.

The designation of this work as 'Bryant's Popular History of the United States' can hardly be justified; it goes perilously near to a popular deception. In the preface to the first volume, as we pointed out when it appeared, it was explicitly stated that Mr. Bryant's share in the work was limited to counsel, and to his perusal of the proofs of the first two volumes. In the preface to the present volume this statement is repeated, with the addition that Mr. Bryant's death made no change in the authorship. The work should not, therefore, appear under a designation to which it has no claim, and for which it has no need; for Mr. Gay has done it remarkably well. He cannot lay claim to the character of a great historian; he lacks pictorial power and literary art. It is not easy sometimes in his accounts of political and military battles to tell which side he

is speaking about. He tells us that such and such commanders moved, but those not already familiar with their names have some trouble in gathering to which side they belonged. This is but one illustration of a somewhat defective literary art; but he is very painstaking and complete, and, on the whole, fair; although he cannot conceal his partialities now and then, and his patriotic instinct leads him to make the most of the successes attained by his country, as in the war with England, and by his party in the great Civil War. We cut but a sorry figure sometimes, especially in sea-fights. On the other hand, he is sternly faithful in exposing the blind and factious policy which led to the war of 1812, as also the utter lack of patriotism and the mad passion, selfishness, and greed of both North and South in the agitations about slavery. It is a terrible indictment against almost a whole nation—its statesmen, political parties, and, sad to say, many of its churches. All the more honour to the few noble men, like Lloyd Garrison, who formed the nucleus of the anti-slavery party, and who, by sheer fidelity to moral principle, aided by providential circumstances, ultimately won the great battle. Our American friends may surely, after such a history, excuse the tens of thousands in England who could not put confidence in the anti-slavery feeling of the political North, and who dreaded above all things a second Missouri or other compromise, which would have perpetuated slavery for generations. In our present deliberate judgment, the independence of the South as a slaveholding people would have been incalculably more hopeful for the ultimate abolition of slavery. At any rate, this was the honest conviction of some of the noblest men in England and Europe, men whose names as opponents of slavery were household words. Politicians like Daniel Webster, President Polk, and many others, abundantly justified this fear. ‘Party leaders at the North,’ says Mr. Gay, ‘were as ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of peace and of union, and to avow openly their sympathy with the slaveholders, as the majority of Congress were to offer a submission that was almost abject.’ And again, ‘The real danger was that the rebellion would be condoned by some disgraceful and disastrous compromise.’ Even Mr. Lincoln’s action countenanced this fear (p. 457). Notwithstanding, Mr. Gay has very hard things to say of England. He refuses her any credit for opposing Louis Napoleon’s proposed intervention on behalf of the South. We have as a nation nothing to be ashamed of in it, most heartily glad as we were and are to avow our misjudgment. Our American brethren must own that Providence led them by ways that they knew not; and that both the precedent history and the predominant policy at the beginning of the war should silence this reproach. Had there been even more probable assurances on this point, the heart and general suffrage of England would have been heartily with the North, as it was first on the outbreak of the war, and next, on Mr. Lincoln’s proclamation.

The volume opens with the year 1779, in the midst of the Revolutionary War, and closes with the Civil War in 1865. It presents many points for comment, especially the almost chronic agitation for secession

on the parts of disaffected States or politicians; the utter venality of so many leading politicians; the acknowledged frauds connected with the Ashburnham Treaty; the disturbing and demoralizing processes for the election of Presidents; the incidents of the war, &c. We suppose Mr. Gay's returns are accurate, but it is astounding to read the losses of so many thousands after each battle, sometimes of as many as ten or fifteen thousand on one side.

Mr. Gay does not, however, endorse American views on all questions. He admits that the war of 1812 was unjustifiable, that Andrew Jackson was not exactly a pattern statesman or patriot.

The story is told with vigour and clearness on the whole. If it be not all that could be desired in a history of the United States, it is a provisional history that may be welcomed for its laborious investigations, its general tone of equity and nobleness, and the interest that it excites in the reader. It is profusely illustrated.

Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity. By JOHN DANIEL LEADER, F.S.A. George Bell and Sons.

It may indeed seem a bold undertaking, considering the vast mass of literature already existing upon this subject, to attempt to deal anew with any period in the life of Mary Queen of Scots. Mr. Leader himself has felt the force of this objection, and in his preface meets it by saying that the ground over which he travels is that which has been rendered the least familiar in the pages of historians and biographers. His large volume of upwards of six hundred pages is concerned solely with the time from January, 1569, to December, 1584, whilst George, Earl of Shrewsbury, was the guardian of the Scottish queen. His narrative of the events which occurred during this period is certainly most complete; and notwithstanding the fact that the story of Mary's life is tolerably well known to most readers, this new addition to the literature of her history has all the interest of a romance. It is the destiny of this unhappy queen to excite varying feelings, her supporters regarding her as a martyr, and her opponents being equally severe upon her for her intrigues. Elizabeth was not by any means a perfect monarch, but there can be no question that the position of Mary rendered her own most insecure at one time, and much can be said in her defence from this point of view. All through her career, but especially during the time of her captivity, Mary showed that she was not fit to be trusted. For example, immediately after the restraints upon her whilst at Wingfield had been rendered somewhat less irksome, she presumed upon the new measure of liberty afforded her. She entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Duke of Alva, and wrote love letters to the Duke of Norfolk. She wrote to La Mothe Fénélon, to Cecil, to the Duke of Chatelherault—who, next to her son, was heir to the Scottish throne—to Argyle, to the Bishop of Ross, and to the Lords of the Council, tempering her communications to the character of their recipients. Leonard Dacre, a poor kinsman of the

Earl of Shrewsbury, plotted her escape, but the Duke of Norfolk dissuaded him from carrying out his plan, fearing that Mary might fall into the hands of the Spaniards. Mr. Leader says that Mary Stuart's life was from first to last one long conspiracy of vast intricacy and varying interest; and he puts the case against her tersely, if somewhat roughly, when he remarks that the life of Mary meant the death of Elizabeth. This passage seems to us to sum up very clearly and concisely the history of the period embraced in Mary's last days: 'As a prisoner Mary might have lived on, could she have been content to await the course of nature. But her spirit was high, and her friends were impatient. Into the toils of the Jesuit plot, in which Babington was a leading instrument, she eagerly fell; and when we remember that the chief feature and first aim of that conspiracy was the murder of Elizabeth, and that Mary had lent herself to an approval of all its details, we cannot wonder that the conviction was forced upon the minds of English Ministers that Mary or Elizabeth must fall. The life of Mary meant the death of Elizabeth, and for the sake of herself and of her country, Elizabeth overcame her natural repugnance to arraign a sovereign at the bar of justice. Conviction having been obtained, the vacillation of the queen seemed likely to avert execution of the sentence; but her Ministers, thoroughly alarmed, never ceased to urge energetic action. On the one hand was the danger of retaining in the kingdom so formidable a head of the Catholic party, and on the other the warm resentment of the Catholic Powers, certain to follow her execution. It was a choice of evils, but the English Ministers preferred to encounter all the rage of Spain and of France rather than see the broken web of conspiracy repaired, and another attempt made to overturn the throne and the religion of England. The warrant once signed, the Privy Council ventured to act without consulting the queen, and we can well believe that Elizabeth's surprise and indignation at hearing of the execution were 'not entirely feigned.' Mary's apologists may urge what they please in her favour, but they will never be able to get over the fact that she was ever ready to lend herself to the darkest conspiracies. It was necessary to meet her plots and intrigues with stern measures. The Catholics, of course, bitterly regret that these were successful, and nothing is too bad for them to say against Elizabeth; but what would they have said if Mary's nefarious schemes had unfortunately proved successful? Romance has woven a halo of beauty and witchery over the person, and sorrow for the fate of the Queen of Scots; but this must not blind us to the dangers which lurked to this realm in the plots and conspiracies formed under her name and with her sanction. Substantial justice only was done in her case—rough, it may have been, as Mr. Leader says—but the peril was sufficient to justify her removal from a sphere in which she had become positively dangerous to the commonwealth. This much any student of history may say, without being a violent partisan of Elizabeth. But we must now leave Mr. Leader's work in the hands of the reader, observing that he seems in every respect to have well executed his task of relating in detail the incidents of the period mentioned at the outset.

Genoa; how the Republic Rose and Fell. By J. THEODORE BENT. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

Mr. Bent, to whom we were indebted a short time ago for a pleasant book on the little Republic of San Marino, now tells the story of a more imperial commonwealth; the earliest, it may almost be said, among the Italian republics to attain the eminence of a first-class power, as it was among the latest to be deprived of the worn-out trappings of republican institutions. The successor of Amalfi and of Pisa in the command of the western Mediterranean, the close and for many generations successful rival of Venice in the Levant, Genoa was a great and sovereign city when our modern Europe was still in its embryonic stage. The records of her most brilliant period take us back to the days when the Catalans scoured the inland seas, and Commeni and Paleologi ruled in Constantinople. Her position had already changed to that of a really dependent, though still nominally free, State, when popes and emperors leagued together at Cambrai to curb the pride of the Venetian oligarchy. *Suis ipsa viribus ruebat.* The fickle Ligurian lacked the steadfastness of purpose which secured for Venice ten centuries of unbroken political life. Grimaldi, Fieschi, Doria rose to power less to make Genoa great than to establish their own ascendancy even while ostentatiously maintaining the outward show of republican austerity. And thus, for all the dignity of her patrician houses, for all the splendour of repeated episodes in her history, the reputation of Genoa in policy as in art is still a reputation of the second class, and not like Venice, or even Florence, a vital element in the story of Italian growth. Even so, however, the 'superb' city played no mean part in the world's stage. It was she who, conjointly with Pisa and Venice, kept alive those nobler traditions of a world-embracing commerce which but for them might have passed into forgetfulness in the long twilight of the dark ages, as it was she who at a later date may claim, next to Venice, the high praise of arresting the progress of the Ottoman Turk, when his superiority by land, if undisturbed by these midge-like attacks, might have proved resistless. From her ports, in even greater numbers than from those of her Adriatic rival, went forth those early explorers who, following in the lines laid down by Marco Polo in his Genoese captivity, brought Europe into direct contact with Peking; those pilots who, even before the Portuguese, had all but grasped the secrets of Africa, and whose line closes with the greatest of them all—the discoverer of the western hemisphere. Her Bank of St. George, whose fame led Michelet to doubt whether the history of the city is not more properly that of a bank than of a republic, has left its traces in that financial aptitude which even to-day gives Genoa in this respect the precedence over other Italian cities. With England, notwithstanding the appearance of her paid archers among the hostile ranks at Crecy, the republic in her palmier days was usually on the most friendly terms. It was to Genoa that Cœur de Lion turned for assistance in his unlucky crusade. It is her Podestà who, at the request of Edward II., sharply punishes certain

merchants for supplying Robert Bruce with materials of war. The recently discovered document which seems to discredit the popular account of the same Edward's murder, at least attests the intimate relations between the Genoese Fiesoli and his successor. Later on we find Genoa in alliance with Henry V., and later still in especial favour with Cromwell, in whose own family, through the Pallavicini of Cambridge, flowed a distinct current of Ligurian blood. Although her strength was never perhaps absolutely greater, nor her policy more sagaciously directed than under the rule of the last great Doria—the veteran Andrea of Schiller's drama—the State which, after crushing Pisa, had all but crushed Venice at Chioggia, and whose defeat in the channels of the Lagoon is nearly as great a turning-point in history as that of the Athenians in the harbour of Syracuse, was little better in her latter days than a dexterous waverer between the German emperor and the French king, now safeguarded by the one, now veering towards the other, and ever and again additionally imperilled by the growing ambitions of the Dukes of Savoy. There were still, indeed, times when the 'city of the Madonna'—for by formal decree, ninety-six years after Andrew Doria's death, the senate had declared the Virgin Mother titular head of the republic—blazed up with something of her ancient fire as in that rising against the Austrians which has immortalized the name of the plebeian Berasco. But such gleams grew rarer as time wore on, and the influence of France weighed more and more upon the feebler State. Under Napoleon Genoa became a French prefecture. In 1815 a word from Metternich incorporated her without remonstrance in the kingdom of Savoy. Mr. Bent's is less a continuous narrative than a book, in which the chief aspects of Genoese history are described at length in separate chapters—a plan which, while involving a disagreeable amount of cross reference and perpetual turnings-back, has some compensation in the greater completeness of the several accounts of Genoese doings at home and abroad—of her bank and her colonies, her diplomatists and explorers, her domestic revolutions and her foreign wars. Other chapters deal effectively with the natural and artificial advantages which give the city so just a claim to her old title of *la superba*, and specially good accounts are given of republican ceremonies in olden times, and of the churches and *palazzi* (so dear to the artist soul of Rubens) in which those ceremonies took place, as also of the castle palaces without the walls, whence the Genoese nobles lorded it over the subject Riviere, east and west. The later fortunes of the birth-place of Mazzini Mr. Bent does not attempt to trace, though the city which in 1860 was the starting-place of 'the Thousand,' and from which parted but the other day the Antarctic expedition on as venturesome a quest as any undertaken by Venetian Zeni or Ligurian Vivaldi, may fairly pretend, though occupying less space in vulgar eyes, to be not unworthy of the Genoa of old. Altogether, notwithstanding some deficiency of method, the consequence, perhaps, of superabundance of material and some not over successful efforts at fine writing, Mr. Bent has given us a very welcome volume, bristling with facts, and warm throughout with human interest.

An Account of the Polynesian Race : its Origin and Migrations, and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. By ABRAHAM FURNANDER, Circuit Judge of the Island of Maui, H.I. Vol. II. Trübner and Co.

Mr. Furnander's second volume traces the history of the Hawaiian people from their settlement in this northern group, which was, he believes, during the sixth century of the Christian era, down to 1795, when Kamehameha I. brought all the islands under his own rule and inaugurated the modern Hawaiian government. This history is, of course, derived entirely from records unwritten for centuries—the 'traditions, legends, genealogies, and chants' orally communicated from generation to generation. The work required in its author an accurate knowledge of the language, the fullest familiarity with the people and their modes of thought, and also the faculty of discrimination in the use of the difficult materials out of which the history is constructed. These Mr. Furnander possesses; and his work appears to us to be at least worthy on the ground of accuracy to take its place among other ancient histories. The book is in many parts most interesting. We have a record of the deeds of great men in Hawaiian history—of renowned warriors, of bold navigators who, centuries ago, built sea-going vessels and made long voyages among the various groups in the Pacific, and of wise lawgivers and rulers who fostered the arts of peace which give prosperity to a people. We plainly see that these people were not the low savages we have been too often accustomed to think they were. Indeed, we cannot help being convinced that the Polynesians of the early ages were immensely superior to their deteriorated descendants when they were discovered by Europeans. The saddest fact about these Hawaiians is their rapid decay in recent times. As a people they are apparently doomed to die out. And this volume shows very plainly that to Captain Cook and his sailors must be attributed this sad result of their contact with white men. The vice of the English sailors communicated to them that disease which is the chief factor in the decrease of the population of those fine islands.

A Selection from the Wellington Despatches. Edited by SIDNEY J. OWEN. Oxford : Clarendon Press.

In this stout volume Mr. Owen has given us the pith of the original five volumes, comprising those portions of the Wellington Despatches which relate exclusively to the Duke's Indian command. Such a selection has more than a simply historical value. Not only does it cover Wellington's own military career in India, but it includes the supplementary despatches of a more recent date, often bearing upon 'questions still unsolved,' and coming down as late as 1881. Such memoranda as those on the best mode of conducting war in India, on the defence of the

North-western frontier, on the comparative merits of Sepoy and European soldiers, and the inadvisability of employing native regiments for service out of India, or troops other than English in the room of Sepoys in that country, or those again on our policy towards the native States, and on the causes of Indian famines, are not merely models of clear style and incisive common-sense argument, but documents whose value is not for any single period but for all time. The selection is introduced by a very useful synopsis, and an able preface, entitled 'Wellington in India.' It does hearty justice to Wellington's unerring judgment and superior knowledge of everything relating to India, even when brought into comparison with experienced Indian generals like Lake, or imperial-minded administrators like his own brother the Marquis. Late in life, Lord Ellesmere has told us, he wrote an important State paper embracing all three Presidencies, and full of geographical details, without reference to a map or a gazetteer. The great Duke's despatches are, indeed, his best monument; and of no portion of them is this more true than of these Indian memoranda and reports, which too many readers have hitherto hurried over in their haste to get on to the times of larger European interest.

The Organization of the Early Christian Churches. Bampton Lecture, 1880. By EDWIN HATCH, M.A., Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall. Rivingtons.

Mr. Hatch proposes to examine the history of the Christian Church from the time of the apostles until the fall of the Western Empire. He applies to the phenomena of this formative period severe principles and methods of historical investigation; proceeding on the assumption that the facts of ecclesiastical history are of the same essential character, and admit of the same examination and tests as those of civil history. His method must commend itself to all honest inquirers, who seek truth for its own sake. To us it is quite refreshing to turn from the bold assertions and half-ignorant assumptions of dogmatic churchmen to the calm, keen, patient, and fearless investigations of a thoroughly impartial student. The conclusions that Mr. Hatch reveals will be very startling to many of his fellow Episcopalians. They are absolutely fatal to all claims of Divine right or ecclesiastical exclusiveness. In the testimony of these lectures as to facts, and in the inevitable inferences which they compel, they abundantly justify our own position and contention as Nonconformists. On one point, perhaps, Mr. Hatch might hesitate about this. While contending that God ordained no prescribed ecclesiastical order, he seems to affirm that he did ordain a certain development, and that the fact of the development is a sufficient indication of the Divine purpose; therefore it would seem to follow, although he does not venture to say so, that dissent from an actual historic development is as unjustifiable as dissent from a divinely appointed order. Clearly, however, this would prove too much. God has not always been on the side of majorities; and if there be moral obliga-

tion to conform to what has succeeded in developing itself, then the ecclesiastical claims of Rome are supreme, Jezebel and the priests of Baal were right and Elijah was wrong. Probably, however, Mr. Hatch did not mean to press such an inference from his somewhat doubtful words.

He avowedly begins with the close of the first century, and leaves unexamined the apostolic Church, as revealed to us in the New Testament. We scarcely see how he could have included this within the compass of his lectures, and we think that the historical demonstration which he has wrought out inevitably implies what preceded it. His avowed accord with Bishop Lightfoot, moreover, as well as expressions here and there in the work, assure us that his views of the church life of apostolic times are substantially those at which Bishop Lightfoot, Dr. Jacobs, and Archbishop Whately have arrived; still it is logically a defect that he has not first formally examined the foundations upon which he has erected his bold superstructure.

His general position is that the organization of the Church was simply civil organization applied to religious societies; that for its ecclesiastical order there was no Divine appointment of any kind, beyond the fundamental idea of a religious society with its teaching and other officers; that the organization took the forms of analogous civil societies, and its officers their analogous functions, retaining even the very designations of corresponding civil officers; that the primitive Churches to the time of Constantine were democratic, and their bishops congregational bishops—there was a bishop wherever there was a Church, and in every act of public worship every element of the community was present; that the development of the later status and pre-eminence of the clergy and of the hierarchical organization generally was very gradual, much more so than is generally supposed, and is fully accounted for by ordinary causes. The name of the bishop, *ἐπίσκοπος*, designates the function of the pastor as the dispenser of the alms of the Church, and was borne by officers having the same functions in civil associations. This is proved at some length from various allusions, and especially from the chief abuses of the episcopal office, by the testimony of Justin Martyr, Polycarp, &c., Deacons were assistants of the bishops in this function.

He formally denies (p. 88) that the quasi-monarchical government of hierarchical episcopacy was an institution either of our Lord or of His apostles, and proves at length that it was an ordinary human development. 'The Episcopate was not a special institution, but grew by the forces of circumstances' (p. 98). The view that the bishops and not presbyters are the successors of the apostles first appears during the Montanist controversy (p. 105), and was originally contested by Tertullian. The bishop had 'not peculiarity of function but priority of rank' (p. 108). Liberty of prophesying belonged to laymen; baptism was often administered by laymen; the Lord's Supper was celebrated without the presence of a Church officer, and discipline was the act of the whole community (pp. 115–118). Office, according to Tertullian, did not confer any powers upon its holders which were not possessed by the other mem-

bers of the community (p. 121). Ordination was simply appointment and admission to office, by no means peculiar to the ministry, and certainly conferring no grace (p. 180). Even in the fourth century the primitive type still survived; the government of the Churches was in the main a democracy. At the end of the century the primitive type had almost disappeared; the clergy were a separate and governing class (p. 141). This was the result chiefly of the establishment of the Church by Constantine. The clergy were not a professional class, 'they supplemented their allowance by farming or by trade. The bishops and presbyters of those early days kept banks, practised medicine, wrought as silversmiths, tended sheep, or sold their goods in the open market' (pp. 147, 148). 'By gradual steps the Churches passed from their original state of independence into a great confederation. It is important to observe not only the closeness with which that confederation followed the lines of the imperial government, but also the wholly *voluntary* nature of the process by which it was formed' (p. 171). 'The Christian Churches associated themselves together upon the lines of the Roman Empire' (p. 181). 'There is no proof that the words of Holy Scripture in which the unity of the Church is expressed or implied, refer exclusively, or at all, to unity of organization' (p. 182). God intended His Churches to be embodied in form, but with large variations of form in different ages and circumstances. There is no proof of the necessity and desirability of this and that particular form.' 'Being a brotherhood it was a democracy' (p. 218). 'The survival of the Church of Christ is not necessary to the survival of this or that existing form' (pp. 212-214). And the writer anticipates that the Church will again shape itself to changing conditions, and that 'all organizations, whether ecclesiastical or civil, must be, as the early Churches were, more or less democratical' (p. 215). What the Church does it will do through organization, 'but the forming of its organization is left to human hands' (p. 216). It almost takes one's breath away to read such statements in a Bampton Lecture. We can only surmise the contempt and vituperation with which they would have been met had they proceeded from a Congregational student of history. And yet they are not random assertions. Every point is quietly and modestly put, and is established by a vast array of proofs, which must, we think, carry conviction. Light is breaking upon our friends.

We have, of course, no criticisms to offer on views that in such a startling way confirm those long held by Congregationalists. We can only most heartily rejoice in the thorough honesty and fearless independence of the lecturer. We should add that the literary form of the lectures is admirable—perfect simplicity, great literary beauty, and apt illustrations drawn from various fields of thought characterizing them in an unusual degree.

The Churches of Asia. A Methodical Sketch of the Second Century. By WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

Sooner or later the philosophy of historical study will determine Church theories and pretensions. And amongst its results few things just now are more remarkable than the confirmation of the principles so firmly maintained by Congregational Churches, even where the sequence of the principles is still refused. It would seem as if simultaneously historical students in the Established Church were waking up to the fact that the lofty pretensions to traditional authority of their own clergy were really baseless, and that the contention of Congregationalists, upon which both scorn and indignation have been so plentifully bestowed, was the witness of history. In addition to Mr. Hatch's remarkable Bampton Lecture, Mr. Cunningham's Kaye Prize Essay for 1879 virtually establishes the same conclusions. The Churches of the first and second centuries were unquestionably democratic and independent societies, and their pastors congregational bishops. 'The authority seems to lie in the Church, and not by any means in its officers' (p. 64). The Eucharist was the offering of a sacrifice by the priesthood of the whole Church in the sense in which their whole life and worship was a sacrifice (p. 71). 'The Church regulates itself through its officers, the supreme authority lay with the multitude. The consent of the whole Church is required for the setting apart of men to fill any office. The officer was not appointed to conduct divine service, but to be the agency through which the Church conducted her common worship.' 'Self-disciplining Churches, relying on each other for help and counsel' (pp. 75, 76). 'The Christian society was modelled in accordance with Greek ideas, after the analogy of the Greek free cities . . . a federation of her democracies' (pp. 106, 107). 'The presbyter, not the bishop, was the successor to the apostolic function of teaching' (p. 124).

The author shrinks from the necessary conclusions from his own premisses, and thinks that, as early Congregationalism must have failed through its inherent weakness, it has been rightly superseded by Diocesan Episcopacy, which he vindicates as a natural development. This it is not necessary for us to argue here; we are satisfied with the concession of our premisses, from these we claim liberty to draw our own inferences. Mr. Cunningham's book is not so lucid and vigorous as that of Mr. Hatch, but it is scholarly and able.

Reminiscences. By THOMAS CARLYLE. Edited by JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. Two Vols. Longmans, Green, and Co.

Most reflective readers, we think, will feel that Mr. Froude has here failed in some of the duties of editorship. Everything from the pen of a powerful and original genius like Carlyle must be of great significance;

but the broken heart communing with itself, and finding a kind of relief in recalling and brooding over what it regards as its own failures of affection, if thus it may gain some feeble solace in the sense of atonement for them, is not what should be thus prominently presented to the world. Carlyle was not the man weakly to 'hang his heart on his sleeve.' In justice to him one-third, at least, of these volumes ought never to have been printed; and yet we are debtors to Mr. Froude's editorial indiscretions and failures; and feel that we know Thomas Carlyle better than before *on his weaker side*, which too, perhaps, was that which he would least have desired to be revealed to us. 'Men,' says Emerson, 'are united by the imperfections of each,' and Goethe well added, 'It is men's errors and weaknesses that properly make them amiable.' Mr. Carlyle was at once pre-eminently a strong man and a weak man. This we have always believed; and these volumes are the final and conclusive proof of it. They afford us a clear view of the limitations of his insight, which was defective precisely because of the Scotch-like self-restraint and self-confidence which enabled him to sum up his most vivid impressions so readily in phrase and metaphor—a talent, as he tells us, derived from his father, and more common than most people would believe in the peasant class in Scotland. This is a power which is often very cruel and crushing, when used without regard to the feelings of the weak. It suffices to give generally the impression of closeness to the object, when the broad and apparently grand and realistic effect was really the result of distance, or what is and always must be equivalent to distance, the interposition of a self-created mist of imaginative sensibility between Carlyle and the subject. He reveals but little to us after all of the subject or person; he always reveals himself in the strongest outlines. What of epithet is here applied to his father which he had not already exhausted and applied to others of apparently different characters and temperaments? And then do we not have here a most pointed and extreme illustration of the lack of clear discrimination which, we hold, was always a characteristic defect of Mr. Carlyle's genius and method? With all the originality of phrase, the quaintingenious style in which the thought is set before us, do we not feel as we read these pages on his father, his mother, and his wife, that they are, after all, much too soft, vague, and merely generalized impressions, which are made to appear something else by ingenious tricks of speech, introduction of picturesque incident, and quaint repetition? We know well that there is a 'deal of human nature in man,' as Artemus Ward well said, and in woman also. Mr. Carlyle's father, if we are meekly to take his word for it, was pretty nearly perfect; so was his mother; and if it were possible, his wife was still nearer to perfection. Now, it is evident enough that creative genius must have been at work here; such creatures do not largely exist, and they do not generally so benignantly arrange themselves in wide-spread groups of family connections. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Carlyle only paints himself in his ideal reflections. If we are not much mistaken—and we know a good deal of a certain type of self-con-

tained, self-assertive, self-appreciating Scotch character—there were traits in ‘Mason’ Carlyle that would have made him a most unsympathetic and disagreeable man to deal with in many ways; and stories, we learn, still linger about Ecclefechan which prove that even in the matter of blinds, or new blinds, for the Anti-burgher church windows he could be as rough and disagreeable as he was self-centred. And we can assure our readers that we have no touch of human nature or knowledge, if it be not true that ‘Mason’ Carlyle was of the type that would be certain to make things uncomfortable for any unlucky neighbour who had wronged or offended him. It is natural to a good son to magnify the merits of his father, no less than of his mother; and

‘To mak’ a happy fireside clime
For weans and wife,’

is, as Burns says—

‘The true pathos and sublime
Of human life.’

And if this be true, the worship of a loving partner is not only to be admired, but to be respected; though, in literary record, it ought to have stern limits set down for it. When Mr. Carlyle suggests that his father, for general intellectual faculty, was probably as great, if not even greater, than Robert Burns, we fail to see that the comparison expresses anything whatever, since clearly the two men belonged to opposite types; but this is only a specimen of Mr. Carlyle’s very effective-seeming way of saying nothing.

Here and there we have incisive bits of true portraiture, as in this case—

‘He [the father] was no niggard, but truly a wise, generous economist. He paid his men handsomely and with overplus. He had known poverty in the shape of actual want (in boyhood), and never had one penny which he knew not well how he had come by (“picked,” as he said, “out of the hard stone,”) yet he ever parted with money as a man that knew when he was getting money’s worth; that he could give also, and with a frank liberality when the fit occasion called. I remember, with the peculiar kind of tenderness that attaches to many things in his life, one, or rather I think, two times, when he sent *me* to buy a quarter of a pound of tobacco to give to some poor old women whom he had gathering potatoes for him. He nipt off for each a handsome leash, and handed it her by way of over and above. This was a common principle with him. I must have been twelve or thirteen when I fetched this tobacco. I love to think of it. “The little that a just man hath.” The old women are now perhaps all dead. He too is dead, but the gift still lives.’

Such kindness as this, to our knowledge, was by no means uncommon amongst this class in Scotland.

And as we read of this grand and generous but, in some respects, rough and repellent stonemason, we are visited by an uncomfortable reflec-

tion of how utter is the refutation that peasant father affords of Carlyle's not very elevating theory of 'engagement for life,' and so on. How could James Carlyle have been what he was, how could he have been anything at all, had it not been for the existence of such conditions as enabled him to rise from the rank, to which, according to Carlyle's theory, his birth should have bound him. In his boyhood we learn that he had suffered actual want. All honour to him that he so far rose above it as to educate his children, and to give us such a gift of genius as Thomas Carlyle's; but Thomas Carlyle magnifying slavery and maintaining that might-is-right is not true to his father. Yes, Carlyle's father was, and remained to the end, a peasant and working-man, one of the class on whose behalf Carlyle has sighed for a return to the days of feudalism, or worse still, of 'engagement for life,' and the happiness of Gurth with collar round his neck tending the swine of Cedric the Saxon. We are afraid that if certain questions on that head had been driven home to Mr. Carlyle, with a special appeal to him to keep his father in his eye, much would have seemed to him to demand modification in his theory of 'engagement for life,' and defence of slavery. The simple truth is that Carlyle's position with respect to much of a practical bearing was made attractive only by his humour; when he deals, as in these Reminiscences, with personal elements which he cannot in the same way involve in the strange and fitful gleam of his humour, we feel that he is a Samson shorn of his locks, a common man almost, without some of the better traits of the common man. For the self-conscious air of superiority which he not only assumes for himself, but in which he involves all those who are related to him in the bonds of affection, invalidates in great part the feeling of simple sincerity, or the belief in his power to recognize or adequately to penetrate into all the aspects of their characters. He only sees there, as in his heroes, what he wishes to see. Most vigorous and powerful epithets and terms we have in these volumes, but they are always most powerful when he, as it were, retreats hastily and unsympathetically from the object, rather than seeks closer identification with it. When, for instance, he speaks of Lady Holland as a 'kind of hungry, ornamented witch, looking over at me with merely carnivorous views,' we feel the keen discernment and force of the characterization. When he describes Charles Lamb—with whom he never found any little *nexus* of real sympathy, as surely he might have found some little *nexus* of real sympathy—as follows, we feel the same thing, along with a mournful sense of Carlyle's limitations and impatient prejudice trying to hide itself in the guise of tolerant judgment, backed up by an uncertain and inadequate vein of humour.

'A most slender fibre of actual worth,' he declares, 'in that poor Charles, abundantly recognisable to me as to others, in his better times and moods; but he was a cockney to the marrow; and cockneydom, shouting "glorious, marvellous, unparalleled in nature," all his days had quite bewildered his poor head, and churned nearly all the sense out of the poor man. He was the leanest of mankind, tiny black breeches buttoned to the knee-cap and no further, surmounting spindle-legs also in

black, face and head fineish, black, bony, lean, and of a Jew-type rather, in the eyes a kind of smoky brightness or confused sharpness; spoke with a stutter; in walking, tottered and shuffled; emblem of imbecility bodily and spiritual (something of real insanity I have understood), and yet something too of human, ingenuous, pathetic, sportfully much enduring. Poor Lamb! he was infinitely astonished at my wife, and her quiet encounter of his too ghastly London wit by a cheerful native ditto. Adieu, poor Lamb!

As another illustration of Carlyle's unsympathetic, half-sardonic, harsh, and cruel mode of dealing with a type of character different from his own, we may take his words on De Quincey:—'A pretty little creature,' according to him, 'full of wire-drawn ingenuities, bankrupt enthusiasms, bankrupt pride, with the finest silver-toned, low voice, and most elaborate, gently-winding courtesies and ingenuities in conversation. "*What wouldn't one give to have him in a box and take him out to talk!*" That was *her* criticism of him, and it was right good. One of the smallest man-figures I ever saw; shaped like a pair of tongs, and hardly above five feet in all. When he sate, you would have taken him, by candle-light, for the beautifullest little child: blue-eyed, sparkling face, had there not been a something, too, which said—"Eccovi, this child has been in hell." After leaving Edinburgh I never saw him, hardly ever heard of him. His fate, owing to opium, &c., was hard and sore, poor, fine-strung, weak creature, launched so into the literary career of ambition and Mother of dead dogs.'

Now, that is the perfection of Carlyle's humoristic, sardonic style, utterly self-conscious, and yet would fain not seem so. He never saw De Quincey after leaving Edinburgh; but that was not because he did not earnestly desire it. Nay, he was guilty of besieging De Quincey with letters full either of genuine or of hypocritical compliment to the '*great spirit*,' as he then called it, 'for the present under eclipse,' wishing much to have De Quincey's company for longer or shorter, assuring him how well and deeply he was loved at Craigenputtoch, &c., and one of these long, big-sheeted, four-paged letters of invitation has, unluckily, been printed, with his own consent. Considering the style of personal remark, such as likening a man to 'a pair of tongs,' and the air of pitying contempt liberally communicated through every sentence of Mr. Carlyle's description of De Quincey, his oft-invited, deeply-loved fellow-worker, as he called him, it was perhaps as well that De Quincey never did pay that visit to Craigenputtoch, so much desired on Carlyle's part, and on Mrs. Carlyle's, too, as we are told by himself. But at the time that the complimentary letters recognizing 'the great spirit at present eclipsed' were written, De Quincey was still living to criticise and to comment on new translations and articles on German literature, and we have it in Carlyle's own plain confession that he was not quite above feeling rather uncomfortable under 'the dose' he had got from De Quincey about his '*Wilhelm Meister*.'

'One showery day,' he says, 'I had taken shelter in his [Jemmy Be]-

cher's] shop ; picked up a new magazine, found in it a cleverish and completely hostile criticism of my " Wilhelm Meister," of my Goethe, and self, &c., read it faithfully to the end, and have never set eye on it since. On stepping out, my bad spirits did not feel much elevated by the dose just swallowed, but I thought with myself, " This man is, perhaps, right on some points ; if so, let him be admonitory." '

These two ' great spirits ' are now alike under the great eclipse ; how beautiful it would have been, in the words of Polonius, if he that lived longest had in a very little ' reserved his judgment.' If to be strong is to be thus untrue—to blow hot about ' great spirit,' and give assurances how ' well you are loved here,' and so on and on, as long as there is risk of ' bad spirits not elevated by the dose just swallowed,' and then, when the way is clear, to assail with personal epithets of no very elevating character—strength is not a gift to be envied in a ' teacher.' It is, perhaps, a good illustration of the worship of success and might-is-right in its own sphere. That sort of thing has plenty of scope in the hypocrisies of modern society, without receiving long-bottled-up but post-humous sanction and support from a man like Thomas Carlyle, whose literature was a professed protest against this very kind of falsity, and who in the same record condemns idle gossip and disparaging comment on the part of Miss Martineau, and all insincere celebrity tuft-hunting on the part of Lady Holland.

The acidular style of treatment is exhibited in much that Mr. Carlyle has said in the appendix about Wordsworth and Southey. Of neither of them was it to be expected that Mr. Carlyle would speak with enthusiasm, or even, in some respects, that he should speak quite justly. Of course, he makes points, and shows his incisive grasp of special characteristics ; but he is certainly not very satisfying, and too often oppresses us here, as elsewhere, with the feeling of half-veiled prejudice. Even of Edward Irving he seems sometimes to be jealous.

Much remains to be said about the general influence of Carlyle, which, however, would require an article or articles. It was not always so beneficial as it has recently been too generally made to appear. The only avenues of escape from mere prostration under his influence—a thing which he himself always professed to mourn—was into pure indifference and scepticism, on the one hand, or into active crusading pessimism and disintegrating cynicism on the other. The pure light of a healthful and cheering sympathy with life in its broader phases, as seen in Sir Walter Scott, whom he most unjustly aimed at bringing down from his elevation, to place there instead the self-worshipping Goethe, was denied to him, no less than the genial and sunshiny humour which pertains to true creation. His humour was, in some sense, artificial ; and in its more developed phases had a good deal to do with his reactionary attitude with regard to all positive religion. It was necessary for him to assail all forms, and yet to seem to reverence some essential essence ; but what this essential essence really consisted in was never defined, or even explicitly characterized ; and the main function that he

found for his humour in his most serious moments was to cover his retreat from any frank confession of his detailed beliefs. The 'Eternities' and the 'Silences' were mere counters, without corresponding realities, moved about at the beck of his humorous imagination.

Of the evil that may accrue to youth from this form of influence it is not easy to speak. We have satisfied ourselves that, practically, Carlylism does not build up after the manner that it affects to do. It detaches from positive belief, without supplying any backbone of clear and positive truth on which the intellect can lean; and experience has sufficiently proved in the long period during which it has now been operative, that it is a gospel of destruction rather than a gospel of edification—a preparing of the way, but not the way itself. It is easy, as Carlyle himself has said, to pull down, it is not so easy to build up.

We deeply regret that, at the moment when it would have seemed more grateful to write an *éloge*, we have been compelled in honesty to take up this line of remark. Sympathetic and exaggerative criticism have done their utmost; and time, we may trust, will correct the extreme and extravagant fervour which, under the immediate sense of loss, has run its mad career over the grave of a man who ought, on all accounts, to have been spared much of it. If we can imagine him still looking with interest on literary development, we may be sure that he would not have welcomed, but would rather have treated with sardonic contempt, much of the hero-worshipping excess of laudation which has been poured out on his death. The one lesson of his life and work may be summed up in the counsel—'Shun all intemperate and effusive excess in word and writing; be self-restrained, and err rather on the side of silence than of words. Sorrow and love are best shown by reverent silence, by self-abnegation, and by faithful labour.' There is a certain irony in the circumstance that his posthumous writings should in so much illustrate so badly the main principles which his life was spent in preaching and maintaining; but we understand the man the better, and ought to be grateful if it tends to aid any one, as he would have desired that it should do, to walk with more independence, and to bow less to authority as authority.

The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde. Illustrated by Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence. By LIEUT.-GENERAL SHADWELL, C.B. Two Vols. William Blackwood and Sons.

We have received these volumes too late for more than a cursory notice. Indeed, they scarcely admit of more, unless the events of national military history—*quorum pars magni fuit*—be again subjected to review. In a sober, intelligent way General Shadwell again summarizes the history of the Sikh, Crimean, and Indian Mutiny campaigns—the latter more especially, which occupies nearly one-half the work. One's pulse throbs again to read of the glorious achievements at Lucknow, Cawnpore, Rohilkund, and in Oudh. Lord Clyde was a military genius. Even laymen like our-

selves can see how masterly in their prudence, boldness, and skill his dispositions were, and with what scientific precision his victories were calculated and achieved. It is, too, a noble testimony to both Lord Clyde and Lord Canning that their mutual relations were marked by such courtesy, confidence, and good faith. More than once it happened—as in the siege of Lucknow—that the political reasons of Lord Canning had to be maintained against the military judgment of Lord Clyde. Not for a moment was this permitted to affect the implicit acquiescence and zeal of the one, or the equally implicit confidence of the other. The military profession was not without its jealousies, and Lord Clyde did not escape. His conduct at the battle of Chillianwala was impugned. His subsequent appointment of juniors acquainted with India, passing over seniors recently arrived from England, created much dissatisfaction. He was reprimanded by the Governor-General for refusing to enter Swat, but fully justified himself, although he resigned his command. He was, after the great Duke, among the foremost soldiers of his generation; modest, obedient to authority, of indomitable energy, and full of resources.

The book, however, is more of a history than a biography. We should have liked to know more of the man and his belongings, and of the training which made him what he was.

He was of good family, although born in humble circumstances. His grandfather, Macliver of Ardnave in Argyleshire, was out in '45 and forfeited his estates. His father, John Macliver, was so reduced in circumstances that he was a working carpenter in Glasgow. He married Agnes Campbell, the daughter of a respectable family, and ultimately Colin took the name of her clan. Colin was educated in the High School, and at ten his mother's brother, Colonel John Campbell, took charge of him and removed him to an academy at Gosport, where he remained till he was nearly sixteen years of age, when he received his first commission as ensign in the 9th Regiment. He had been previously introduced at the Horse Guards to the Duke of York, commander-in-chief, by his uncle. The Duke, supposing him to be a Campbell, remarked, 'Another of the clan, I suppose,' whereupon his uncle suggested that it would be a good name to adopt, and Colin Macliver became Colin Campbell. Mr. P. S. Macliver, the member for Plymouth, is his first cousin. His promotion was rapid; within a month he obtained his lieutenancy, and the month following, July, 1808, he embarked for the Peninsula, and took part in the battle of Vimiera, and in the famous retreat on Corunna. He was in the unfortunate Walcheren expedition. Returning to Portugal, he led the forlorn hope at San Sebastian, and was wounded. He attained to the command of a division in the Punjab war of 1848, and thenceforward his life became part of our military history. He was pure-minded, high-toned, and scrupulously honourable in money matters. He was fairly well educated, could speak French, Spanish, and German. Above all, he was generous-hearted, utterly without selfishness, and magnanimous to his comrades in arms. A strict disciplinarian, he shared, even when commander-in-chief, the privations of his men. He thoroughly won

their confidence and inspired their enthusiasm. He is not the only poor Scotch lad who sleeps in Westminster Abbey, and who richly deserved his honours.

The Story of a Soldier's Life. By Lieutenant-General JOHN ALEXANDER EWART, C.B. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

Here we have the reminiscences of an old soldier, and an aide-de-camp to the Queen from 1859 to 1872, during years of peace, war, and mutiny. The work is inscribed to three noted regiments, the 85th Royal Sussex, the 78th Ross-shire Highlanders, and the 98th Sutherland Highlanders, in memory of 'auld lang syne.' The author takes the sting from criticism by premising that his pages possess no literary merit. They were written, he says, at a time of great sorrow; and it would, therefore be cruel to retort that they are capable of producing sorrow in others. His intentions in writing them were, however, admirable: these were first, to obtain a change of thought, and, secondly, for the amusement of his children. As regards the first object, it is safe to assume that it was answered, and we will equally hope that this was the case as regards the second. It would be ungracious in children to prove too fastidious, especially when, as in this instance, the reminiscences are not quite so bad as the author's deprecatory preface would seem to imply. The general reader may peruse some of these chapters with interest, for they recall vividly certain recent momentous passages in English history. The author was born in the 67th (South Hampshire) regiment, on the 11th of June, 1821, at Sholapore. When two years of age he was brought to England, and conveyed from one town to another. To Coventry he seems to have become particularly attached, and it is touching to hear him declare, notwithstanding that that ancient town was a trifle dirty, he has always loved it, and shall love it still. It is very interesting too, to find the author reciting the old story of Lady Godiva as though it were perfectly new to the reader. All such things add a *naïve* charm to his narrative. Half his first volume is devoted to the piping times of peace, but we then come upon the Crimean war, in which our author acquitted himself gallantly, as becomes a British soldier. The Emperor of the French conferred upon him the Legion of Honour, and he also received from the King of Italy the Sardinian silver medal, and from the Sultan of Turkey the decoration of the Medjidie, with a silver medal. The first half of the second volume is occupied with an account of the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, including the final relief of Lucknow, and the defeat of the Gwalior contingent at Cawnpore. The second half is concerned with five years of peace passed in Scotland, England, and Ireland with the 78th Ross-shire Buffs. Pleasantry apart, there have been many worse bores in literature than this able and gallant General, who may legitimately feel proud of the personal honours paid to him by the Queen at Buckingham Palace. Let his pages be read in the proper

spirit, and enjoyment will ensue. The work is ornamented with two beautifully executed chromo-lithographic drawings. The colours are excellently laid on. As to the general appearance of the volumes, we have scarcely sufficient strength of words to express our admiration. The binding, gilding, &c., are gorgeous in the extreme.

Through the Ranks to a Commission. Macmillan and Co.

This work is published anonymously, and the publishers prefix a note to the effect that they have seen documents and letters from well-known persons, which are more than enough to guarantee the genuineness of the narrative. There is little, however, that is sensational in the book, or calculated to tax the credulity of any one. The story bears upon it the stamp of veracity, and while it is sufficiently interesting to the general reader, it will have a double value to those who are anxious to learn the steps through which a private in the English army advances to a commission. Although the author's period of service in the ranks was very short, he was fortunate in having to undertake most of the various duties that fall to the lot of our soldiers in times of peace. There are few persons who have any definite idea as to what the life and habits of English soldiers are, and here they are supplied with a plain unvarnished narrative conveying the fullest information on these points. The writer is an Oxford man, and had he taken his degree within the prescribed limits of age, he would have entered the army in the ordinary manner for university men. Failing this, he enlisted, not without some feeling of repugnance, for, as he remarks, it seemed like breaking caste. There were many reasons in favour of this step, as likewise of his ultimate success. He loved army work, and had a good knowledge of drill; his name had been entered at the War Office for a commission; he had passed all his examinations at the university, and had nothing in any way against his name, &c. His progress in the army was rapid. Enlisting as a private on the 27th of August, 1873, one month later he was appointed lance-corporal. On the 14th of December of the same year he became corporal; on the following 5th of February he was appointed lance-sergeant; and on the 18th of May, 1874, full sergeant. He details his experiences of life on board a troopship, as well as his stay at Gibraltar. He at length got a commission in his own regiment, and was warmly congratulated by his colonel on his success. The writer emphatically considers that the sixteen months which he spent in the ranks made him more fit for his position as an officer; and yet, successful as the experiment proved in his case, he strongly recommended that it should not be tried except as a last resort. There is one point on which his evidence is of importance: he absolutely denies that there is anything degrading or lowering in the life and duties of the English soldier. A steady man can keep as free from lowering habits and bad company in the army as in any other profession. This description of a soldier's life is an unambitious but valuable little work.

Dr. Appleton : his Life and Literary Relics. By JOHN H. APPLETON, M.A., late Vicar of St. Mark's, Staplefield, Sussex; and A. H. SAYCE, M.A., Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford. Trübner and Co.

The portrait in the front of this volume, done from a photograph, gives the impression of great solidity of judgment, energy, and decision, as well as of refinement and power of thought. And certainly the contents of the volume amply justify the impressions derived from the portrait. Dr. Appleton, as we learn from the memoir, was the founder of the 'Academy' which up almost to the period of his death he conducted. He combined fine literary taste with a liking for speculative philosophy and no little practical tact, which stood him in good stead in his arduous work in connection with the 'Academy,' to which he devoted himself with unwearied zeal. For the last few years of his life he had to contend with ill-health. He went to Egypt under medical advice and returned with renewed strength; but through his incessant labours resumed on his return he brought on his old symptoms, and had to seek relief in Egypt once more. He never returned, but died there in his thirty-eighth year. He was a loss to English thought; for it is quite clear that if he had been spared in health and strength he might have done something, probably much, in the shape of substantive contributions to English philosophy. His standpoint was independent and his style was clear. Though he was loyal to the doctrine of development, he qualified this by a belief in 'dominant ideas,' and through them he sought to bind in unity science, art, and literature, of which the thinker, poet, or artist of the time was the exponent from his own special side. His paper on the development of ideas suggests a whole system. The chapter on 'Strauss as a Theologian' is very thorough, and 'A Plea for Metaphysic' disposes in the happiest way of the 'metaphysic' of Mr. Matthew Arnold. We wish we had space to show how the 'Eternal not-ourselves that makes for righteousness' is demonstrated to be a mere negation, a contradiction and not a contrary. He thus writes:

'The thing that strikes us about the "not-ourselves" is that it is a conception purely negative; it is not the affirmation of anything beyond ourselves, but merely the negation of ourselves. Now, there is no more common confusion in logic than a confusion of the distinction between contradictories and contraries. The distinction is this: in the case of contradictories one term stands for *something*, and the other term stands for *nothing* at all. In the case of contraries both terms stand for *something*. "Rich" and "poor" are contraries, and both, as we know, exist; but "ourselves" and "not-ourselves" are contradictories, and the latter term stands for nothing at all.'

The fragments on Atheism and Doubt are suggestive of close thinking and exhaustiveness, and the papers on International Copyright are practical and valuable.

John Locke. By THOMAS FOWLER. (English Men of Letters.)
Macmillan and Co.

It is touchingly recorded of Moses Mendelssohn that when he first read the remarkable passage in Locke, where it is said, 'I would not have so much as a Jew or a Mohammedan excluded from the civil rights of the Commonwealth because of his religion,' he was so moved that the tears came into his eyes, and he could read no more that night because of joy that the great philosopher had written such hopeful and prophetic words. That incident suggests a side of Locke's influence which is too apt to be forgotten. His 'Essay on the Human Understanding' is that with which we associate him; but his influence on political questions and on social reform was in his own time even greater than that of his philosophic teaching. He lived through a most eventful and stirring period. He witnessed the contest between Charles I. and the Parliament, and was a student at Oxford while Cromwell was Chancellor of the University. In many ways he suffered for his liberal opinions in politics. He had, like many others of his time, to take up his residence abroad, and, through the self-denials of this experience, he learned thoroughly the doctrine of toleration. His philosophy is valuable for all time because, in spite of its cold logical aspect, it is saturated by a sense of these liberal ideas. Mr. Fowler has done well in bringing into prominence this phase of Locke's activity. He can sympathize at once with the metaphysician and the practical reformer. Not only so, he is careful to show the bearing of the one upon the other, and has resolved both phases into a satisfactory unity. 'It would form a nice subject of discussion,' he says, 'whether mankind at large has not been more benefited by the share which he took in practical reforms than by his literary productions. It would undoubtedly be too much to affirm that, without his initiative or assistance, the state of the coinage would never have been reformed, the monopoly of the Stationers' Company abolished, or the shackles of the Licensing Act struck off. But had it not been for the clearness of his vision, and the persistence of his efforts, those measures might have been indefinitely retarded, or clogged with provisions and compromises which might have robbed them of more than half their effects.' Mr. Fowler has not only presented a clear and graphic picture of the man, and succinctly outlined his philosophy, but he has also traced to its basis the ethical and religious element in Locke, showing the finest discernment in his criticisms and the most unaffected sympathy throughout. To the merely superficial student it might not seem easy to get up much enthusiasm for John Locke, but this is only a superficial impression, and with Mr. Fowler's admirable study in his hand, the reader, more especially the young reader, will be able to see the man behind the philosophy, and to comprehend it in its highest purposes, even should he be unable to master all its details. This is *the* purpose surely of philosophic biography in the case of men who, like Locke, tried to illustrate their philosophy by reference to practical affairs.

The Life and Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero. Being a New Translation of the Letters included in Mr. Watson's Selection. With Historical and Critical Notes, by the Rev. G. E. JEANS, M.A., Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, Assistant Master in Haileybury College. Macmillan and Co.

Of late years much attention has been given by English scholars to the careful editing of the works of Cicero, and to the elucidation of his life and character. To the critical editions of some of the philosophical treatises, by Professor Mayor and Mr. Reid, and the 'Lives,' by Forsyth and Trollope, we have now to add an accurate and elegant version of a large portion of the Letters, which will form a welcome supplement to the editorial labours of Mr. Pretor, Mr. Yonge, Mr. Watson, Dean Merivale, and others. The object of the present work is somewhat like that last alluded to ('An Account of the Life and Letters of Cicero.' Longman, 1854), viz., 'to make the correspondence the principal part, connected together by just so much of the intervening history as to form an intelligible, continuous narrative of Cicero's life.' Regarded merely as a work for English readers, and as a form of autobiography, it is an exceedingly pleasant and lively sketch of a great man's thoughts, words, and actions.

Mr. Jeans rightly says that 'there is no other classical work to be compared to Cicero's letters for teaching the reality of Roman life,' and that 'the time in which he lived was to us almost the central time of the world's history.' He might have added, that the very best specimens of the natural style of the greatest master of Latinity are to be found in the letters; for men generally compose learned works in a more guarded and artificial way than they adopt in friendly correspondence. Whether, indeed, Cicero ever wrote his voluminous letters to Atticus, knowing they were preserved, and believing they would be published, is a rather doubtful question; Mr. Jeans thinks that this was almost certainly the case.

The author is of opinion that the very frequent use of Greek terms in the letters to Atticus was 'a kind of standing joke between the two friends.' Perhaps a strong literary taste, not wholly devoid of a learned pedantry, or affectation of scholarship, will sufficiently account for a practice which gives a great deal of trouble to students who are less familiar with the Greek of the period. Mr. Jeans has adopted the plan—not a bad one, we think—of substituting French phrases for the Greek. Thus, in Ep. ad Att., viii. 16, 'nec vero ille me ducit, qui videtur; quem ego hominem ἀπολιτικώτατον omnium jam ante cognorum; nunc vero etiam ἀστρατηγικώτατον,' Mr. Jeans translates, 'It is true I am not attracted thus by the man himself, as is supposed, for I find him now to be as *mauvais général* among generals as I knew him long ago to be *mauvais politique* among statesmen.' This is very neat. So ad Attic., i. 16, § 18, 'quare ut opinor, φιλοσοφείον, id quod tu facis et istos con-

sulatus non flocci faciteon (πρακτικόν).’ Mr. Jeans gives, ‘So, I suppose, like you *il faut de faire philosophe*, and not care a straw for all your consulships.’

The notes in this edition are very limited, being confined, for the most part, to brief explanatory headings, with date, of the purport of each letter. But the translation is unquestionably at once elegant, scholarly, and spirited; the best, so far as we know, that has yet appeared. There is also a full and excellent index at the end.

Labour and Victory. A Book of Examples for Those who would learn. By ALEXANDER H. JAPP, LL.D. Marshall, Japp, and Co.

Leaders of Men. A Book of Biographies especially written for Youth. By H. A. PAGE. Same Publishers.

Master Missionaries. Chapters in Pioneer Effort throughout the World. By ALEXANDER H. JAPP, LL.D. Same Publishers.

Wise Words and Loving Deeds. A Book of Biographies for Girls. By E. CONDER GRAY. Same Publishers.

These volumes are all collections of biographies reprinted from ‘Good Words,’ ‘The Sunday Magazine,’ and other periodicals. They are so similar in character, and so many of them are from the same indefatigable and able pen, that they demand to be noticed together.

‘Labour and Victory’ contains sketches of men who have achieved remarkable results by the strenuous application of great qualities. Sir James Outram, Bishop Selwyn, Thomas Edwards, Sir Titus Salt, William Ellis, and Sir James Simpson are among them.

Some of the names selected by Mr. Page, whose *nom de plume* is the index of an open secret, scarcely justify the classification. George Moore can scarcely be called a leader of men, nor, save for his exalted rank, Prince Albert. Lord Lawrence was pre-eminently such; so in some degree were Robert Dick, Commander Goodenough, John Duncan, Samuel Greg, Dr. John Wilson, and Dr. Andrew Reed; but even so, the term is relative, and one thinks of some of them as leaders only of circles of men. Other names more fitting might, we think, have been selected for so high a designation. The individual biographies, however, are none the worse for their general designation; one and all, they are admirable.

The same kind of remark may be made about the volume bearing the title ‘Master Missionaries.’ The names selected by Dr. Japp are unexceptional, but we both miss some which spontaneously occur to every one, and are a little surprised to find others. The names selected are James Oglethorpe, David Zeisberger, Samuel Hebach, William Elmslie, George Washington Walker, Robert Moffatt, Dr. James Stewart, Dr.

William Black, John Coleridge Patteson, and John G. Fee. Dr. Japp may justly say however that the same volume cannot include everything.

'Wise Words and Loving Deeds' appears under the pseudonym of E. Conder Gray. It is a series of sketches of wise and good women: Mary Somerville, Lady Duff Gordon, Sarah Martin, Ann Taylor, Charlotte Elliott, Madame Teller, Baroness Bunsen, Amelia Sieveking, Mary Carpenter, and Catherine Tait.

Together these volumes make an extensive and well-written biographical gallery. Of course the writers have made use chiefly of the standard biographies of their respective heroes or heroines, but the sketches are put together with great skill and admirable colour.

Memoir of William McKerrow, D.D., Manchester. By his Son,
JAMES MUIR MCKERROW, B.A. Hodder and Stoughton.

Dr. McKerrow was a man of robust strength, uncompromising fidelity to great principles of liberalism, voluntarism, and Evangelicalism, and for nearly fifty years he took a leading part in Manchester in all questions relating thereto. At the same time he never permitted himself to subordinate the minister to the political or ecclesiastical advocate. His part seems to us to have been that which every minister may fitly take on great questions affecting the common weal. In Dr. McKerrow's hands they were always lifted into the high domain of moral principles. His early advocacy in Manchester of the dissolution of Church and State, his part in the Free Trade movement, in the National Education controversy, and in other less prominent questions, seems to us to have been as wise and moderate as it was intelligent, high-toned, and uncompromising. His eloquence was robust and effective, and his grasp of great questions was vigorous. He justly gathered the high esteem of men of all parties, even of those to whom he was the most opposed. The difficulty of his biographer was to present a portraiture of the man; increased by the absence of journals and private letters, which so often invest the revelations of character with such a charm. Mr. McKerrow has done little more than exhibit his father in connection with such public questions as we have indicated. He has given specimens of his speeches and of his counsels, revealing an able, wise, and high-toned man. Such men often do more to mould opinion and to elevate a community than more prominent leaders. Lord Beaconsfield tells us they are the less known men who govern the world. Mr. McKerrow has performed his task with modesty and skill, and with becoming filial feeling.

Far Out: Rovings Retold. By Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. BUTLER, C.B., Author of 'The Great Lone Land,' &c.
William Isbister.

Colonel Butler has, we think, done well to gather together these stray papers (originally published, most of them, in 'Good Words'), recording

journeyings in very different latitudes. So different are they, that some sense of miscellaneousness may at first sight be felt, which will, however, be to a great extent removed when the leading idea is clearly seized. This idea is distinctly a benevolent one—a sincere desire to see right done to native races, and to elevate them, by means of European influence properly brought to bear, to such a level of civilization as will make them understand their higher interests in relation to the white men, with whom they are inevitably brought into contact, and who, alas, do so little in most cases to comprehend the feelings and purposes of the savage, and are unreasonable enough to expect him to act in an enlightened and forgiving manner, when he has been treated in a savage manner by them. The papers on Afghanistan and the Zulus, and even that on Cyprus, bear in this direction; while the two earlier sections about ‘A Dog and his Doings,’ and ‘A Journey of a Dog and a Man from Cariboo to California,’ are as interesting for the glimpses we have of Esquimaux, of Indians, of Chinese, and half-savage settlers, as for the humanity and admirable instinct for animal life which they show. It is hardly necessary to add that the book is full of forcible, picturesque writing. This is simply saying that it is worthy of the pen of the author of ‘The Great Lone Land;’ but it is most necessary to emphasize some of the statements made in the introductory chapter, to the effect that our troops in South Africa were so demoralized that they had in several instances recourse to the most savage and diabolical means of revenge even on innocent women and children. If this was really the case, and if those who were in command took no steps to punish the leaders in the doing of these disgraceful deeds, then those on whom responsibility rested should even yet be severely punished, as violators of the first law of civilized warfare and conspirers against the rights of humanity, no less than destroyers of all morality and discipline in the soldiers. But in case we may have been thought to have exaggerated the meaning which may be drawn from Colonel Butler’s words, we must quote a sentence or two:

“ ‘May it never be my fate,’ said to the writer of these pages one whose experience of troops in war ranged over every campaign of the last thirty years in all parts of the globe, “to find myself on a European battle-field with an army trained in a South African campaign.” He was right. The cave-smokers of Algeria made but a sorry show when pitted against sterner stuff than Kabyle fugitives; yet Algeria was *not* the only part of Africa where cave-smoking warfare was widely practised, and where science coolly blew helpless women and children into atoms in the burrows to which they had fled for shelter.’

Life and Society in America. By SAMUEL PHILLIPS DAY. Two Vols. Newman and Co.

Mr. Day is not afraid to bring an indictment against an entire nation. He has picked out of American newspapers, and from satirical, flashy, and scurrilous writers, a mass of disparaging critiques, and has selected

from American society all the fast and immoral elements he could hear of, and presents it to us as a picture of American life and society.

We should scarcely have judged from his portrait of himself, which he prefixes to his work, as if he were proud of what he had done, that he was dyspeptic; but we have rarely read such a tirade of unrelieved vulgarity and disparagement as these volumes contain. Nothing were easier than so to collect the garbage of London or Paris, or any capital or country of the world, and call it a portraiture.

As a sufficient measure of this gentleman's literary capability, we need only say that in contradiction of some forty years of American and English judgment on Mr. Ward Beecher's ministry, he tells us that the prayer was 'commonplace—very;' that the sermon was 'such a sermon,' that it was 'beneath mediocrity,' and that there is no wonder that Mr. Beecher 'failed in his attempt to interest a large gathering in Exeter Hall.' Whatever else may be thought or said about Mr. Beecher, to Mr. Samuel Phillips Day belongs the exclusive merit of judging him to be beneath mediocrity. The book is full of badly written trash.

Savage Life in Polynesia. By the Rev. WILLIAM WYATT GILL. With Illustrative Clan Songs. Wellington: John Didsbury.

This is a very valuable supplement to Mr. Gill's 'Myths and Songs from the South Pacific,' which was published some years ago in England, and attracted much attention from scholars like Professor Max Müller. In this volume, if we mistake not, they will find as much to interest, and probably still more that will prove useful to them. Mr. Gill's main object has been the preservation of the ancient tribal songs. Mr. Gill has lived so long among the races of the South Pacific that he is no stranger to them, and indeed no stranger could by any effort of intellect accomplish what he has accomplished. Not only has he collected and collated these songs with great care, assigning them to their several classes, but he has been able to generalize and to draw conclusions of great interest from them. He may be said to have successfully proved that the settlement of the race in the Hervey Islands is comparatively recent. He has been unable to find any trace of a prior dark people, and avers that the idea of this black race overrunning the Eastern Pacific is pure fiction. Of the stories themselves some will have an interest for the general reader, others not. Generally there is a lack of imagination and atmosphere, though they are quaint and sometimes weird, but a prosaic realism obtains throughout. Such stories as that of Rori the Hermit, and the Story of an Axe may, however, be named for touches or qualities of universal interest. We can only add that the volume, for printing and binding, is very creditable to the Wellington people.

Men Worth Remembering. A New Series of Popular Biographies. *Philip Doddridge, D.D.* By CHARLES STANFORD, D.D. *Stephen Grellet.* By WILLIAM GUEST, F.G.S. Hodder and Stoughton.

Dr. Stanford's sketch of Doddridge is in every way admirable. It is crisp, quaint, picturesque, scholarly, wise, and full of tender grace and sympathy. Succinctly, and yet sufficiently, it touches every point with penetrating instinct, and with a range of information that constitutes a fitting setting. Doddridge is an interesting study. He can scarcely in any sense be called a great man; and yet his place in the evangelical revival of the last century is a prominent and influential one. It is a striking illustration of the power of quiet goodness. A more striking piece of biography has not latterly been done.

Mr. Guest's sketch of Grellet lacks the animation and the affluent allusion of Dr. Stanford. It is, however, an interesting record of a remarkable man. Grellet was by birth a Frenchman of noble family, by adoption an American citizen, religiously a Quaker. Somewhat of a mystic in spiritual feeling, he was a man of singular devotedness and philanthropy; and with William Allen went on missions of benevolence, to promote peace, prison reform, &c., to Norway, Sweden, Russia, Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Germany. His character was one of rare simplicity, godliness, unselfishness, and moral beauty.

Our Holiday in the East. By MRS. GEORGE SUMNER. Edited by the Rev. GEORGE HENRY SUMNER. Hurst and Blackett.

Mrs. Sumner was one of a party of nine relations and friends who visited the Holy Land in the spring of 1880. This volume consists of her journal letters. It is a simple, sparkling, and very charming record. It makes no attempt to be either antiquarian or theological. It discusses no great questions, either Biblical or social. It simply tells what struck the eye of an intelligent woman, and what occurred in the every-day experiences of an uneventful journey; but, like Mrs. Brassey's books, it has a peculiar charm of its own, and will be read for its own intrinsic merits as well as for the undying interest in the Holy Land, which no profusion of books of travel thereon can exhaust.

In the Ardennes. By CATHERINE S. MACQUOID, Author of 'Through Normandy,' &c. With Fifty Illustrations by THOMAS R. MACQUOID. Chatto and Windus.

Mrs. Macquoid has here added another to her attractive list of travel-books. She is an admirable traveller, always in good spirits, and always inclined to make the best of everything. Indeed, the one criticism to be made upon this beautiful book is that she inclines to carry this somewhat to excess, and is too apt to dwell on trivial incidents and to make

too much of random conversations with peasants by the way. She is careful to tell us that this is not intended as a guide-book through the Belgian Ardennes, and that it is not in any sense as complete in its information about that delightful and unfrequented province as 'Through Normandy' is about Normandy. She would have it taken simply for the record of a most picturesque journey which may help other travellers in journeying through this most beautiful region, so much overlooked by travellers. Still, by aid of the sketch map, and by information concerning roads and houses, it may well serve the purpose of a guide-book, since there really exists nothing of the kind. This volume is characterized by all the dainty observation and quaint remark that characterized the former ones, and the same keen instinct for the attractive legends of the districts is throughout evident. That of St. Remaclus is very good indeed, with its keen theological purpose. The style, as we have said, is light and lively, and carries the reader pleasantly on. The woodcuts are not all equally successful, but some are gems indeed. We would mention in particular those at pages 180, 172, and 242, which do much to add to the worth and attractiveness of a very beautiful work.

Sketches of Army Life in Russia. By F. C. GREENE. Allen and Co.

Lieutenant Greene is an American, who was with the Russian army in the late war, and, as an American, was a *persona grata*, and was admitted to exceptional privileges and confidences. He worships Russia and hates England. Nothing that he can say of the former, or of its Czar, is too eulogistic, nothing of the latter too vituperative. He tells us, however, a good deal that is really interesting about the army; its constitution and discipline, its officers and its generals—to the latter a chapter of biographical information is given. Skobeleff is the author's hero. He thinks that some day he will do great things, and be classed among the five great soldiers of this century, with Napoleon, Wellington, Grant, and Moltke.

Sunlight and Shadow; or, Gleanings from my Life-Work.
Gathered from Thirty-seven Years' Experience on the
Platform and among the People at Home and Abroad.
By JOHN B. GOUGH. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Gough's interesting reminiscences are gathered chiefly from his English experiences, and are intended for the American people. The volume is a collection of personal sketches and amusing anecdotes, some original, some gathered, some new, and some 'old Joes,' some wise and racy, and some foolish, but all told as Mr. Gough alone can tell them. Mr. Gough is not always accurate in his estimates of either men or things. It is in many ways amusing to read others' judgments of us, but chiefly to see how different the judgments would be if they knew more. Mr. Gough is faithful to his great mission, and of course many of his

stories turn upon drunkenness as the cause of misery and crime. Few men have laboured more earnestly in the cause of philanthropy and religion, or have won a higher renown for popular eloquence. We think this book scarcely worthy of him, but there is much in it that everybody will read with pleasure.

The New Virginians. By the Author of 'Junia,' 'Estelle Russell,' &c. Two Vols. William Blackwood and Sons.

A very interesting book, and one upon an American State respecting which little is known in this country. As in the case of almost every other Transatlantic State, of course we have been assured that Virginia is all that could be desired by those inhabitants of old England who are seeking 'fresh woods and pastures new;' and equally, of course, there are two sides to a question. A man who is determined to rough it may, perhaps, ultimately make his way in any strange country that is not already over-populated; but whoever goes to Virginia may make up his or her mind that a fortune is not to be made at a gallop. Neither is complete comfort to be secured in the same way. But it ought to be added that our present guide, the lady who wrote the work under notice, is certainly not an optimist. No doubt, too, there is another side to the 'black' question, besides the one she gives. 'The young generation,' she observes, 'grown up perhaps since the extinction of slavery, are, if here and there less ignorant, so utterly swinish in their lack of all morality, that any feeling with regard to them is one of absolute despair. To get religion means not to be truthful, honest, and virtuous; but to yell, to shout, to sing senseless doggrel, to call on the name of God with loud persistence, to go into convulsions, real or simulated. They have a faculty for learning by rote, and so has a parrot. They have a faculty for imitation, and so has a monkey. The wonderful progress of the negro race, so vaunted by the supporters of the Hampton Institute, begins and ends there.' It might not be superfluous to remark, that considering the number of generations during which the negro race has been subjected to the most degrading bondage, and deprived of every moral and intellectual advantage, their progress has been really marvellous. Indeed, such examples as that of Frederick Douglas are quite sufficient to show that the race is not deficient in either moral or intellectual capacity. After giving her experiences, the author concludes as follows: 'I pity the blacks, and I pity (still more) the whites; but it seems to me that, were I a Southern woman, mine eyes would become dim, and my cheeks furrowed, with weeping for the desolation of my country.' Of course, nothing is easier than to indulge in a vein of pleasantry over a half-educated and a long-time depressed race; but it is more than doubtful whether such an attitude is just. On the hardships of emigrants' wives the writer is well worth listening to; her account of the experiences of a Wisconsin lady is not such as to encourage others to go and do likewise. She tells, too, of poor, delicate, cultivated Massa-

achusetts ladies, who in the home of their adoption 'hung up carpets to make divisions for dormitories. It was too cold to undress, so they went to bed with their clothes on, and cried themselves to sleep, the snow-flakes falling through the badly shingled roof and mingling with their tears. That seems bad enough, but it must have been worse to have felt as hungry as they did in the keen Wisconsin air, and not to have had proper food to eat.' An equally painful story is told of the life of a settler's wife in Nebraska. Altogether, these sketches are well worth reading, for if they do not deal with the more important aspects of the State described, they throw valuable side-lights upon the conditions of home-life there.

A Polar Reconnaissance. Being the Voyage of the 'Isbjörn' to Novaya Zemlya in 1879. By CAPTAIN ALBERT H. MARKHAM, F.R.G.S. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

Of recent years a great and renewed movement has arisen in regard to Polar expeditions, and it is therefore not surprising that this voyage by a well-known traveller and explorer has excited unusual interest. Captain Markham, in the opening pages of his work, gives a sketch of the early English and Dutch voyages to the North-east, together with Russian, Norwegian, Austro-Hungarian, Swedish, and other discoveries in more recent times. The account of his own latest voyage is most interesting; and, as he truly says, geographical exploration is one of the most fascinating pursuits to which a man can devote his energies and abilities. He considers that England, calling to remembrance the brave deeds performed by our forefathers, should equip expeditions, not 'only for the exploration of that region culminating at the North Pole, but also for the complete discovery of the whole terrestrial globe!' He announces his conclusion that, from a careful study of all that has been achieved in the far north, he is more than ever convinced, that a greater amount of success will be gained by the exploration of the region in the vicinity of Franz Josef Land than in any other part of the Arctic regions. At the same time, if a legitimate expedition leaves our shores by the route he advocates, the author observes that the commander should be strictly enjoined that he is on no account to risk failure by attempting the pack, if he finds the ice further south than anticipated. 'Should he do so, the fate of the *Tegetthoff* will in all likelihood be his. I know it requires a great deal of moral courage to return and report a failure, but the commander selected should be a man who possesses the moral courage to return and proclaim his defeat. In the following year his wise caution would surely be rewarded.' The writer is extremely anxious to witness the despatch of another English Arctic exploring expedition, properly equipped and efficiently commanded. The appendices are a valuable portion of this work, containing as they do notes on plants, birds, crustacea, &c., by Sir J. D. Hooker, Professor Oliver, Captain Fielden, and others. Mr. Clements R. Markham, the Secretary of the Royal

Geographical Society, also supplies a preface which is well worth reading. He briefly recites Captain Markham's previous exploits, or discusses the conclusions at which he has arrived in the present volume. 'This most important voyage,' he observes, alluding to a private expedition by Mr. Leigh Smith, which fully corroborates Captain Markham's opinion, 'completely establishes the fact that the west coast of Franz Josef Land can be reached in ordinary seasons. Here, therefore, is the route for future polar discovery. Here an advanced base may be established within the unknown region, whence scientific results of the utmost interest will be secured; and here the nearest approach to the North Pole can be made.' There are certainly no other branches of exploration so interesting as that of the Arctic regions, and we may yet perhaps hope that, at some not far distant date, the expectations of Captain Markham and other friends of polar investigation will be realized.

The New Playground; or, Wanderings in Algeria. By ALEXANDER A. KNOX. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

Although Algeria has long been added to the physician's list of winter health-resorts, there is still, it seems, a popular belief that Algerian travel 'verges on' the adventurous. With this illusion it is Mr. Knox's purpose to do battle *à outrance* throughout the Wanderings, and prove with humorous insistence that in Algeria tough fowls at present are the greatest dangers, and that both travelling and living (sunshine and scenery excepted) are much the same as in provincial France. This purpose is, perhaps, too persistently carried out. It is difficult to jest half through a volume, and laboured avoidance of romance may prove no better than the opposite extreme. Those, however, who are not deterred at first by an excessive straining after jocularities, will find that Mr. Knox in his double capacity of seeker after health and unsentimental traveller, has really very much information at their service, and that of a kind which tourists value most—particulars of what to see and how, what drives to take, what inns to stop at, and what time to give to each successive halting-place. We do not, of course, imply by this that Mr. Knox, when not jesting, is simply writing a 'guide book.' On the contrary, his volume takes a happy mean between the guide-book proper and the book which is a mere romance of travel: while his wanderings, extending from Biskra in the south to Tlemçen in the remotest west, cover nearly all that is best worth seeing in Algeria. Moreover, old experience as a police magistrate has given Mr. Knox a knowledge of human nature, whether clothed in paletot or burnouse, which lends considerable effect to his pencilings by the way among vagrant Arabs or industrious Kabyles, suitors in native courts of justice or loud-voiced worshippers in crowded mosques, and sometimes reaches to a height of comedy, as in the humorous account of the Trappists of Staoueli, and how the impudence of the convent mendicants made the good fathers lose their temper and find their powers of speech. Of history and legend we have not too much,

though Mr. Knox can no more refrain than other Algerian tourists from recounting the legends of the 'Tombeau de la Chrétienne,' and of the slippers of Sidi Feredj, while as we advance, and the temptation to jest grows feebler, we get some really excellent descriptions—that of Tlemçen perhaps the very best. Altogether the volume can warmly be commended to all who are about to visit Algeria, whether to gaze across the southern desert, or simply sun themselves on the slopes of Mustapha; and less warmly, but still confidently, to those whose knowledge of North Africa must be gained by quietly reading about it in their English homes.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

English Lands and English Landlords. By the Hon. GEORGE C. BRODRICK. (The Cobden Club Series.) Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.

The most conspicuous characteristic of this able treatise on the history, nature, and need of reform of the English land system, is the moderation and sound sense which it displays. The author is no hare-trained theorist, but a sober-minded, practical inquirer, who has subjected to close and careful investigation the numerous problems that grow out of, or are associated with, the land laws of England, and the body of customs affecting them that have grown up in the course of centuries. He has wisely avoided dealing here with the specialities of either the Irish or Scotch land systems, which are both provocative of peculiar controversy, as having peculiar difficulties. At the present moment the Irish land question is likely to absorb enough of time and thought, and there is nothing in the Scotch that presses for instant solution since the removal of the law of hypothec. The various problems and difficulties of the English land question have been brought into prominence by the depression that lately affected the agricultural class, and from which it has not yet recovered. Legislation on the lines of helping that class by relieving them from feudal restraints and incidents must be looked for by and by. The present session of Parliament has too much other business on hand to be able to deal with the subject, but the question presses for early settlement. The Agricultural Holdings Act has proved the mere sham it obviously was from the beginning, and the relief secured by the recent changes in the Game Laws and the abolition of the Malt Tax is not sufficient to meet the crisis. The pressure of competition in wheat coming from America is likely to become greater rather than less. Every effort must therefore be made to render the cultivation of our soil remunerative. Legislation must come to the farmer's aid. The mode in which it is to do so is one of the problems of the time. It is a problem with which the Cobden Club was bound to grapple, and in Mr. Brodrick's work it has secured an excellent statement of the case in favour of free trade in land, viewed both in its historical and economical aspects. We have said that Mr. Brodrick is of moderate views. Evolution not revolution is his watch-

word. He rebuts the socialistic arguments with weight and authority, and points out the absurdity of the extreme positions of the enemies of property. But, as may be gathered from his previous works, especially from his essays, he strongly denounces primogeniture, and the laws and customs that have accreted round the semi-patriarchal system, which linger among us. While he has no tolerance for such arbitrary restraints on freedom of ownership as restricting by legal compulsion the amount of land to be held by any one proprietor, he shows that the lawful rights of property are cherished and respected and clung to by none more tenaciously than by peasant proprietors. He has no sympathy with the proposal to nationalize land, but he would remove the presumption in law and custom which now at every turn throws its weight in favour of the landowner and against the labourer. Holding that the sense of proprietorship is the most potent of all forces in extracting produce from the soil, and that no concentration of management is so fruitful of economy as the unity secured by landlord, farmer, and labourer being one and the same, Mr. Brodrick contests the force of the position that agriculture can only be profitably carried on by organization on a grand scale and minute subdivision of labour. Economical tendencies, deeper than are often dreamed of by English landlords, are ignored in this assimilation of agriculture to manufactures; but the higher law may, perhaps, be found to be that co-operation is yet destined to replace subordination as a motive power in agriculture, and that in the long run that method of cultivation into which most heart and energy is put will prove the most productive. What we have said will not have served its purpose if it have not satisfied the reader that in this book on *English Land and Landlords*, we have an able and thoughtful treatment, by a competent and careful writer, of the series of problems that grow out of the subject, and that the solutions advocated and suggested are all in the direction of larger and wider freedom, by removing antiquated and unsuitable restrictions, and yet avoiding that lawlessness which is the license of Socialism. Among the various topics handled in addition to the economical and social principles concerned are the effects of the existing system on labour, the burdens and privileges of land, the vast question of competition, and the future of the Western States—destined in Mr. Brodrick's view to be the future granary of Europe—the battle of the rates, and numerous other questions. Mr. Brodrick tells us how the English system has come to be what it is, and he compares it with the various land systems of other countries, and shows us what they are. We are thus put in possession of ample materials for forming our opinions, and to any one anxious to study the land question thoroughly we can very heartily recommend this able and thoughtful work.

A Village Commune. By OUIDA. Two Vols. Chatto and Windus.

As a political reformer 'Ouida' is as eloquent, as passionate, and, we must add, as unmeasured as she is as a novelist. She tells us that she

does not exaggerate—and perhaps in individual characters and incidents this is true—but she produces the effect of exaggeration by filling every office of her ‘Village Commune’ with a selfish, unprincipled official, and by accumulating in its experience almost every offence of which such can be guilty.

Her soul is troubled at the political changes that have taken place in Italy—at the disappearance of the old picturesque past; of the old feudal conditions of village life—and she laments the good old days of the Bourbons. No doubt all advances of civilization are at the cost of rural romance, and it is very probable that rural Italy is over-governed and over-taxed; possibly, too, tram-cars and railroads do bring with them evils. We may fully admit, too, that the young nation is somewhat heroic in its foreign policy, and would do better for Italy by closer attention to home government and economy. But ‘Ouida’ seems to forget the tyranny there was under the old feudalism, the barbarism there was under the old simplicity, the superstition there was under the old Madonna worship. She falls into the common mistake of those who maintain that the former days were better than these; she equally ignores the evil of the one and the good of the other, and forgets that a true estimate of any period demands a careful balancing of comparative evils and benefits. Would she but address herself to this, she would find much to modify in her passionate invectives. Of course, she is as descriptive and eloquent as she is imperious. She will probably think that all are heartless who, in recognizing the imperfection of the new *régime*, do not go with her all lengths in admiration of the old.

Farming in a Small Way. By JAMES LONG, Author of ‘Poultry for Prizes and Profit,’ &c. Smith, Elder, and Co.

This is an admirably practical book. Easy and unpretending in style, it goes over a vast amount of ground in a very effective manner. Mr. Long does not aim at literary character in his book, and yet his very simplicity enables him often to gain it. Let any one read his chapters on Hay and Haymaking, and on Rabbits, Tame and Wild, and we are sure he will admit this; whilst for conciseness and clearness in statement let him look at the chapters on Poultry, on the Dairy, and on the Horse and his Management. Cows and Calves, and Pigs are also excellent, and, from the nice observation and pleasant insight often shown, fitted to interest readers who are in no wise agriculturally inclined; while to those who are engaged in farming in a small way, or are likely to enter upon it, we can in all confidence recommend the book, as the best and most compact *vade mecum* likely to be met with on the whole subject; on one or two points for its special purpose superior even to Stephen’s famous, and deservedly famous, ‘Book of the Farm,’ which is often too full and detailed for the class to whom this volume chiefly appeals.

Handbook to Political Questions of the Day. By SIDNEY C. BUXTON. John Murray.

This book provokes the inquiry as to the mental character of the author. Mr. Buxton, a son of the late and highly esteemed Charles Buxton, seems to have inherited many of his father's habits of mind. Liberal in mind and temperament, he so fully felt the force of opposing arguments that he appeared to find a difficulty in coming to any conclusion in the practical political questions that arose; and his son has compiled a handbook of the arguments used for and against the great questions of Church and State, National Education, Reform of Parliament, the Land Laws, and other topics of the day, and has stated these arguments with such cold impartiality that it is impossible to deduce his own personal opinions therefrom. For the purposes of such a book this is high praise, and we can heartily commend it to the attention of popular political orators of all parties, as affording them good material for their speeches. Beyond this we cannot go; the book affords no help to the uninstructed masses of our countrymen, it would rather add to their bewilderment; but to those who merely require a *précis* of the arguments on all sides we know no work we can so fully recommend.

The Year's Art, 1881. A Concise Epitome of all Matters relating to the Arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture which have occurred during the Year 1880 in the United Kingdom, together with Information respecting the Events of the Year 1881. Compiled by MARCUS B. HUISE, LL.B. Macmillan and Co.

This is a very carefully compiled piece of work, and calculated to be very useful to a large and growing public. The whole tendency of things at present is to open up liberal interests to classes which have hitherto been debarred from them as classes; only the lucky individuals who in effect managed to elevate themselves above their class being able to enter even remotely into the pleasures of the grades above them. Besides descriptions of the leading galleries of London, accounts are given of all important art-clubs in the country, accounts of art-sales, lists of art-bequests, directory of the artists in the United Kingdom, and various other matters connected with art. We can conscientiously praise the manner in which an excellent idea has here been carried out.

The Evolutionist at Large. By GRANT ALLEN. Chatto and Windus.

The brief papers which make up this volume were originally published in the columns of a popular evening paper, and much in the style of them finds ample explanation in this fact. They are gracefully written, they are pleasant, fluent, and, in an easy way, instructive; to have

been profound in thought would have been, for their first purpose, fatal. Mr. Allen writes as a decided Evolutionist, but upon what logical foundation he builds his creed we do not know; we should be rather inclined to doubt his conclusions upon such a point if the following catena of statements is really regarded by him as shutting up his reader to his own faith: 'Science is now perpetually discovering intermediate forms, many of which compose an unbroken series between the unspecialized ancestral type and the familiar modern creatures. Thus in this very case of the horse, Professor Marsh has unearthed a long line of fossil animals which lead in direct descent from the extremely unhorse-like eocene type to the developed Arab of our own times. Similarly with birds, Professor Huxley has shown that there is hardly any gap between the very bird-like lizards of the lias and the very lizard-like birds of the oolite. Such links, discovered afresh every day, are perpetual denials to the old parrot-like cry of "No geological evidence for evolution."' To many of us the 'links,' which Mr. Allen thinks are 'discovered every day,' are still unknown; one single undoubted link is with many profound thinkers still a *desideratum*. But let us lay aside controversy; we are quite sure the readers who found these sketches in their evening paper were not looking for scientific arguments, but for pleasant reading, and they must have found this at least, with no small amount of instruction besides. Let Mr. Allen discourse of 'Microscopic Brains,' of 'A Sprig of Water Crowfoot,' 'Blue Mud,' 'Berries and Berries,' or 'Dogs and Masters,' he always entertains us and entraps us into increasing our stock of knowledge. Moreover, he has the gift—and it is not a small one—of translating from scientific language into good English, and his essays will convey scientific information to minds which could never receive it even from a 'science-primer.' We note the quaint and striking design upon the cover as cleverly adapted to the contents of this lively book.

BELLES LETTRES, POETRY, AND FICTION.

Early English Text Society. The English Works of Wyclif hitherto unprinted. Edited by F. D. MATTHEW. 'The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century.' From the Marquis of Lothian's unique MS., A.D. 971. Edited, with a Translation and Index of Words, by the Rev. R. MORRIS, M.A., LL.D. Part III.—*Extra Series.* The English Charlemagne Romances. Part II. 'The Sege off Melayne,' and 'The Romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell, of Spayne,' from the unique MS. of R. Thornton in the British Museum (MS. addit., 31,042), together with a fragment of 'The Song of Roland,' from the unique MS. Lansd. 888. Edited by SIDNEY J. HERR-

TAGE, B.A. *Ditto*. Part III. 'The Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Crete.' Translated from the French by William Caxton, and printed by him 1485. Edited from the unique copy in the British Museum, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by SIDNEY J. HERBTAGE, B.A. Part I. Trübner and Co.

In a careful and critical introduction, Mr. Matthew examines the particulars of Wyclif's life and opinions, making of course large use of writers who have preceded him, more especially of Lechler's important and scholarly work, of which we recently gave a full account. Mr. Matthew is careful to distinguish the measured contention of Wiclif against the impositions and abuses of Popery from the fanatical and indiscriminate vituperation of many of the Lollards, especially to limit and define Wicliff's doctrine of 'Dominion,' or the extent of the Pope's jurisdiction. The various points are too critical for discussion here. The portrait of Wiclif which Mr. Matthew presents is carefully studied and coloured. He justly distinguishes his cool, intellectual, ethical temper from the passionate personality of Luther on the one hand, and from the fervour and penetrating insight of men of religious genius on the other. The introduction is a valuable contribution to the biographical literature of Wiclif. The tracts published in the volume are interesting and important. They are such as Arnold has omitted in his 'Select English Works of Wiclif,' and purpose simply to complete the collection of the English works; they include all that were catalogued by Dr. Shirley, with the exception of such as seem on the balance of evidence not to be of Wiclif's authority, such as 'A Collection of Sermons' ascribed to Wiclif only by a guess of Dr. Vaughan, and one or two others. Of those printed Mr. Matthew does not venture to claim all indisputably for Wiclif; this he thinks beyond the power of any verifying faculty. He is contented to affirm that all are Wyclifite if not by Wyclif himself. There are twenty-eight different tracts, each carefully annotated. They are of great historical and theological importance, and include almost all the matters of Wyclif's great contention with Popery. They hit hard at the Pharisaism and lordly prelacy and priestly cupidity and dissoluteness of their day, and at ecclesiastical endowments and corruptions. Modern reformers will find here a very armoury of weapons against abuses, such as patronage, prerogative, and worldliness. Anglicans will do well to ponder the tractate on Confession and its evils. A good deal of incidental light is shed upon the state of the Universities. The volume is a very important one.

The Blickling Homilies, so called from Blickling Hall, Norfolk, from the MS. of which, now belonging to the Marquis of Lothian, they are printed, are nineteen homilies of the tenth century, to which we have already directed attention. The present part consists only of the index of words.

The contents of the second part of the English Charlemagne Romances

are indicated in the title. The 'Sege of Melayne,' and 'Rowland and Otuell,' are for the first time printed from a MS. of the 15th century, acquired by the British Museum since the introduction to Sir Ferumbras in Part I. was printed, and are believed to be unique. 'Roland and Otuell' is a translation of the same French original as the Sir Otuel of the Auchinleck MS., but differs from that translation very materially, and is practically an unique poem. Of the history of the MS. nothing is known. Singularly enough, it was sent over for sale from America to Mr. J. Pearson, from whom the trustees of the British Museum purchased it. It seems to have belonged to Robert Thornton, compiler of the Thornton MS., whose signature is appended to two of the poems. Some of the pieces are in Thornton's handwriting. Only the first portion of 'Charles the Crete' is here given; the second is promised in the course of the present year.

Duty, with Illustrations of Courage, Patience, and Endurance.

By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D., Author of 'Lives of the Engineers,' 'Self-Help,' &c. John Murray.

It is a happy circumstance that Dr. Smiles has, in Providence, been permitted to write this volume. In a short preface he explains that it is the last of the series of which 'Self-Help' was the first. We felt from the spirit which pervaded the last volume, on 'Thrift,' that Dr. Smiles regarded it as only a fulfilment of his original purpose, to signalize specially the moral elements that emerge at all sides in the conduct of life. This book on 'Duty' is the full realization that here and there came to definite expression in 'Thrift;' and it is in every way a worthy sequel to these books, putting on them the final consecration of higher motive and purpose. How to unite the two things is one of the most difficult problems of practical living and high thinking; and any aid to it is right welcome. 'Duty' by the side of 'Self-Help' will, with many a young man, help to complete the circle. Dr. Smiles writes vigorously, as of old; he draws his illustrations and anecdotes from a wide range of reading, and he sets them well in a most attractive framework of fact and reflection. In all that pertains to arrangement there is little to be desired. We have been particularly pleased with the concluding chapters on 'Kindness to Animals,' on 'Philanthropy,' and on 'Heroism in Missions.' With respect to the first-named, there are one or two sentences in Mr. Thomas Hughes's 'Manliness of Christ' which might well have been quoted. We can recommend the book wherever 'Self-Help' has piloted the way.

The English Poets. Edited by THOMAS H. WARD, M.A. Vols. III. and IV. Macmillan and Co.

These two volumes, which are in every way worthy to follow the two that preceded them, include the English poets from Addison to Dobell. The critical introductions are, in most cases, concise and appropriate,

showing not a little of the critical and illustrative faculty. The selections have been generally well made, and notes have been very judiciously supplied wherever they are needed. One of the disadvantages of the system adopted is the tendency to emphasize special lines, as, for example, Mr. W. T. Arnold gives no fewer than eight sonnets from Mrs. Barrett Browning, but fails to represent her simple pathos. Mr. Mark Pattison shows no little discrimination in his introduction to Pope, and Mr. M. Arnold exhibits his own characteristics in his introduction to Keats. Lord Houghton has done justice to Walter Savage Landor, but we think he might have done still more had he added to his selection some of those little single verses in which Landor was so happy. We think that poets of the type of Beddoes, who is introduced by Mr. E. W. Gosse, and others of that class, have on the whole too much space accorded them, while other poets of considerable merit, especially in the direction of naturalness and simplicity, are either overlooked altogether or but poorly represented. Shelley is very skilfully represented to us by Mr. F. W. H. Myers, and so is Wordsworth by Dean Church, who has made a most admirable selection, representing Wordsworth on all sides. The lighter poets have mostly fallen to the share of Mr. Austin Dobson and of Mr. Henley, who are well qualified to deal with them. All that we can find space to add about this valuable book is that the publishers have done everything in their power to make it a beautiful one, and that, though printed on thin paper, the type is very clear.

Day of Rest for 1880. Strahan and Co.

No more handsome volume than 'The Day of Rest' appears among the annuals of the year. Its get up, its illustrations, and its literature are all of a high character. One can only wonder at the standard of excellence which such serials maintain. In the present volume the serial stories are, 'Mr. Caroli: an Autobiography,' by Miss Séguin, and 'Out of the World,' by Mrs. O'Reilly. Mr. Peek contributes a series of sketches of 'The Noble Army of Martyrs,' and Mr. R. Stuart Poole papers on 'The Ancient East.' Among the contributors of miscellaneous articles are Dean Vaughan, Archbishop Tait, Professor Blackie, Rev. Harry Jones, Ellice Hopkins, Professor Steadman Aldis, Rev. H. R. Haweis, Dr. John Hunt, Eliza Meteyard, &c. It is in every way excellent.

Studies in Song. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Swinburne's new poems are marked by some of the characteristics of his earlier volumes, but, fortunately, we can say candidly that some fresh traits are also to be welcomed. We have still here and there too much of the sense as of a genius controlled by language rather than controlling it, an excess of rhetorical effect, a lack of simplicity, a relapse into mere swell and surge of word and sound. Simplicity, indeed, is the one thing which seems to come with most difficulty to Mr. Swinburne,

alike in prose and in verse. The first in this respect truly promises to be last. And it is remarkable, and a point well worthy of notice, that Mr. Swinburne is always most simple and most composed when he has vividly before him some commanding aspect or phase of nature, which, we think, amply shows that his genius in devoting itself more and more to nature is finding for itself a sphere which really favours growth. The pieces in this volume which affect us most with the feeling of excess and turgid turns are those which we meet in the line of his most popular, or at least most praised earlier works. The 'Song for the Centenary of Walter Savage Landor' is faulty in many parts from this cause. It is too ambitious in one sense, aims at sounding too many notes, and in one or two of the stanzas lacks definition altogether, and the dedication to Mrs. Lynn Linton is in some of the lines strained indeed. There are two stanzas in the poem, 'After Nine Years,' dedicated to Mazzini, which are defective thus, and are rendered very unsatisfactory through this kind of excess. We think few practised critics would fail to say the same thing respecting 'The Emperor's Progress,' where Mr. Swinburne's strong personal bias on political points imparts sometimes a shrillness, sometimes a rush and confusion to his verse. This stanza, for example, is surely faulty from both these causes—

' Misery beyond all men's most miserable,
Absolute, whole, defiant of defence,
Inevitable, inexplicable, intense ;
More vast than heaven is high, more deep than hell,
Past cure or charm of solace or of spell,
Possesses and pervades the spirit and sense
Whereto the expanse of earth pays tribute ; whence
Breeds evil only, and broods on fumes that swell
Rank from the blood of brother and mother and wife.
" Misery of miseries, all is misery," saith
The heavy, fair-faced, hateful head, at strife
With its own lusts that burn with feverous breath,
Lips which the loathsome bitterness of life
Leaves fearful of the bitterness of death.'

The repetition of phrases and the somewhat forced alliterations, as 'defiant of defence,' are too much repetitions of former phrases. But this criticism has comparatively but little scope in such poems as 'Off Shore,' 'Evening on the Broads,' and that still more remarkable poem which closes the volume, entitled 'By the North Sea.' Here we have a careful study of metre fitted to express the note of nature, as we may call it; and this note, possessing the poet, suffices generally to keep the whole composition admirably in key. Generally it fails here again only when Mr. Swinburne permits the somewhat ungracious infusion of stringently personal regard to intrude. How clearly descriptive at once of the scene and of the feeling inspired by it is the following from 'By the North Sea'—

' Like ashes the low cliffs crumble,
 The banks drop down into dust,
 The heights of the hills are made humble,
 As a reed's is the strength of their trust :
 As a city's that armies environ,
 The strength of their stay is of sand :
 But the grasp of the sea is as iron,
 Laid hard on the land.

A land that is thirstier than ruin ;
 A sea that is hungrier than death ;
 Heaped hills that a tree never grew in ;
 Wide sands where the wave draws breath ;
 A solace is here for the spirit
 That ever for ever may be,
 For the soul of thy son to inherit
 My mother, my sea.'

Nor should we forget to mention the little poem, 'Six Years Old,' which is an exception for purity and clearness, and shows what Mr. Swinburne could do with simple themes. Here, in fairness, we give a stanza :

' Could love make worthy music of you,
 And match my Master's powers,
 Had even my love less heart to love you,
 A better song were ours ;
 With all the rhymes like stars above you,
 And all the words like flowers.'

A Little Child's Monument. By the Hon. RODEN NOEL.
 C. Kegan Paul and Co.

One characteristic, if not the chief and most essential note of true poetry, is the power it possesses to convey to us not mere ideas—thoughts pure and simple—but the poet's own soul, his surging passion, or his quiet peace. The artist, by his music, by his blending notes or colours, by the heaven-taught and incommunicable touch of genius, transfers his own emotions to those whom he can charm into sympathy with himself. Even the most objective poetry, if it be genuine, though the poet does not obtrude his personality upon us, yet reveals to us how he felt in view of nature or of man, of the domestic tragedy or the spring morning, of the simple incident or the world-wide convulsion. This poem, or series of poems, is intensely *subjective*, and brings us perforce into sympathy with the poet himself. The blended agony and trembling trust are intense, and throb through every line. The indignation of outraged nature and of baffled love against what seems the foul wrong, the ghastly mystery of death, the wail of a broken-hearted father over the dead child, make music with the sublime peace that hushes the storm.

‘ God is the God-forsaken Man,
He is the little child,
His eyes with human woes are wan ;
And all is reconciled ! ’

This key-note rules the wonderful variety of melodies which form this remarkable *In Memoriam*. Though the theme is one throughout, the instruments on which the poet plays are very diverse. The lost child of an almost idolatrous devotion haunts every region of his world. The old scenes of early poems, the Corsican highlands, Palmyra at dead of night, the caves of Sark, the heart of London, Landseer's lions, and the wreck of the Princess Alice ; every little child he meets, the early primrose, the Italian organ, Alps at their grandest, and home, alike in its desolation and its sweetness, all waken the same conflict in him, speak with two voices to him, and we feel the involved discords which resolve themselves into harmony, if not rest. Since Edward Irving embalmed in strange, portentous, wondrous words the memory of his little boy, we have not seen such a pathetic monody. A cynic might ask whether it were possible to put such passion into words for the unfeeling world. Tennyson justified his verse by the assurance that—

‘ For the unquiet heart and brain,
A use in measured language lies,
The sad mechanic exercise
Like dull narcotics, numbing pain.’

It may have been so here, but Mr. Noel's profound and intense emotion breaks through every line. There are strains which taken by themselves might be supposed to rival the raging of Queen Mab or Manfred ; but the charm of ‘ A Little Child's Monument ’ is that through the storm there comes, ever and anon, the Holy One. ‘ An Eye rules the wild sea of human misery,’ ‘ Yea now and evermore Love reigneth over all.’ The poems, ‘ Only a Little Child,’ ‘ Lead me where the lily blows,’ ‘ Music and the Child,’ and ‘ Old Scenes Revisited,’ seem to us to emit rare and wonderful perfume. It is long since we have read words of greater force and sweetness combined. We have admired much of Mr. Noel's work, but this is unquestionably his best.

Collected Sonnets Old and New. By CHARLES TENNYSON
TURNER. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

This is a volume of peculiar interest. It is not only that we have a collection of rare specimens in a very difficult poetic form, but that we are enabled to study a very peculiar poetic idiosyncrasy. Mr. Tennyson Turner, though he chose the sonnet form, was most inattentive to points implied in it : he wrote irregularly, using indifferently pure and bastard rhymes, and failing almost in any case to regard the four parts into which by the Italians the sonnet was separated. In a word, he was indifferent

to form while persistently using a most formal medium. Again, it is very noticeable that he fails most when he deals with such subjects as sonnet-writers have generally succeeded in, and succeeds in the treatment of subjects which would be presumed to be unsuited for the sonnet. Commonplace topics, by unexpected point and almost unconsciously happy phrasing, are made poetic—witness the sonnet on the railway train and the cattle trucks. A simple suggestion caught from something seen in the course of his walks about his parish is wrought into an admirable little poem, complete and we may say unique; but when he essays ambitious subjects on 'Art' and 'Art and Faith,' then, we think, he fails, when the standard of what English writers have accomplished on similar themes is kept in view. The 'Sonnet to the Nightingale,' for example, is far beneath the level of some of those of Hartley Coleridge; but that on what we may call the incidental subject of 'Wind on the Corn' is so simply exquisite that we must crave the space to give it—

'Full often as I rove by path or stile,
To watch the harvest ripening in the vale,
Slowly and sweetly, like a growing smile—
A smile that ends in laughter—the quick gale
Upon the breadths of gold-green wheat descends;
While still the swallow, with unbaffled grace,
About his viewless quarry dips and bends—
And all the fine excitement of the chase
Lies in the hunter's beauty: in the eclipse
Of that brief shadow, how the barley's beard
Tilts at the passing gloom, and wild-rose dips
Among the white tops in the ditches rear'd:
And hedgerow's flowery breast of lacework stirs
Faintly in that full wind that rocks the outstanding firs.'

Mr. Hallam Tennyson has prefixed to the volume an introductory essay which is valuable and suggestive; but we do not think that he is quite successful as against the critic who said that his uncle was often inattentive to form and style. The fact is that he *was*.

NOVELS OF THE QUARTER.

The Brides of Ardmore. A Story of Irish Life. By AGNES SMITH. (Elliot Stock.) This a well-studied and well-written story of the early Irish Church. Its period is the twelfth century, when the Roman order suppressed the more spiritual and human and independent Churches of Ireland. Bishops were congregational pastors, and were husbands and fathers, the service was in the vernacular, and asceticism was but little known. The Brides of Ardmore are all daughters of bishops, of two, or rather three, generations. The invasion of Henry II. under the Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) and his son, under sanction of a gift from the pope

—one of the foulest crimes ever perpetrated against a nation—destroyed both the national and the ecclesiastical independence of Ireland. Perhaps the civil annexation was inevitable, but its methods may well make every Englishman blush for shame. The supremacy of Rome was an unmixed national disaster, and it is strange how, while the former has been desperately resisted even to our own day, the latter has been as abjectly submitted to. The catastrophe of the story is the conquest of Ardmore by the son of Strongbow. It is, however, much more than a mere story; it is a careful historical study, verified by an appendix of authorities, and is well worth careful reading. Its interest is well sustained, notwithstanding its lore. The only fault that we can find with it is that the speech is somewhat too modern in its allusions and idioms—perhaps in its thoughts and notions. We would specially commend it.—*The Wards of Plotinus. A Story of Old Rome.* By Mrs. JOHN HUNT. In Three Volumes. (Strahan and Co.) Mrs. John Hunt has made a bold essay in this story. Not only is the theme, taken in itself, a very difficult one to treat satisfactorily in fiction, but it is one in which she follows the footsteps of really great writers, so that comparisons might readily be provoked. Kingsley and Dr. Newman have both dealt with the Neo-Platonic philosophy in conflict with Christian ideas, which, finding it impossible to subdue them, so far appropriated them to its purposes; and the author of the 'Schönberg Cotta Family' has recently treated similar subjects. In one respect Mrs. Hunt's book is too good. She attempts to do too much for the intellect in analyzing and presenting philosophical and theological ideas. But she has a clear and graceful style, and knows how to invest this with the glow of human interest. Here and there we have dainty bits of picture, and the characters are vividly and skilfully contrasted with each other. Plotinus himself we are made to understand, and to feel the secret of his great influence over the school which gathered around him. Laberius is admirably done, and he is well contrasted with Fabian. There is true pathos in the sketch of Acatia and her sorrowful end, and so there is in that of Fabian. Paulinus and Iope have a touch of reality which brings that old time near to us. Though we confess that we think the book would have been better had it been here and there considerably shortened, it exhibits remarkable powers of imagination, the power of gathering scattered elements into one whole, and now and then a true dramatic treatment, as in the chapters 'To the Lions,' and 'Lela.'—*Harold Saxon. A Story of the Church and the World.* By ALAN MUIR, author of 'Children's Children.' In Three Volumes. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) This novel, though it is not without defects, has a character of its own, and is by far the best Mr. Muir has written. It is very well constructed, bright and pleasant in style, is just sufficiently relieved by incident of a special kind, has one or two original characters, and is wrought up to a proper and consistent *dénouement*. Harold Saxon, a young clergyman, the son of an old-fashioned English rector, is a young man of piquant and individual turn, and through him three ladies soon become variously interesting to us—Kathleen O'Brien,

Gertrude Treasure, and a certain Muriel. To find out how cleverly this is managed the reader must go to the book itself, not omitting to pay attention to the oddities of Dr. O'Brien and the pretensions of Sir Edward and Lady Saxon. Mr. Muir can be humorous in his own way. The attempts of Harold Saxon to buy a living bring him into relationship with Mr. Augustus Fly, and Mr. Augustus Fly, who belongs to a class that we trust is daily decreasing, has some touches which lead us to fancy that he is drawn from the life. Anyway he is most amusing. There are many chapters equally vivacious and attractive. We can commend the story as being well worthy of the attention of those who wish to know of a readable novel.—*Black Abbey*. By M. CROMMELIN. Three Vols. (Sampson Low and Co.) The authoress of 'Queenie' has prefixed her name to her new novels. It is another study of Irish character, done with intimate knowledge and with the intuitive touch of truth. Its strength lies in the delineation of its defective and even repulsive characters. Black Abbey is an estate in the north of Ireland possessed by the impoverished representative of the De Burgos family, a fast, hard, selfish old man, whose character has not one redeeming trait of generosity and tenderness. Tyrannical and brutal towards his servants, and even to his daughter and her orphan companion, he lives out his lengthened days in unredeemed vice and hatefulness. Hector, his son, is sensuous and commonplace, although honest, and is unworthy of Nannie White, whom he jilts for a granddaughter of a neighbouring Presbyterian minister, a somewhat loud, coarseminded, sensuous beauty, but with redeeming qualities somewhat resembling his own. The old Presbyterian minister is a charming portrait, well maintained in his blended goodness and simplicity. His son Luke, who becomes a popular minister, is also well imagined and carefully drawn. Nannie, the heroine, is a very fine study of one of the noblest of womanly characters, perfectly natural, and yet almost ideal in her love and self-sacrifice. The interest of the story turns upon the relations of the two families. Luke is engaged to Bonnibel, the minister's granddaughter, who jilts him that she may marry Hector. Luke has a better fate in Aileen, Hector's sister. We shrink from the conclusion which the last sentence of the story suggests—that Hector, who is in every way unworthy of her, may after all marry Nannie as his second wife. The first volume is a little too much drawn out, and is somewhat tame, but the interest gathers, and in the third volume the passion deepens into absorbing interest, and is managed by Miss Crommelin with great skill and admirable truth. She has evidently bestowed much thought and labour over her creation, which, in some respects, is the finest novel she has written.—*The Ten Years' Tenant and other Stories*. By WALTER BESANT and JAMES RICE. Three Vols. (Chatto and Windus.) The three stories collected into these volumes are arranged in the order of their length, and, we think, of their excellence. The first occupies less than half the first volume, the second extends to about a hundred pages of the second volume, and the third fills up the rest. The Ten Years' Tenant is a grotesque story of a man who possessed the art of renewing

his vital energies every ten years, and who lived on to well-nigh three centuries. The authors have not made quite so much of the influences of such an experience upon the man himself, or of its incongruities of age, experience, and ideas as they might have done. It is, however, very cleverly put together. 'Sweet Nell' is a capital story of a Virginian orphan and heiress placed under the care of a London alderman at the period of the South Sea Bubble. The interest lies largely in the setting of the picture. Perhaps the villainy and dissoluteness are a little too predominant, but the times were unquestionably very 'fast.' Nelly, who tells the story, is capitally drawn, so is the fine old alderman. 'Over the Sea with a Sailor' narrates the abduction of an English girl from Boscastle by the captain of a southern blockade runner towards the close of the late American war. Avis should scarcely, we think, have been left a 'Pick-me-up;' and the cost of her education is scarcely accounted for. All the stories are wonderfully realistic, with just that touch of refinement and of sentiment which idealizes realism and constitutes a work of imagination. The dual authorship is a mystery, but we do not wonder at the popularity of the stories.—*Sunrise: a Story of these Times.* By WILLIAM BLACK. Three Vols. (Sampson Low and Co.) We are all familiar with the transformation scene of pantomime. Mr. Black has enacted something similar with respect to his leading character in 'Sunrise.' He does, indeed, 'Suffer a sea-change into something rich and strange.' Indeed, the process would have seemed ridiculous in almost any hands save those of Mr. Black, who knows so well how to relieve all this kind of thing by fancy, delicate and graceful by-play. And certainly he has done so here. George Brand, the *habitué* of London clubs, the proprietor of a fine estate, the pet of a large circle of good society, is transformed in a twinkling into a socialist, a member of secret societies, a voluntary travelling agent, in a word, an adventurer of a pronounced type, running all the risks of associating with desperate refugees in dingy and squalid rooms in Soho. It would not be realizable at all were it not that Mr. Black has so delicate and quick a fancy as well as a great and powerful hold on life as it is. Of course this is all in illustration of the 'influence of woman.' George Brand does not go through all this warfare on his own charges. He is in love; that is the magic spell that masters him. Nathalie Lind, the daughter of a Hungarian refugee, is an admirable specimen of the kind of type on which Mr. Black wisely concentrates his strength. She is dainty and delightful, so thoroughly realized and presented by Mr. Black, that we do not wonder at George Brand's wonderful transformation. Love for Nathalie is evidently adequate enough. 'Perhaps the face, with its intellectual forehead, and the proud and finely-cut mouth, was a trifle too calm and self-reliant for a young girl; but all the softness of expression that was wanted, all the gentle and gracious timidity that we associate with maidenhood, lay in the large and dark and lustrous eyes . . . the outline of that clear olive-complexioned face broken only by the outward curve of the long lashes.' Mr. Black's great art is seen in reconciling this kind of daintiness and delicacy with the atmosphere of squalor in

which much of this story moves, and actually gaining for each element by the contact. Mr. Black has here given us the result of long and careful study of socialistic and other forms of development; so that he is quite entitled to call his novel a story of these times. It is all this; and demands the more attention on that account. Clever, graceful, and finished as a story, it shows that Mr. Black is alive to the most evanescent ripple on the political and social atmosphere, and has the power to do what is so difficult—faithfully reflect it in fiction. This is a kind of experiment; but, luckily, Mr. Black does not wholly leave behind him the attractive elements of style which did so much for his popularity in former novels. This one, too, is full of fine pictures in Mr. Black's peculiar manner, and many will admire this who would rather eschew socialism or even the knowledge of it. But Mr. Black's characters are attractive, and doubtless they will conciliate many readers. This is the prerogative of such a genius as that of Mr. Black.—*Beside the River*. A Tale. By CATHERINE S. MACQUOID, Author of 'Patty,' 'In the Sweet Springtime,' &c. In Three Vols. (Hurst and Blackett). This novel is full of invention, and we have not a little dainty discrimination of character within a certain range, as well as some admirable pictures of that beautiful region by the Meuse, which Mrs. Macquoid knows so well; but we are compelled in honesty to own to some lack of freshness, a kind of effort, which we cannot help contrasting with the fresh impulse and strong insight that were exhibited in some of the very earliest of Mrs. Macquoid's novels. The truth is, the central interests and situations are not sufficient to support three volumes; the materials would have made an admirable short story; but the secondary personages and episodes are now and then tiresome. Mrs. Macquoid brings out well the character of the artistic-minded Edmond Dupuis, who loves Jeanne La Haye, yet who, through misunderstandings and the plottings of others, marries Pauline, to feel that constant void and longing which few novelists have more successfully delineated than Mrs. Macquoid. Vidonze, with his selfishness and frivolity, who is passionately in love with Jeanne La Haye, but whom she does not love, is well rendered; and his search for Jeanne, and his behaviour when he does find her, forms one of the finest bits in the book; unless, indeed, we should except Jeanne's acknowledgment of her love for Edward, while as yet she does not know that he is married, and then her retreat from him when she does know it. Mrs. Macquoid shows not a little skill in keeping at once her characters, French as they are, dramatically true, and yet not involving us in situations and avowals calculated somewhat to shock the proprieties. In style, this novel is far above the usual mark, though now and then Mrs. Macquoid slips into two horrid cockneyisms—'let go of,' and 'roused,' for 'roused himself.' But these are trifles; and the book is well worthy of being read.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

The Chaldean Account of Genesis. Containing the Description of the Creation, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Destruction of Sodom, the Times of the Patriarchs and Nimrod, Babylonian Fables, and Legends of the Gods, from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. By GEORGE SMITH. A New Edition, thoroughly Revised and Corrected (with Additions), by A. H. SAYCE. With Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

Perhaps the discovery and decipherment of Babylonian literature is the most romantic and important literary achievement of the nineteenth century. Its relations to the Book of Genesis may prove to be of the utmost importance to Biblical exegesis. Mr. Layard's discovery of the library of Sardanapalus in the mound of Kouyunjik has led to an unexpected enlargement of our knowledge. Not only were tablets of Assyrian history of great interest and value discovered, but tablets in what was to the Assyrians a dead language. Chiefly through some of a bilingual character, the older Babylonian language was deciphered, and the key of the literature of a world two thousand years before Christ was put into the hands of scholars. It turned out that the Assyrian kings, Sardanapalus especially, had not only enriched the royal library with translations of Babylonian tablets derived from the old cities of the plain of Shinar, but had copied thousands that they did not translate, and had possessed themselves of the Accadian originals wherever they could. In this way the national treasures of Babylonia were found in the Assyrian library. It will be remembered how, in examining the tablets from Kouyunjik in the British Museum, Mr. George Smith noticed references to the Creation, and subsequently legends of the Deluge. Excited by these, and through the liberality of the proprietors of 'The Daily Telegraph,' he went to Assyria to excavate for himself, and found other fragments of the legends. A second journey further enriched his collections, from which he compiled his 'Chaldean Account of Genesis,' published five years ago. His lamented death on a third expedition occurred soon after. The book excited great interest and gave a great impulse to Assyrian investigations. Great progress in translation has been made during these five years, and great numbers of new tablets have been acquired. The result has been a revision of doubtful translations, the completion of defective legends, the addition and collection of new tablets; so that the revision of Mr. Smith's tentative conclusions became imperative. Written on the eve of Mr. Smith's departure for Assyria, and with only imperfect materials in his hand, they could not be final. Mr. Sayce brings the work up to the present results of Assyrian research. Revising some of Mr. Smith's conclusions, and supplementing

others, he has produced not indeed a new work, but a revision of what was only tentative, in a form that has all the merit of a new work. He brings out the indebtedness of Greek mythology to the Babylonian legends, especially the epic of 'Isdubar,' and thus supplies important materials for the study of comparative mythology. The agreement of the Babylonian legends of the Creation, Flood, &c., with the records of Genesis are too close to be regarded as independent. It will, therefore, at once be seen how important are the questions raised concerning their relations to each other, especially whether they have not a common origin in different chronicles of the same great facts. Even as here given, the immense superiority, both literary and moral, of the Bible records, is palpable to the most casual reader. One must anticipate with intensest interest the possible results of further decipherment and further discoveries when the mounds of Babylonia itself shall be explored. Meanwhile, may we venture a caution to ardent scholars like Mr. Sayce, that they do not leap to conclusions unwarranted by actual evidence. For instance, is it warrantable to say (pp. 56, 80) that because traces of a septennial division are to be found, the Accadians '*invented* the week of seven days and kept a seventh day sabbath'? To observe is one thing, to invent another. A curious point in the Accadian legends of the Creation is that the primitive man was black-headed—the Accadians were black, while the Syrians or Semites were white. Sir Henry Rawlinson, to whom the discovery of this is due, thinks that the contrast between the daughters of Adam and the sons of God in the sixth chapter of Genesis is between the black and white races. Both the garden of Eden and the tree of life were well known to the Accadians. No Chaldean legend of a Fall has yet been discovered; but a Babylonian seal represents a tree with a human figure on either side of it with hands stretched out to take the fruit and a serpent behind one of them. The most important of the epics of early Chaldea is that of Isdubar, or Nimrod, discovered by Mr. Smith in 1872. The tablet of the Flood has been recovered almost in its entirety. Mr. Sayce thinks it a solar myth made up out of a number of previously existing and independent materials. It is full of interest in all its details.

Sacred Books of the East. Vols. VI. and IX. The Qur'ân.
Translated by E. PALMER. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.

A new translation of the Qur'ân by an Arabic scholar so competent as Mr. Palmer is an event of great literary importance. The two previous English translations of authority are, first, that of Sale, to whose scholarship Professor Palmer pays a high tribute, but takes exception to the large amount of exegetical matter that he has incorporated, and to the English style, which does not render either the nervous energy or the rugged simplicity of the original. Secondly, that of Mr. Rodwell, which Professor Palmer considers as a closer version of the Arabic, but with 'too much assumption of the literary style.' He also thinks that the chrono-

logical arrangement of the Sûrahs, though a help to the student, destroys the miscellaneous character of the book as actually used by Muslims. How far Professor Palmer himself has succeeded in improving upon these translations we must leave Arabic scholars to say. Those competent can be counted on the fingers of the hand. We can say only that the version reads well; it is full of the nervous energy and rugged simplicity in which he thinks Sale's version deficient. The annotations do not include the legends and historical allusions so fully given by Sale, but they are sufficient for all purposes of elucidation.

The history of the compilation is well known—Mohammed probably could not read or write, and portions of Qur'ân were not written down on their delivery, but were repeated by him several times until he had learnt them by heart, and were sometimes altered and supplemented. Sometimes he employed an amanuensis. At his death no collected edition existed. Scattered fragments were in the possession of various of his followers, written on various scraps of heterogeneous materials. Some existed only in the memories of his disciples.

Mohammed's amanuensis, a native of Medinah, was employed by the Caliph Omar to collect and arrange the text. This he did from 'palm-leaves, skins, blade-bones, and the hearts of men.' Chronological order was disregarded, and even the logical connection of the various passages; the longer Sûrahs being placed first, and many odd verses seem to have been put in here and there because they suited the rhyme. Twenty years afterwards a commission was appointed to settle disputes about the text and its meaning; when the revised edition was completed. The Caliph Othman sent copies to all the principal cities of the empire and caused the old version to be burnt. This recension has remained the authorized text. Among modern editors Professor Nöldeke is *facile princeps*, an accomplished Arabic scholar, and a very able critic. He has endeavoured to arrange the Sûrahs in chronological order. His arrangement, Professor Palmer states, 'may be taken as the best which Arabic tradition combined with European criticism can furnish.' Dr. Weil and Mr. Muir have also given much attention to the chronology of the Sûrahs. Working more especially upon the lines of Professor Nöldeke, Mr. Rodwell, Rector of St. Ethelburga, has attempted a chronological arrangement in his translation.

We cannot enter upon the relations of Mohammed to Judaism and Christianity and his indebtedness to them. Some of the Sûrahs are full of references to them. The series of which these volumes form part would have been incomplete without them, and no one more competent than Professor Palmer could have been found to do them. But should not the volumes have been numbered in sequence?

The Lord's Prayer and the Church. Letters to the Clergy. By JOHN RUSKIN, D.C.L. With Replies from Clergy and Laity. Edited by the Rev. F. A. MALLESON, M.A. Strahan and Co.

The intention of this book is doubtless good, and there are some fine things in it; but it is open to much criticism, both in regard to its spirit and its form. One of the most difficult things, as practical persons know, is to conduct a discussion properly. In a book of this kind, where there is unlimited license for each side to pursue its own course without strict regard to what has been advanced by the other, the necessity of keeping to the point is not likely to be regarded. Nor has it. Mr. Ruskin, who has more and more lost the accent of simplicity, just as he has ventured into regions which demand it, exhibits an air of omniscience, and an inadequate grasp, as well as an incapacity to see an opponent's point of view. Not that the opponents, in this case, are always very wise or weighty in their remarks; still one or two points Mr. Ruskin might have calmly dealt with, and, in dealing with them, might have had an opportunity of doing more justice to Nonconformists, while losing nothing in opening the eyes of Churchmen to the real necessities of the time. Mr. Ruskin is dictatorial and offensively dogmatic. He cannot tolerate the straining attitude in another; he is always on the strain himself. He would rather say a fine thing to satisfy himself for the moment than gain double weight to his argument by re-framing his sentences. Here, as in so many of his recent exercises, he is not really sure of his point of view. Mr. Carlyle still leads him the strangest dance. He really wishes all institutions to be held by a tight hand, and yet he pronounces in praise of great individual freedom. His ideas are high, but they are not reliable. He paints in his own mind a state of things that might be; he suggests very little in a practical way to improve things as they are. The best things that he says here have been said far better before, and with less of a shrill and querulous tone. It is easy to write such sentences as these: 'A bishop means a person who sees. A parson means a person who feeds. The most unbishoply character a man can have is therefore to be blind. The most unpastoral is, instead of feeding, to want to be fed—to be a mouth. Take the two reverses together, and you have blind mouths.' We have heard all this before. It becomes tiresome. The only element to sustain interest in these letters is the curious pertinacity of iteration of which they prove Mr. Ruskin to be capable. There is something altogether feminine in it. It may be quite true of the clergy that 'prophecy they cannot; sacrifice they cannot; in their hearts there is no vision, in their hands no victim;' but we do wish that the idea had been communicated in terms less antithetical and pretentious. We have no call to magnify the merits of the Anglican priesthood, or ministry, as Mr. Ruskin, somewhat offensively to them, would have it; but a little charity might have suggested something less of a harsh and unrelieved libel. But Mr. Ruskin can easily sacrifice the character of a class for an epigram, and in a high-handed manner

commit the very sin for which he is reproving others. After all this expenditure of ink, we firmly believe that Mr. Ruskin has missed the main point. It is simply this, that no State Church can be self-governing, and this implies that a high standard of discipline cannot be maintained. The real point of criticism, therefore, is against a system under which, in spite of general tendency, good and noble men have been and are produced. No Church system can be perfect, and from the point of view of Mr. Ruskin his main argument would lie against any one of them. It is as amusing to see how Mr. Ruskin pours out his theorizings without any idea of definite applications, mixing them up with never so much satire and invective, as it is to see how those who profess to reply to him wander aimlessly hither and thither 'beating the air.' We honestly believe that Mr. Ruskin would have consulted his own purpose better by referring those concerned to the passages in his former books, which embody his thoughts on the subjects here dealt with. It is long since we gave up hope of Mr. Ruskin's improvement in treating such things, and there is some pain felt in the sense of reproof that comes to us along with the thought that now we get little but amusement out of an author who at one time seriously taught and led us. The volume is a curiosity, and in this respect has a value, but no more.

Boston Monday Lectures: Biology, Transcendentalism, Orthodoxy, Conscience, Heredity, Marriage, Labour, Socialism.
By JOSEPH COOK. Hodder and Stoughton.

Popular and cheap editions of Mr. Cook's Lectures, authorized and revised by the author. Mr. Cook is doing a unique service by his lectures. They are very able indeed—full of reading, thinking, fulness, and power, some desultoriness and inconsequence notwithstanding. Whatever faults specialists may point out, Mr. Cook's lectures accomplish their great religious end—they are effectual answers to materialistic infidelity. The type and get-up of this edition, which is very cheap, leave nothing to be desired.

The Province of Law in the Fall and Recovery of Man. By the Rev. JOHN COOPER. Hodder and Stoughton.

Jesus Christ's Mode of Presenting Himself to the World a Proof of His Divine Mission. By the Rev. JOHN COOPER.
Same Publishers.

Self Sacrifice. By the Rev. JOHN COOPER. Same Publishers.

Mr. Cooper is, we believe, an American clergyman, possessing considerable vigour of mind, a somewhat philosophical caste of thought, and some little hardness of manner, so that his books are somewhat severe reading. They are evidential in character. Mr. Cooper thinks that hitherto there has been no reasoned or scientific exhibition of the principles of the Christian revelation. We should have thought that

Christian apologists had really left but little to be done in this way. He thinks that 'by her own tests and methods science will be able to demonstrate that the operations of the Divine life in the soul of man are just as capable of investigation as are the movements of physical life in the body.' This strikes us to be an utter misconception of the proper sphere and necessary limits of science, by which here clearly physical science is meant. Physical science has no tests or methods which she can apply to spiritual life.

In the book on Law Mr. Cooper professes to supply the science of Christianity, and he demonstrates the paramount power of moral law in the necessary disabilities of sin, and the harmony with it of the Christian method of salvation; but are not these the commonplaces of Christian theology. Indeed, under forms that seem novel and assume to be logical, the writer puts forth a good many truisms, and propounds as something like discoveries familiar conclusions. Surely, too, something more about the problem of evil might be said than we find on p. 228, where moral and physical disorder are confused in a very unscientific way.

Mr. Cooper's books contain very much that is true and important, but they are needlessly pretentious in aim and dogmatic in method. They produce the impression of a smattering rather than of a profound or complete philosophy.

L'Immortalité Conditionelle, ou La Vie en Christ. Par EDWARD WHITE. Traduit par CHARLES BYSE. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher.

It cannot fail to add greatly to Mr. White's satisfaction with the reception which his book has met with from his own countrymen to find that it has been regarded on the Continent as worthy of translation into French. It will, no doubt, be said by some that this has been done by advocates of these views. Granting that this is so, it will not detract from their estimate of the intrinsic excellence and value of the work. That the author of 'Life in Christ' is held by some of the leading minds of the continent to be one of the ablest exponents of this doctrine is clearly set forth by the translator in the reasons assigned for undertaking the task. Mr. Byse—and we may include also Dr. Petavel—gives prominence to the following points. (1) That this treatise is the fairest in argument and most in harmony with the laws of sound exegesis and the analogy of nature. (2) That it is the most comprehensive and complete in its treatment of the subject—combining the doctrinal and practical, and thereby constituting a grand treatise on Christian doctrine. (3) That it is pre-eminent on the ground of its reverence for the supernatural in scripture and for the caution and prudence with which it educes and develops its facts. (4) That it stands unique in its scientific character, especially in its discussion of biological problems. And lastly, that it presents the fullest exhibition of the genetical issues of the doctrine

of conditional immortality. The translator, who ought to be a competent judge, predicts for it in its new form a wide circulation.

The work is not, however, strictly speaking, a translation, but, what in our opinion is decidedly better, an adaptation and abridgment rendered into genuine French. The translator and editor, Mr. Byse, has greatly reduced the size of the work by removing unnecessary quotations, reducing the number of illustrations, and condensing the arguments, and yet without omitting a single important idea or even a striking expression. In all this the translator has acted with scrupulous fidelity, and the work is, in our opinion, improved as far as ordinary readers are concerned. Mr. Byse has secured throughout the counsel and aid of Mr. Petavel-Olliff.

The Tone and Teaching of the New Testament on Certainty in Religion. Being the Merchants' Lecture for October, 1880. By EDWARD WHITE. Elliot Stock.

Mr. White inaugurated his function as Merchants' Lecturer by these four admirable discourses on the possibility and methods of certainty in Religious Belief; dealing chiefly with the fact and tone of certainty in the New Testament writers, and the basis of it; and this in respect, first, to miraculous facts, next, to Christian doctrine, and next, to personal salvation. The lectures strike out many interesting lines of evidence. They are an enforcement of Bishop Butler's common-sense positions, that the most satisfactory way of accounting for Christianity is to accept it as true. It is a valuable little book to put into the hands of thoughtful inquirers about Christianity, or such as are disturbed by modern objections to it.

The Gospel Miracles, in their relation to Christ and to Christianity. By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., Pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, New York.

Dr. William Taylor's writings are well pitched to suit the average comprehension of thinking minds. They are neither abstruse nor commonplace; the argument is lifted up to the proper elevation, and yet at no part is it transcendental. Clearness of conception, and aptness, sometimes tartness, of expression are combined with simplicity, so that the air never becomes murky around either himself or his readers. He is up to the mark in presenting a good life-picture of his subject, leaning in his descriptions more to the popular pole than to the technical, and the account is never weighted with redundancy of verbiage, but the ground is always elastic under his foot. He has also great liveness of mental movement, and can follow the undulations of his subject with great precision.

In these Lectures, delivered by request at the Princeton Theological Seminary, he aims at giving a useful rather than a recondite exposition of the gospel miracles. Some fifteen years ago he published a book on 'The Miracles—Helps to Faith,' and the present volume contains

substantially the same line of thought somewhat more matured. The old arguments are set forth in new lights, and are felt to be very cogent, when so pithily stated. We regret that he takes so little notice of that phase of the subject which is so important at the present time, the attack made by the advocates of positive science on the miracles of the Bible as being out of harmony with the two great principles of Evolution and the Conservation of Energy, which, it is contended, make miracles an impossibility. But the argument is everywhere forcibly put, and the reasoning is incisive and conclusive.

The Higher Criticism and the Bible. A Manual for Students.
By WILLIAM B. BOYCE, Wesleyan Minister. Wesleyan
Conference Office.

This is a most useful book for those who wish to get a bird's-eye view of the battle going on at the present hour in the field of Biblical criticism. The author has shown indomitable industry in the collection of his materials, and has put a large amount of well-digested and strictly relevant matter into a small space. It is not only his marvellous perseverance in garnering up so much that is helpful to a clear and full understanding of the subject that strikes the reader, but none of the witnesses are called in unnecessarily, and the testimony of each has a definite bearing in establishing the position which he wishes to make out. Hence a volume which might otherwise have been dry as a collection of critical details, wears a fresh and agreeable aspect throughout.

The treatment is judicious both in the selection of points to bring before the student and in the manner of handling them. A more perfect unity of arrangement would be an advantage; and though the ornamental is out of place in such a book, a little attention might have been given to perspective in the placing of the topics and the arguments. But the author travels over too large a field for a small duodecimo. His aim is to present us with a *vidimus* of the controversy in its Protean phases to which the higher criticism has given rise in accounting for the composing of the different books of Scripture. He rightly draws the line at the outset between the two schools of criticism—the old evidential school, which rests its faith chiefly on testimony, and the school of the higher criticism, which trusts mainly to a certain intuitive power of perception that men of high gifts and superior scholarship profess to have, and by which they think they can make out a great deal from the internal evidence. It is, in fact, the old lines of faith and reason.

Mr. Boyce dates the starting-point of the higher criticism from the time of Astruc, the French physician, who first propounded the theory of the Elohist and Jehovist documents, along with certain others—some say twelve documents in all—from which Moses compiled the Pentateuch. These documents, written by unknown authors, in different styles, got hopelessly confused, so that the pages of the Pentateuch are mottled all over with different styles, like a piece of artificial mosaic work; and the

work of the higher critics is to determine to which unknown author this or that fragment belongs, whether to the Elohist, the Jehovist, the Elohist junior, the Redactor, the Deuteronomist, or the Levitical legislators. Mr. Boyce is specially successful in exposing the absurdity of this theory, as the critics attempt to carry it out. Throughout the book the author fairly and clearly states every point, and holds the balance even between the value of the theories which he notices. We regard him as a safe guide through the labyrinths of rationalistic criticism.

The Englishman's Bible, &c. By THOMAS NEWBURY. Eyre and Spottiswoode; S. W. Partridge and Co.

The labour expended in producing this volume is gigantic in quantity, mechanical in kind, and doubtful as regards utility. The author's energies, if not wasted, might have been applied to more important subjects. It is with reluctance that we give utterance to such an opinion, for we have no doubt the author honestly thinks that he is rendering important service to his generation. The scholarship displayed in the work before us is decidedly feeble, and the philology defective. We would adduce as a specimen his explanation of the name Jehovah. 'JEHOVAH or YE-HOV-AH, is a compound of three Hebrew words, YEH-yeh, "He will be," hOVe, "being," hah-yAH, "He was." Taking the first three letters of "yeh-yeh," YEH, the two middle letters of "hove," OV, and the last two of "hah-yah," AH, we have YEH-OV-AH. Yehovah or Jehovah. He which is, and which was, and which is to come.' The sacredness of the name prevents us from dealing with the above explanation as it deserves. We have no doubt that it will remind our readers of conundrums with which they are familiar. The author also seems to take the plural Elohim as descriptive of the triune God. Further, in looking over his illustration of the complicated system of annotation, we have been led to doubt whether Mr. Newbury is acquainted with the fact that the article is but prefixed to a noun in the construct state. The grammatical explanations generally are open to serious criticism, but this may be regarded in a great measure as a condescension to the ignorance of his readers rather than as a manifestation of his own. Finally, in the case of a language like Hebrew, which differs so entirely from the English in tenses, idioms, and especially the employment of the article, such a work as the present is likely to lead the man of one language astray. If the original language coincided in idiom and structure with his own, such a work would be agreeable, and might be helpful; but when such is not the case, it may indulge his fancy, but can never enlarge his real knowledge of the original document. His wisest course will be to peruse a faithful translation of it into his own tongue. We have confined our remarks chiefly to the Old Testament; but the author's treatment of the New is open to similar criticism, although not to the same extent; take, for example, the derivations, synonyms, and the 'graphic scheme of the Greek prepositions as viewed according to the idea of geometrical relationship.' The general

information respecting weights, measures, &c., cannot give this volume a special claim on the reader's attention, since it is contained in almost every work on the subject.

A Popular Handbook of Christian Evidences. By JOHN KENNEDY, M.A., D.D. Part I. Theism and Related Subjects. Sunday School Union.

Dr. Kennedy's clear head, wide reading, and lucid method of exposition fit him for dealing with the popular infidelity of the day, as in many ways he has dealt with it. He here concerns himself with the general evidence of theism as preparatory to the special evidence of Christianity. His exposition is a medium between the bareness of mere outline and the fulness of exhaustive exposition. In a series of seven chapters he deals with the great problems involved in the idea and affirmation of a God, and especially with modern theories of atheism, pantheism, agnosticism, materialism, &c. A better handbook for the theistic questions of the day it would be difficult to find. It deals not only with anti-theistic ideas, but with the forms in which modern thinkers present them.

The Prophecies of Isaiah. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A. Vol. II. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

The commentary of which this volume is the concluding portion is the result of many years of patient and careful study devoted to the Isaianic prophecies, and we regard it as in many respects the most important contribution of its class which ever issued from the English press. More than twelve years ago a small pamphlet was published by the author, entitled 'Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah,' which, by its independence and originality, fully established the qualifications of the writer for his task, and, if we remember aright, he indicated then the method he has since so successfully pursued. Ten years ago a small volume, entitled 'The Book of Isaiah Chronologically Arranged,' was heartily welcomed by many on account of the admirable summary it presented of the results of recent inquiries into the authorship and compositions of these prophecies, and made them wishful to see the completion of the larger work of which it was a fragment. The translation aimed at transferring into English the full meaning of the original. And the short notes revealed deep sympathy and reverence for these prophetic oracles, and a thorough mastery of prophetic literature, combined with philological accuracy. The present work differs in several important features from its predecessor and herald. Ten years' study have caused great changes not simply in the details, but in the essential character of the work. The standpoint is scarcely the same. The different prophecies are not arranged chronologically, the order is that of the Hebrew text and the Authorized Version. Ten years ago the author emphatically adopted the new view of double authorship, which he has abandoned for a more satisfactory one. The commentary is much fuller as well as more valuable

and instructive. The translation is much more independent, and scarcely a line of it remains unchanged. It would be interesting if we had space to give instances of these deviations. Many readers of the volume of 1870 will be astonished at the pages in which the author so reluctantly and frankly describes how he was 'surprised' into accepting a 'definitely Christian interpretation of the Old Testament, and into believing that the Psalms and the Prophets foreshadow special circumstances in the life of Christ, as well as His Divine nature and vicarious sufferings.' In fact it is not too much to say that the scope and spirit of the present work is different from the preceding. Some, we fear, will put this down to the hopeless condition of Semitic studies, and others will regard it in the light of retrogression. Those who are capable of judging will not regard it as the result of the uncertainty of grammatical and logical criteria, but of honest research combined with more mature judgment and riper scholarship.

The commentary before us differs from all other productions of English scholarship; firstly, by a more complete mastery of all the literature of the subject, the smallest monographs not excepted; secondly, by a free acceptance of the contributions of Assyrian discoveries; and thirdly, by a frank acknowledgment of the influence of the views and beliefs of surrounding nations upon Old Testament ideas. This constitutes an important advance in the right direction, and cannot fail to be attended with the greatest benefit to Old Testament exegesis.

Mr. Cheyne's standpoint is that philological and Christian interpretation can be honestly combined without any unworthy or detrimental compromise. While believing in a definitely Christian interpretation of the Old Testament, he holds that it should be based entirely upon the grammatical and lexical meaning. He has honestly attempted to carry into practice what is generally admitted in theory, viz., the full supremacy of grammar and lexicon. He expresses himself as having an unfeigned horror of giving the slightest stretch to a word or construction in deference to theological preconceptions. He has quoted the original to seek its meaning, and not to search for a support of his own prejudgment. Those who do not know the responsibility of dealing with Divine oracles will construe his caution and self-restraint into timidity. We trust the spirit and attitude of the author will have a healthful influence in checking the hasty conclusions and dogmatic utterances common to different schools of exegesis.

While the critical and exegetical notes are instructive and valuable in difficult or disputed passages, the main interest centres in the illustrative essays appended to the second volume, for it is here that most of the problems suggested by the Isaianic prophecies are worked out. Here it will be most clearly seen, that the author's spiritual experience has changed as well as his critical views. No Biblical student can afford to pass them over, and if in some instances he should disagree with the conclusions arrived at by the author, he will always be ready to acknowledge that they are honest, able, and independent. This fi com-

mentary deserves, and will command, the careful attention of all Biblical students.

English Philosophers. Sir William Hamilton. By W. H. T. MONCK, M.A. Sampson Low and Co.

The growing interest in philosophy which is proved by the daily multiplying series of publications intended to popularize its study is itself a gratifying fact. There is a danger, however, that in the attempt to supply pleasing expositions there may be a sacrifice of the substance. It is scarcely too much to say that philosophy in its highest sense can never be really made popular. The philosopher, like the poet, is born, not made; and unless there be original aptitude for abstract thought, it is questionable if any amount of study will ever implant the taste without which it must be mere drudgery. It is to the credit of Professor Monck that he has not attempted to make the interpretation of the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton—the first subject of the present series—merely popular. The object of the editor of the series is, as stated in the preface, ‘to lay before the reader what each English philosopher thought and wrote about the problems with which he dealt, not what we may think he ought to have thought and written.’ In this spirit the present work has evidently been written. Evidently the writer has worked himself thoroughly into Hamilton’s points of view, and has thus been able to reproduce the salient lines of his thinking. With all his admiration, however, for the Scottish thinker, he has not been able to succeed in imparting unity or consistency to either his metaphysics or his logic. We gladly admit with him that the influence of Hamilton was highly stimulative, though we may doubt if this was in any sense due to the ‘incompleteness’ of his work. This ‘incompleteness’ was in great part due to the philosopher’s natural indolence, which Professor Monck is compelled to admit in the brief account he gives of his life. But there was more than ‘incompleteness,’ there was often absolute contradiction. No ingenuity will ever reconcile Hamilton’s natural realism with his doctrine of the relativity of knowledge; and his doctrine of substance was directly at variance with his most cherished opinions regarding the conditions under which we acquire knowledge. When Professor Monck therefore assumes that Hamilton did solve the problem of the existence of matter, he treads questionable ground, which has been, and will continue to be, a field of fierce controversy. We mention this point, because it seems to us that it is significantly illustrative of the spirit of the exposition before us. Professor Monck has allowed his conviction as to the great powers of Hamilton and the undoubtedly stimulative influence of his philosophical work to blind him to the fundamental insufficiency of his philosophy, as a serious essay at the consistent solution of the great problems with which it deals. He certainly allows that Hamilton had ‘not worked out his theory’ of substance; but there is scarcely any one problem which he did work out. His was a vast intel-

ligence, but it was encumbered by the weight of learning which had been laboriously acquired, and was never 'lightly' worn, as the Poet-Laureate says was the case with another thinker—who bore all his weight of learning 'lightly like a flower.' Hamilton will continue to influence students, and his ideas will continue full of suggestiveness; but we doubt if his works even now are read as they were twenty years ago; and we fear they are likely to be less read as time goes on. Nevertheless, he must ever occupy high rank among English philosophers, and he is deserving, therefore, of a prominent place in a series like the present.

Philosophical Classics for English Readers. Edited by Professor WILLIAM KNIGHT. *Descartes.* By J. MAHAFFY. *Butler.* By W. LUCAS COLLINS. *Berkeley.* By Professor FRASER. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons.

Messrs. Blackwood have undertaken a comprehensive and what should prove both a useful and remunerative work in determining to bring out a series of 'Philosophical Classics for English Readers.' Their 'Greek and Roman Classics for English Readers' were a conspicuous success, and induced them to turn their attention to 'Foreign European Classics.' They have made a further extension of their original plan in the series now before us, which is to include sketches of the lives and systems of the principal philosophical writers of modern Europe, from Bacon to Descartes onwards. In Professor Knight they have secured a skilful and competent editor, whose catholic sympathies and generous instincts will find fitting scope in the work he has undertaken, and who may be relied on not to pass through his hands work that will be in any sense of a sectarian or partizan order. The catholicity of his aims is seen by the terms in which he describes his enterprize. Whether or not there be that growing interest in philosophy on which he counts, whether or not he will be able to enlist the sympathies of 'the general reader' in philosophical literature, we may expect that he will supply sketches of the lives and systems of the great thinkers who have handed on the torch of thought that will prove as instructive as they may be made suggestive. He will be guided, as we conceive, by the idea of the 'genetic' character of modern philosophy. The individual characteristics of thinkers have often played a great part in determining their thoughts. But we must know the conditions under which they grappled with the problems of philosophy if we are to understand them, and therefore it is essential to show how they received these from their predecessors, in order to discern the additions they made in handing them on to their successors, and thus to illustrate 'what they contributed to the increasing purpose of the world's thought and its organic development.' The idea of a History of Philosophy unfolded genetically through the labours of the great system-makers ought to prove a very fertile one; and we doubt not this will be found here to be the case. The series aptly begins with Descartes whose life and works, under the skilful expository treatment of Professor

Mahaffy, are made mutually to throw light on each other. Professor Mahaffy is himself a philosophical expert, and he has followed with much carefulness on the lines which the editor of the series has laid down. The life and the writings dovetail into and cast light upon each other. Professional philosophers may possibly desiderate in his treatment of his subject that thorough discussion of the purely philosophical idea which we should have looked for. But it is not for professional philosophers that this series is chiefly intended. If it supplies the general reader with ample and accurate information regarding the chief philosophical writers, it will have fulfilled its purpose; and this is done very ably and very carefully here in regard to Descartes. Amongst those to follow are Berkeley, Fichte, Hume, Hamilton, Bacon, Hegel, Hobbes, Kant, Spinoza, and Vigo, all in the hands of admirable writers, who may be trusted to do for their respective subjects what has been done of Descartes by Professor Mahaffy.

This is an admirably lucid sketch of the life, character, and work of the immortal author of the 'Analogy.' Mr. Collins has been always careful to remember that what is expected of him is interpretation and exposition, not a treatise supplying his own views upon Bishop Butler's opinions. And the interpretation and exposition are so skilfully dovetailed here with the biography that—as is the design of the series of which the volume is a member—each throws light upon the other. Dr. Knight shows the catholicity of his judgment in matters philosophical by including Butler among English philosophers. There was nothing in him that is akin to, or in common with, the philosophy of modern transcendentalism; for Butler was always clear and always practical. But that he was a philosopher in the true sense of the term will not be doubted by any whose views are not bounded by the limits of a special school. He carried a stage further the great lines of philosophical thought as applied to the problems of natural and revealed religion. Thought to him was the instrument, not the object of investigation; the means, not the end. He applied it, inductively, within the sphere to which he specially devoted himself, and was a true disciple of the Father of Inductive Philosophy. Like him, he discerned, as if instinctively, the limits within which alone thought could legitimately operate. With the modesty of true genius, he recognized that the ingenious reasoning set forth by him with so much power and force could never produce convictions of absolute certainty. The interest to be attained is a feeling of the high degree of probability attaching to the argument from analogy. But intellectual probability may confirm, if it cannot create, moral assurance—the presumption as to things unseen, which are beyond the reach of logical demonstration, which in theological language is called faith. [Nothing more than that is attainable, and it may be that no more is desirable. In these days some presumptuous scientists may sneer at Butler and the 'Analogy,' but it is only because they are incapable of appreciating the nature of moral and religious truth. Far from the line of reasoning from analogy being exhausted, we believe that in its extension and its correctivity

and adaptation to the larger results attained in our day by modern science, lies the true sphere of reasoning in regard to the 'things unseen and eternal.' Butler suggested the true sphere and scope of such reasoning when he pointed out that demonstrable knowledge of such things would be inconsistent with the whole nature and ordeal of man in a state of probation; and from this hypothesis raised by probable reasoning to a high degree of moral force, derived additional support from the results attained by process of induction. The student must study Butler in his own works; but he could not do better than commence his study of him by careful perusal of this very excellent sketch of the man and his works.

No living man, or none at all events who has made himself articulately known to his fellows, is perhaps so well able to give instruction about Berkeley and the Berkeleian philosophy as Professor Fraser. He may be said, in a sense, to have given his life to unravelling all the intricacies or only half-revelations that have come down to us regarding the good bishop himself and regarding his thoughts on matters philosophical. In the splendid edition of Berkeley's works given to the world some few years ago we have an enduring monument from Professor Fraser's pen, and through his unwearied diligence, to the memory of the great English idealist. It was a happy thought therefore to ask the editor of Berkeley to prepare a little work on his life and philosophy on the plan which has been adopted in this series, in which the two might be made to illuminate each other. That the work has been done with amplitude of knowledge scarcely need be said. The diligence and loving care with which Berkeley's biographer is continuously in search of new materials illustrative of his philosopher, have enabled him to add 'important new biographical material,' and to supply an 'original portrait of Berkeley . . . from a picture taken at a much earlier period in his life than those hitherto published.' The claim of this little book, however, is of much more ambitious order than to present new facts or new material, that may throw light on the life and writings of the Bishop of Cloyne. 'This volume,' says Professor Fraser, in the preface, 'is an attempt to present, for the first time, Berkeley's philosophic thought in its organic unity. The thought is unfolded in connection with his personal history, and it is compared with the results of later philosophical endeavours, including those of chief scientific and theological interest at the present day.' The attempt to do which is certainly very ingenious, and will be read with interest by the student of philosophical thought. But he will not have read long before he will see reason for suspecting that Professor Fraser, in his zeal and abundant love of Berkeley, has *read into* him and his works a good deal more than the philosopher himself would ever have discovered there. When we find Berkeley connected with the genetic history of philosophy, not merely in the common recognized order through Hume and Locke, but with Kant and all the Germans, and later with the Agnosticisms and Rationalisms and Scepticisms of these blind times of our own, we begin to have a doubt that his zeal and love carry the accomplished and amiable Professor rather too far. In the 'Siris,' it is true,

are glimpses of higher thoughts, thoughts which harmonize with a system of ordered Rationalism—or Gnosticism, as the Professor terms it, in bitter contrast with Agnosticism—as these are with what he also calls faith. But to discover the seeds of these differing views or theories of the universe, not only lying interlocked as it were in the suggestive thought of the good bishop, but associated in such grand way as can in any sense be termed ‘organic unity,’ is a considerable feat in philosophical criticism, which, as seems to us, requires the exercise of what Schelling would have called the philosophical intuition or highly philosophical imaginative capability for devising abstract thought. However, the discovery gives a rotundity and completeness to the Berkeleian essay which, if not absolutely true to nature, gives it an artistic look such as will attract the regards of many. For the rest, the setting forth of the real elements of Berkeleianism—what Professor Fraser ponderously calls Pan-Phenomenalism—is done here with amplitude of knowledge and orderliness of connection, which enables the student who knows Berkeley already to take a clearer birds-eye view of him. But the book will be more of a prize to the already instructed philosophical student than to the general public, wishful of some smattering of knowledge in philosophical matters, for whom this series is largely intended.

The Pulpit Commentary. Edited by the Rev. Canon SPENCE and the Rev. JOSEPH EXELL. Judges. Ruth. C. Kegan Paul and Co. .

Lord A. C. Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells, undertakes the general exposition of the Book of Judges. The Introduction is brief, and not very remarkable for its contents, dealing almost exclusively with questions of chronology. The expository notes claim the same characterization. They deal feebly with the real difficulties of the text. Why is the Syriac followed in opposition to all other authorities in chapter iii. 24? The difficulties of Samson’s history are passed over in the most superficial manner, the statements of the text being little more than paraphrased. The Rev. A. F. Muir and the Rev. W. F. Adeney contribute the homily outlines. Dr. James Morrison deals more vigorously with Ruth, but with a tendency to spiritualize that in exegesis needs restraining with a strong hand. He rightly, we think, conceives the *raison d’être* of the book to be the religiousness of Ruth’s filial piety, and thinks the anonymous author to have been ‘a true *littérateur*.’ The Introduction, as well as the Commentary, is vigorous and suggestive. The Rev. W. M. Statham and Professor J. S. R. Thomson supply the homilies. For those who can rightly use it the homiletic section of the volume will be very suggestive.

Studies in Deductive Logic. A Manual for Students. By W. STANLEY JEVONS. Macmillan and Co.

This is a book for students, and for students only. It contains a carefully arranged exposition of the peculiar views in logic which are asso-

ciated with the name of Professor Jevons. It cannot be doubted or denied that his works have been of great practical service; but those who regard the writer as fundamentally wrong in his views about logic, inasmuch as he makes it so much of a merely mechanical exercise, will not esteem the value of their services so highly as his many admirers do. It is unfortunate that logicians have so little good to say of each other. Professor Jevons is no exception; for he denies all merit to the late Sir William Hamilton, whose admirers fondly—in *his* day—supposed him to be a second Aristotle. Whether the one logician or the other be right, however, the thoughtful reader is sure to find abundant material for mental exercises of a highly ingenious order in the 'Studies' before us; and to that class of students of logic the book may be very heartily commended.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Several of the following have been received too late for review in this number

- Sister Augustine (Amalie von Lasaulle). C. Kegan Paul and Co.
 Savonarola. By Elizabeth Warren. S. W. Partridge and Co.
 Unbelief of the Eighteenth Century. By John Cairns, D.D.
 The Gospel of the Divine Life: a Study of the Fourth Evangelist. By Thomas Griffith, M.A. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
 Natural Elements of Revealed Theology. By George Matheson, M.A., D.D. James Nisbet and Co.
 Burgess, Rev. H. Art of Preaching and the Composition of Sermons.
 Christian Institutions. Essays on Ecclesiastical Subjects. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. John Murray.
 The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church. By F. E. Warner, B.D. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.
 The Faith of Islam. By the Rev. Edward Sell. Trübner and Co.
 Vivisection—Scientifically and Ethically Considered in Prize Essays. By James Macaulay, M.D., Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., and Arthur Wall. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
 Spirit and Form. Sermons. By Edwards Comerford Hawkins, M.A. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
 Seventy Sonnets of Camoens. Portuguese Text and Translation, with Original Poems. By J. J. Aubertin. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
 About the Jews since Bible Times. From the Babylonian Exile till the English Exodus. By Mrs. Magnus. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
 Fo'c's'le Yarns, including Betsy Lee and other Poems. Macmillan and Co.
 Poenamo: Sketches of the Early Days of New Zealand. Williams and Norgate.
 Health Haunts of the Riviera and South-west of France. By Robert Herbert Story, D.D. Paisley: Alexander Gardner.
 Alfred Tennyson: his Life and Works. By Walter E. Wace. Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace.
 English Men of Letters. Dryden. By G. Saintsbury. Macmillan and Co.
 Sanskrit, and its Kindred Literature. By Laura E. Poor. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
 A Year's Meditations. By Mrs. Augustus Craven. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
 Fulgentius, and other Poems. By B. Montgomerie Rankine. Newman and Co.
 The Vision of Nimrod. By Charles de Kay. New York: D. Appleton and Co.
 Duties of Women. By Frances Power Cobbe. Williams and Norgate.
 God's Book for Man's Life. By John Brown, B.A. Hodder and Stoughton.
 Sappho: a Dream. By the Author of 'Ginevra.' C. Kegan Paul and Co.
 Plant Life: Popular Lectures on Botany. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
 Chaucer for Schools. By Mrs. H. R. Haweis. Chatto and Windus.
 The Bath and Bathing. By Dr. J. Farrar. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
 The Word was made Flesh. (Second Series.) Readings on the Epistles. C. Kegan Paul and Co.

- Lares and Penates; or, the Back-ground of Life. By Mrs. Caddy. Chatto and Windus.
- A Short Manual of the History of India. By Roper Lethbridge, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
- Thrift Lessons. By John T. Walters, M.A. Hodder and Stoughton.
- Thoughts on the Bible as a Key to History. By John Coutts. F. Pitman.
- The Professor's Wife. A Story. By Leonard Graham. Chatto and Windus.
- Ethelstone Eveline, and other Poems. By Elizabeth M. F. Dobell. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Records, and other Poems. By the late Robert Leighton. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Work and Prayer. The Story of Nehemiah. By Alexander Macleod Symington. James Nisbet and Co.
- Our Kitchen Garden. By Tom Jerrold. Chatto and Windus.
- The Life of President Garfield. By Captain F. H. Mason. With a Preface by Bret Harte. Trübner and Co.
- Cecily: a Tale of the English Reformation. By Emma Leslie. Wesleyan Conference Office.
- Jewish Life in the East. By Sydney Montagu Samuel. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- The Calendar of the University College of Wales, 1880-81. Manchester: J. E. Cornish.
- The Calendar of the Congregational Colleges of England and Wales, 1881. Hodder and Stoughton.
- The Cambridge University Almanack and Register, 1881. Macmillan and Co.
- A Modern Babylon. By Leonard Lloyd. Remington and Co.
- Garden Graith: or, Talks among my Flowers. By Sarah F. Smiley. Hodder and Stoughton.
- The Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, according to the Wycliffite Version made by Nicholas de Hereford. Edited by Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.
- The Brotherhood of Men; or, Christian Sociology. By the Rev. William Unsworth. Second Edition. Wesleyan Conference Office.
- Individualism. Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. By the Right Rev. A. N. Littlejohn, D.D. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.
- The Old Miller and His Mill. By Mark Guy Pearse. Wesleyan Conference Office.
- Prayers and Responses for the Household. W. Skeffington and Son.
- History of Judah and Israel, from the Birth of Solomon to the Reign of Ahab. By Alfred Edersheim, D.D. Religious Tract Society.
- Slieve Bloom. By Eliza Kerr. Wesleyan Conference Office.
- Amaranth and Asphodel: Songs from the Greek Anthology. By Alfred J. Butler, M.A. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- The King's Story Book. By Mark Evans. Part II. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Stories from the Book of Genesis. By Richard Bartram. Sunday School Association.
- Gondaline's Lesson, and other Poems. By Mrs. Bloomfield Moore. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Life and Mind as the Basis of Modern Medicines. By Robert Lewins, M.D. Watts and Co.
- Heart Lessons. Addresses for Mothers' Meetings. By Louisa Clayton. Religious Tract Society.
- The Rescue of Child Soul. By the Rev. W. F. Crafts, M.A. Sunday School Union.
- Churches in Nottinghamshire; or, Provision for Public Worship in the Midland Districts. By Goodeve Mabbs. Bemrose and Sons.
- At His Feet. Daily Lessons in the Gospels. By the Rev. G. Stringer Rowe. Wesleyan Conference Office.
- Elementary Education in Saxony. By John L. Bashford, M.A. Sampson Low and Co.
- The New Testament. Translated from Griesbach's Text. By Samuel Sharpe. Fourteenth Thousand. Williams and Norgate.
- The Ethical and Social Aspects of Habitual Confession to a Priest. By Thomas Thornely, B.A. Macmillan and Co.
- Half Holiday Handbooks—Dorking. Reigate. Kingston-on-Thames. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
- Thomas Carlyle: an Essay. By General Sir E. B. Hamley. William Blackwood and Sons.

- Sermons Preached in a College Chapel. By J. R. Illingworth, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
- My Old Portfolio. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Studies in St. Matthew. By the Rev. J. Cynddylan Jones. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.
- Monica's Choice. Religious Tract Society.
- Foreshadowings: a Poem. By Charles Room. Elliot Stock.
- No Place Like Home. By Hesba Stretton. Religious Tract Society.
- Wives and Their Husbands. By Mr. George Gladstone. Religious Tract Society.
- The Science of Voice Production and Voice Preservation. By Gordon Holmes. Chatto and Windus.
- England's Work in India. By W. W. Hunter, LL.D. Smith, Elder, and Co.
- The Tabernacle of Israel. By William Brown. Fifth Edition. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Co.
- China's Millions. Edited by J. Hudson Taylor, M.R.C.S. Morgan and Scott.
- The Love Sonnets of Proteus. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- The Religious Revolution of the Nineteenth Century. From the French of Edgar Quinet. Trübner and Co.
- Our Blue Jackets. By Sophia G. Wintz. Popular Edition. Hodder and Stoughton.
- Little Abe. The Life of Abraham Lockwood. By F. Jewell. Third Edition. Wesleyan Conference Office.
- Essays of Joseph Addison. Edited by John R. Green, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
- Is Darwin Right? or, the Origin of Man. By William Denton, Wellesley, Massachusetts.
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- Heroes in the Strife. The Temperance Testimonies of some Eminent Men. By Frederic Sherlock. Hodder and Stoughton.
- The Atonement, and other Discourses. By Thomas Cooper. Hodder and Stoughton.
- Meyer on the Epistles to the Ephesians and Philemon. Translated by Rev. M. J. Evans, B.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- The Epistle to the Thessalonians. By Dr. Gottlieb Lünemann. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Hausrath's History of New Testament Times. Vol. II. Williams and Norgate.
- Ewald on the Psalms. Vol. II. Williams and Norgate.
- The Basis of Faith. By Eustace R. Conder, M.A. Second Edition. Hodder and Stoughton.
- Some Sceptical Fallacies of Certain Modern Writers Examined. By W. J. Hall, M.A. Rivingtons.
- The Biblical Museum. By James Comper Gray. Vol. IX. Elliot Stock.
- Short Readings for the Christian Year—Advent to Easter. W. Skeffington and Son.
- The Humiliation of Christ. By Alex. B. Bruce, D.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Industrial Curiosities. By Alex H. Japp, LL.D. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
- Minto's Manual of English Prose Literature. Second Edition, William Blackwood and Sons.
- Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable. Twelfth Edition. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.
- Beet's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Second Edition. Hodder and Stoughton.
- Heroines of the Mission Field. By Mrs. Pitman. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.
- Hours with the Bible. From the Creation to the Patriarchs. By Cunningham Geikie, D.D. S. W. Partridge and Co.
- Exell's Pulpit Commentary. Joshua. Edited by Canon Spence. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
- Thomas Carlyle. By William Howie Wylie. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
- Thomas Carlyle. By Henry J. Nicoll. Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace.
- Scientific Sophisms. By J. Wainwright, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.
- Popular Romances of the West of England. Edited by Robert Hemp. Third Edition. Chatto and Windus.

- Song—Bloom. By George Barlow. Remington and Co.
 Chili. 1879-1880. By R. Nelson Boyd, F.R.G.S. W. H. Allen and Co.
 This Life and the Life to Come. By F. M. Fearnley. S. Bagster and Sons.
 Foreign Classics for English Readers. Corneille and Racine. By Henry M. Trollope. Wm. Blackwood and Sons.
 Men Worth Remembering. Robert Hall. By E. Paxton Hood. Hodder and Stoughton.
 Winmore and Co : Tale of the Great Bank Failure. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
 How to Detect the Adulterations of Food. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
 The Ornaments Rubric : its History and Meaning. Parker and Co.
 An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language. By John Jamieson, D.D. Paisley : Alexander Gardner.
 The Truth of Scripture in connection with Revelation, Inspiration, and the Canon. By John James Given, Ph.D. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.
 The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenburg. By Anne Ayres. Sampson Low and Co.
 Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. By C. T. Forster and F. H. B. Daniell. Two Vols. C. Kegan Paul and Co.
 His Little Mother, and other Tales and Sketches. By the Author of John Halifax, Gentleman. Hurst and Blackett.
 The Complete Works of Bret Harte. Vol. V. Stories and Condensed Novels. Chatto and Windus.

EDUCATIONAL BOOKS.

- English Grammar, including Grammatical Analysis. By C. P. Mason, B.A. Twenty-fourth Edition. Bell and Sons.
 Clarendon Press Series. M. Tullii Ciceronis De Oratore ad Quintum Fratrem. Libri Tres. Liber II. With Introduction and Notes. By Augustus S. Wilkins, M.A. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press.
 A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses, in Hebrew. By S. R. Driver, M.A. Second Edition. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press.
 Poetic Reader, for the Use of Schools. Parts I. and II. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
 A Manual of Ancient Geography. Translated from the German of Heinrich Kiepert, Ph.D. Macmillan and Co.
 Macmillan's Progressive French Course. Second and Third Years. By G. Eugène Fasnacht. Macmillan and Co.
 The Miles Gloriosus of T. Maccius Plautus. A Revised Text with Notes. By Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
 The Fasti of Ovid. With Notes and Indices. By G. H. Hallam, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
 The Story of Achilles, from Homer's Iliad. Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by the Late John Henry Pratt, M.A., and Walter Leaf, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
 A Series of First Lessons, in Greek, adapted to Godwin's Greek Grammar. By John Williams White, Ph.D. Macmillan and Co.
 The Kindergarten : Principles of Fröbel's System. By Emily Shirreff. Second Edition. W. Swan Sonnenschein and Allan.
 Bible Class Primer. The Life of David. By the Late Rev. P. Thompson, A.M. Edinburgh : Macniven and Wallace.
 English Grammar. Parts I., II., III., for Standards from II. to IV. Marshall, Japp, and Co.
 Elementary Classics. Cæsar. Scenes from the Fifth and Sixth Books of the Gallic War. Edited by C. Colbeck, M.A. Macmillan and Co.
 Remarks on the Subjunctive and the So-called Potential Mood. By C. P. Mason, B. A. Bell and Sons.

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